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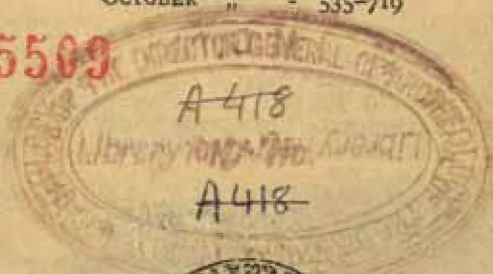


VOL. XVIII.

JANUARY—OCTOBER, 1922. Nos. 53—56

	PAGES
JANUARY ISSUE	- 1-180
APRIL "	- 181-360
JULY "	- 361-534
OCTOBER "	- 535-719

25509



915.05
A. R.



PUBLISHED AT

WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, 3, VICTORIA STREET, LONDON

BY

EAST AND WEST, LIMITED

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After the Armistice all enemy countries were disarmed except Turkey, which was left with all her war material stored in dumps. . . . All Peace Treaties were to be ratified and put into effect after their signature, yet the Treaty of Sévres alone was never submitted to any Allied Parliament. . . .

"Instead of securing for Greece Allied assistance, it denied her liberty of action . . . it gave the Kemalists time to organize, and imposed delays on Greece which gradually exhausted her resources.

"The narrow strip of land which has been delimited along the Straits, even were it demilitarized and garrisoned by Allied troops, is obviously worthless unless the garrisons are able to reckon upon prompt assistance from the troops stationed in Thrace.

"Were Turks to be stationed there, there would be no security. I make bold to assert that, backed by Bulgarian bands, the Turkish hosts would at a given signal sweep down on the guardians of the Straits and hurl them into the sea.

"What is required, therefore, is Allied solidarity to keep Turkey—an Asiatic Power—in Asia, its proper home.

"If France elects to stand by the Kemalists, the solidarity of Greece and Great Britain, the two States whose community of interest is gradually coming to be realized, should be sufficient for the task."

I first met M. Rizo Rangabé in Crete in 1910, and renewed acquaintance with him later on in London, when his moderation and good judgment impressed me most favourably.

The "solidarity of Greece and Great Britain," referred to by M. Rangabé as gradually coming to be realized, forms the keynote to an interesting document I have had by me for some time, which for that reason I make no apology for giving it *in extenso* for the benefit of that future history to which the Greek Minister makes so confident an appeal.

III. THE MENACE OF ANTI-BRITISH INFLUENCES

15, ST. JOHN STREET, OXFORD,

June 9, 1918.

DEAR SIR,

I avail myself of the opportunity created through the good offices of Mr. Nicolson to submit to your consideration certain conclusions at which I have arrived after long experience in contact with all classes of people in Greece.

By pen and word, for the last three years, I have focussed my energies on the endeavour to counteract the German propaganda among the Greek labour classes, and on the eve of my departure from Athens last February I had a conversation with Mr. Venizelos on present prospects. I think I am allowed to say that his sentiments are echoed in what I will tell you, although there has been no expressed coincidence in the view which has crystallized in my mind since I returned to London.

This view I partly expressed to Mr. Nicolson, and in a general way I am trying to convey it through the Press. Moreover, three Oxford friends of mine—Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen, Dr. Heberden, Principal of Brasenose, and Dr. Jackson, formerly Rector of Exeter—to whom I confided my ideas, have expressed sympathy, and agreed with

me that responsible British statesmen should become cognizant of this standpoint as soon as possible.

The present situation in the Near East seems to hinge round the fate of Greece, whose existence is menaced by German influence. It may be urged that at a time when our whole attention is concentrated on the Western front, the issues in the Near East may well be left aside. But the methods of Germany are not such as to allow diminution of attention to what she may be doing in Greece. Germany has been allowed to acquire a hold on the Greek national conscience. We have counteracted this influence, but it has not disappeared, and it has so overshadowed the inherent devotion of the Greek nation to the ideals of England and France as to render the awakening of Greece to the present realities a slow and difficult work.

My point is that it is of the utmost importance to England that Greece should be saved from falling under German domination. It is not only that Greece would be extinguished, but a Germanized Greece would be an insurmountable barrier to England in the Mediterranean. Have I any reasons to believe that Greece is in danger of falling under German domination? Germany's methods consist in offensives of various categories—war, peace, socialist, labour, economic, commercial, nationalist, etc., according to psychological opportunities. It is the nationalist offensive that Germany has been using in Greece for some time past in order to baffle England. The Greek dream—restoration of Hellenism to its natural frontiers—has afforded to Germany the psychological opportunity for the nationalist offensive. Nothing can sway the Greek soul so much as a chance for recovering the territories which during the centuries have been taken from the nation by its hereditary enemies. Every other consideration, or sentiment, or interest, is subordinate to that one supreme dream. Germany has succeeded in creating an impression that under German auspices the national aims of Greece may be fulfilled, and that under the auspices of England they may be frustrated. Under the influence of this impression, Greece may fall an easy prey into the hands of Germany. Can England afford to disregard this eventuality? Would it be tolerable to allow Greece to become a German dependency? Would it not be a blow against England as much as against Greece?

The defeat of Germany in the West will not entail her defeat also in the East. Defeated in the West, she may easily emerge victorious in the East unless we are prepared in time. Free from German influence, Greece at once becomes a barrier to German development in the East. Our preparation, therefore, is to free Greece from German influence without delay. How? There is only one way to do this: The moment Greece becomes assured that England recognizes the justice of the proposition that Hellenism must be restored to its natural frontiers, not excluding Constantinople, every vestige of German influence will instantly disappear from Greek life. Such an assurance, which need not preclude any scheme of internationalization of the Straits, would act like magic. The German delusion, and whatever is connected with it, however alive in the Greek

mentality now, would be straightway forgotten, and the nation in all its natural impetuosity and dash would turn to England, rediscovering in her its natural protector and ally. The immediate result would be something like the American awakening, and an army would rapidly arise of half a million men determined to win or to die.

To my mind, peace cannot be assured without this arrangement, which virtually amounts to a British Protectorate of the Balkan Peninsula, federated democratically with Hellenism as the dominant note.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

PLATON E. DRAKOULES.

THE RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR,
Foreign Secretary.

This elicited the following reply from Mr. Balfour's secretary :

"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Balfour to thank you for the letter which you were so good as to send him on the 9th instant relative to the means which should be adopted to counteract enemy influence in Greece.

"I am to state that Mr. Balfour has been interested to receive the views of one who stands in so special a relation to the opinion of the Greek masses, and that your suggestions will be given careful consideration."

IV

The idea of an understanding between England and Greece as to the future of the Balkans has occupied the mind of Mr. Drakoules from his earliest years of political activity, not as a Greek, or an all but British citizen, for he was five or six years old when the Ionian Islands were ceded to Greece. He has frequently expressed the belief that British and Hellenic co-operation would make of the Balkan Peninsula a new world.

He was also one of the first of the Balkan statesmen to make serious efforts to include Turkey as a member of the Balkan Federation, and visited Constantinople twice in 1910 with that end in view—an aim so consonant with his democratic and humanitarian ideals.

In view of the special position occupied by Mr. Drakoules in the Labour Movement in Greece, the letter from him is still of interest and importance as showing the danger of anti-British influences in Greece even at that time. It is to be feared that these influences would receive encouragement if the present disorders are allowed to continue. It is to be hoped, therefore, that even now the Allies will not refuse to treat with consideration, at least, the more clear-cut and indisputable of Hellenic claims. Moreover, it is advisable to circumscribe the danger of a renewal of hostilities by imposing Armistice conditions alike on Greeks and Turks.

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BY

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1922

"PROGRESS AT WASHINGTON!"

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

THE civilized world has waited with eager hope and intense interest the result of President Harding's first Conference.

It may be worth while to attempt to "report progress," though as yet no final settlement upon any of the really important issues has been reached.

Of the dramatic, and what in all candour may be described as the "new" diplomatic method of opening the Conference, there have been numerous and varied opinions. In any case, more time will be needed before it is possible to appraise such a stroke at its true value.

A friendly, and it was hoped a progressive, discussion on naval disarmaments the Allied delegates had come prepared to face. But towards what might be not unfairly described as a "money or your life" disarmament, even the most friendly delegates might be forgiven for looking somewhat askance.

Pessimists have already said that the Conference was the last chance of saving civilization. Optimists that after all America was about to shoulder her share of Europe's burden. There was some truth in both statements, but neither sums up the whole situation. Nor could any verbal formula do this, for a more delicate and complicated collection of international interests centering in the Pacific, and the Far East have never before been placed before any Conference.

Of all the problems which the Committees have discussed

at Washington, by far the most important has been that concerning the future of China; China with its 400,000,000 souls, the most peace-loving, law-abiding, specimens of the human race.

It has of late been frequently remarked that prior to the Great War, Europe, not Asia, was the centre of the world's political horizon. To-day the position is reversed. Unless the future of China can be peacefully ensured, what use to think, much less talk, of naval disarmament? It is in the Pacific Ocean, if anywhere, that the last great naval war may yet take place. Great Britain, the United States, Japan, and in another sense China, have all the same interest in preventing such a catastrophe.

There are other problems which deeply concern the, at times, conflicting interests of the three former nations; but they pale to nothing, comparatively speaking, before that of China's future. How to ensure a peaceful regeneration of one quarter of the world's population! If China follows the example of Russia, can civilization, as we have learned to reckon it, survive? It cannot.

There is a well-known aphorism to the effect that a nation enjoys the government it deserves.

A more orthodox pronouncement would be that "the strength of any state lies ultimately in the public consciousness of its citizens." But in a state whose population is, politically, almost inarticulate, it is manifestly unfair to hold the people responsible. It is no less equally clear to those who know, that the Chinese people cannot of themselves make the effort necessary for their own regeneration as a modern state. Put bluntly, the problem the Conference is facing is, how to help without dismembering China.

It is fervently to be hoped that the Allied delegates have realized the importance of not attempting too much. If the statesmen assembled at Washington have put before them as a possible achievement the securing of a definite breathing space for China, wherein, with the help of her Allies assembled, she may put her house in order and clear

up her present chaotic condition, the Conference has indeed succeeded. It will have earned the gratitude of all who stand for a survival of our present civilization.

Mr. Hughes has wisely suggested a definite ten years' period of progressive disarmament. Ten years of thorough reorganization at Peking might surpass all expectation. Provided, that is, the leading nations most interested—Great Britain, the United States, and Japan—can agree to work together actively in the interests of China, not of their own immediate interests. On the other hand, unless China has agreed to accept and endure for some such period direct foreign assistance, especially in financial matters, no such plan, nor any other the Allies may suggest, can bear enduring fruit.

Disarmament must begin in China before it is a possible proposition elsewhere in the Far East. Militarism is at present, and for the past eight or ten years has been, the curse of the country. Not until a strong civil régime is re-established will any other reforms follow.

Next in importance to a settlement of China's future comes the problem of co-ordinating Japanese foreign policy, especially in the Far East, with that of the United States of America.

It would be idle to pretend that anti-American feeling in Japan and anti-Japanese feeling in America has become greatly modified during these past weeks of discussion at Washington. Here are sparks which demand unceasing care and attention if another world's conflagration is to be put beyond the bounds of possibility. But the new fourfold agreement is the best possible antidote.

American public feeling against the continuance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has plainly shown itself, and the efforts of her representatives have been thrown into the same scale. Nor can the task of meeting American feeling upon the point without being accused of breaking faith with a tried ally and friend have been an easy one for our own diplomatists.

For us the wider view should guide, subject that is to strengthening so far as may be England's ties with America. Japanese friendship has undoubtedly been of inestimable value during the war, looked at only from the point of view of India and our Asiatic empire. To have broken off abruptly the Alliance would have meant to sacrifice once for all Japanese friendship for Great Britain. British representatives at Washington would have had a great responsibility to bear should America have insisted upon such a policy. But this issue has happily not arrived, as we now know a combination of the four interests with those of China has been safely engineered, and once more a great success has crowned President Harding's efforts.

Regarding the clash of American and Japanese interests in other parts of the Far East probably full discussion has taken place. But here again such frank and free discussion as it is generally considered the committees are giving to all the existing problems will have disclosed—to speak frankly—that American and Japanese interests cannot at present quite fuse.

The American people demand peace and disarmament. Japan's foreign policy, at any rate the policy of her military minority, is diametrically opposed to such a proceeding. America desires a discontinuance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan makes and has made it the corner-stone of her foreign policy.

Japan's future problem in Eastern Siberia is hardly yet clear to her own leaders; nor can it be so long as a Soviet Government opposes any Japanese right to make her future interests there, even though only economic, more definite.

America has desired a precise and clearly outlined future programme in China and Siberia as part of the Conference. Japan hesitates to enter into any discussion of the details of these problems. She would prefer at this stage, as she has already said, some agreement upon general principles only.

So rapidly have events moved before the energetic

onslaught of Mr. Hughes, that it might appear as if "all was over but the shouting." But, as future events in the Far East will prove, this is hardly the case.

Now that a Quadruple Entente between England, America, Japan, and France for joint action in the Far East and in the Pacific has been signed, President Harding has secured a great triumph. Though not a personal one, it is the triumph of a personality which possesses the foresight, breadth of view, and quickness of decision of a statesman of the highest calibre.

That the settlement of the Far Eastern main problem has, after all, preceded that of disarmament is only another tribute to the intuitive statesmanship of the President and his advisers. The dramatic opening of the Conference was, we now see, necessary in order to produce the right atmosphere. Only in that atmosphere could the quadruple pact have been created and given birth.

What will the new policy of the Entente be towards China? Will the decision at Washington mark a change in international psychology?

We are told that the four Powers concerned are accepting mutual obligations; that they will refrain from aggression in the Pacific, and will invite friendly intervention from each other on matters which concern the group. This at any rate secures a period of delay in case of sudden international disagreement, and of itself contributes more to prevent "war at sight" than reams of carefully worded secret treaties.

To turn from academic discussions to realities. The first step towards securing future peace and a general decrease of armaments in the Far East is the pacification of China. The delay in settling the actual terms of naval reduction at Washington is credited to lie with the Government at Tokyo, whose answer at the time of writing has not yet been received. Until disarmament has taken place in China it is difficult to conceive any Government in Japan anxious to weaken either its naval or military strength.

Dominated as China at this present moment is, from Canton to Peking, by various military freebooters masquerading as Governors of Provinces, anything might happen to disturb international relations.

It is no exaggeration to say that until a disbandment of the provincial armies has been brought about, there can be neither peace nor prosperity for the country. Nor this time will the usual farcical paper transaction suffice. Any disbandment of this horde of useless and dangerous soldiery, to be worth the name, will cost money. This the new Allied Powers will no doubt be ready to provide. By thus providing the cost of any disbandment scheme on a large scale, the Allies will earn the right to be represented on whatever body the new Chinese Government see fit to set up to organize such disbandment. To disband without finding suitable employment for the so-called soldiery who at present constitute the provincial armies will be no disbandment at all. Not only must employment be found for these arrogant gentry, but the return of military stores, arms, and ammunition of all kinds will have to be controlled. These as well as many other matters will tax the administrative ability of the most honest and patriotic Chinese officials, even when aided by foreign help.

Next must come security for internal trade, and the right of the people to till their soil without let or hindrance. These are two fundamental and immemorial rights which have always belonged to the 400,000,000 who compose China's masses. From the dim ages of antiquity, through dynasty after dynasty, these two claims have invariably been insisted upon, and conceded. Woe betide the ruler or government who has failed to satisfy the "stupid" people upon these two points. As 3,000 years of Chinese history show, in the end such a ruler or government invariably fell. Patience beyond the bounds of Western understanding has ever been the characteristic of China's millions.

If the four great Powers are at last prepared to step in

with a cut-and-dried and united policy for helping the Chinese people and its new representatives to set to work to reorganize the Government, an enduring foundation-stone has been laid.

To insinuate that such a policy is conceivable is almost sufficient to drive a certain class of Chinese "student" into a state of frenzy. But in spite of frenzied Chinese "students" there is no alternative. The Chinese are incapable of setting their own house in order. Most foreigners of long experience are agreed that this is so. Unless the so-called reorganization of the Government is once more to end in idle talk and in the utterance only of the same old platitudes, an Allied offer of help must be accepted to save the situation.

By help, let it be clearly understood, is not meant control of any kind. The time has long passed when the idea of a Chinese Government existing under foreign control is even thinkable. But let the Chinese people choose the Government they desire, and by means of the Provincial Assemblies this could be ensured upon sufficiently broad lines to mean representative government of a kind suited to the people, then it is up to the four great Powers already mentioned to stand behind and back that Government by every means in their power, or that the Chinese desire.

That there is one drawback to the above suggestion cannot be denied, and it lies in the difficulty of ensuring that each of the four Powers shall feel equally bound to carry out the agreement between them in a spirit of general good-will, not only to one another but to China.

It is idle to pretend that there is not this difficulty. To any person with an inside knowledge of Far Eastern politics it is obvious that it comes from the not unnatural attitude which, in the past, Japanese military advisers insisted upon with regard to Manchuria and Mongolia, let alone other portions of China. Fortunately, in the creation of the new Quadruple Entente we may hope to find the key

to any such passing difficulty. From the friendly advances of Great Britain, America, France, and Japan, offered in all good friendship and unitedly, may come, at last, the salvation of China.

To those who know her toiling millions at first hand, their patience under almost overwhelming suffering, their wonderful capacity for fighting heroically the everyday battle of life, their almost uncanny cheerfulness in the never-ending struggle against actual starvation, if for no higher reasons, the trial is well worth making. To what, at present, undreamed-of heights the Chinese as a nation might rise if fairly and honestly treated, time alone will show.

ANGLO-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY CHAO-HSIN CHU
(*Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London*)

THE Washington Conference vitally concerns our country whenever Far Eastern questions are considered, and I welcome this opportunity of stating what, in my opinion, China's aims and objects really are.

1. Despite what is read in newspapers, China is not going to ask too much, or raise difficult and irritating questions. We appreciate the realities of the situation, and therefore restrain ourselves from entertaining any extravagant and unreasonable hopes from the Conference.

2. China enters the Conference with no intention of being a truculent power arraigning any other nations. She looks upon all as friends and none as enemies. She views the Conference as an opportunity for amicable discussions of problems of mutual interest to all, with a view to preserving peace in the Far East and the Pacific.

3. China will declare to the Conference that her door is wide open. We propose to keep our door open always, and shall also beg our neighbours and allies to help us in our intention to keep it practically and permanently open. China is really looking for an effective form of international co-operation, which aims at the maintenance of her open door policy, which facilitates her economic and commercial development, and promotes the common interests of the Treaty Powers, without prejudicing her territorial integrity or her political independence.

And what the world is longing for to-day is peace. Peace in the Far East is practically the key to the peace of the world. Peace must be based on a permanent foundation, and that foundation must be justice. What China

wants to-day is justice. Justice alone can sweep away all such contrivances as special interests and spheres of influence. Beyond question, justice to China will not only serve as a key to the peace of the Far East, but to the peace of the world as well. In short, peace in China and justice to China will give to the whole world equal opportunity in commerce and perpetual tranquillity in the Far East.

The chief aim of our neighbours and allies is commerce, whilst our aim is peace. Our aim is practically their aim, for there can be no commerce without peace.

China is a great international market, and her door is wide open—open to the whole world in general, and to Great Britain in particular. China possesses a magnificent extent of country, which is even larger than the British Isles and all the Colonies in the British Empire combined together. It is a most productive land, from which the supply of natural resources is almost unlimited. As a manufacturing country, England is always looking for supplies of raw materials, and also seeking a market for its manufactured output. In that direction I dare say there is no other country, save the Colonies in the British Empire, which can answer Britain's purposes better than China.

It will be easy to appreciate how large must be the demands of 400 millions of people for manufactured products. With the tremendous commercial opportunities, China must of necessity remain peaceful, yet without foreign interference. I assert this, since foreign interference will assuredly tend to damage the sovereignty and independence of China, and thereby hurt the feelings of the Chinese people. Therefore, in order to keep and improve the Chinese market for British products—and in this market Great Britain has had a strong hold for many decades which she cannot afford to lose—it is very important for British business men to see that China is allowed to take care of herself, and peacefully to prosper along commercial lines. I advise therefore whenever

you see foreign influence interfering with China to urge that Great Britain should lend her a helping hand to ward off such outside intervention.

I imagine we all know that Germany wanted to monopolize world commerce by means of war. Should we have lost the Great War, what would have been the result? None of the Allies would any longer have been a free country. Where there is no free country, there no free commerce can exist.

Let me congratulate you upon the great part you took in helping to win the war in the Near East. Can you afford to neglect giving your help to avert a future conflict in the Far East?

There are rumours which suggest that China's internal troubles stand in the way of foreign trade, and that foreign assistance is needed to solve China's internal problems. Do not believe half you are told by the scaremongers. Discount by 80 per cent. all the other half.

Some newspapers report that China is now suffering from financial chaos and the approach of bankruptcy. It is true the Chinese Government has suffered very much financially, but the financial conditions of China as a whole are sound and solvent. The total domestic and foreign debts in China amount to not quite one billion dollars; spread over 400 million people, it means \$2.50 per head, or in English money about 7s., while in England it works out at about £174 per head. As to taxation in China, it is one of the lightest in the world, being \$1.50 per head, or in English currency about 3s. 8d., against £30 per head in this country.

As to Customs revenue, China has no freedom of tariff. She is bound by the treaties made with the foreign Powers not to raise higher than 5 per cent. the import duty on foreign goods. It is an *ad valorem* 5 per cent.; effectively it amounts to only 3.7 per cent. It is obviously very unfair to restrain China from raising a higher rate of import duty, and hence it is a cause of the great deficit in the

Government Budget. In order to improve her financial conditions, China is justified in asking the foreign Powers to allow her freedom of tariff, or at least allow her to raise up to 12½ per cent., as her Delegates asked at the Washington Conference.

In fact, our financial standing is still far better than that of many of the European countries after the Great War. Take foreign exchange, for instance. China's tael, which before the war was worth rather less than 3s., is still worth 4s. odd, while French and Belgian francs are worth only about 5d., Italian lire 3d., the German mark ¼d., and the Austrian kroner forty for 1d. I am also glad to mention that China is one of the very few countries which after the war use metallic money in all their business transactions; others use paper money almost exclusively.

It is true that China has internal troubles; I do not deny it, but no country can entirely get rid of politics, especially such countries as China, which has only recently changed its form of Government.

England has her internal troubles. I have, though a foreign diplomat, heard some allusions to a country called Ireland. So have we our troubles. England is solving her internal problems without being interfered with by outside influence. Why should China not do likewise? Your troubles do not stand in the way of your trade. Neither do ours. The trade statistics speak for themselves. It must be remembered that the Chinese people are a peaceful community, a trading race. When I am asked—particularly at the time of the Washington Conference—to admit that China is a truculent power, I reply that our whole aim and object is peace. We are the great advocates of disarmament, but we have pointed out that the disease cannot be cured if the causes are ignored; and for that reason, we have urged a settlement of the many problems which lead to constant unrest in the Far East. That is wisdom, not truculence.

China has to carry out a work of development and

education such as here in England can hardly be imagined. Consider the size of our country and the number of our people. For this work peace and tranquillity are essential. We may not be able to realize our aim in a few brief years. Therefore, be tolerant, be sympathetic—we shall succeed better with your kind good-will and your friendly criticism.

We are all aware that there is too much of politics at home; consequently, this has been creating internal troubles in different parts of the country. Our country is just now confronting the most critical stage which we have ever experienced since the New Régime. Yet we must not give up hope that this cloudy and stormy weather will sooner or later clear away and all will be calm again, and therefore we should not be discouraged.

Let us compare China with America: America wrangled feebly and dangerously for several years after the War of Independence before her Federal Government was established. Moreover, the Civil War in America in 1861 to 1865 was a colossal struggle, much the same as in China to-day, where North and South are fighting each other. America fought for the Union, and so does China to-day.

Let us trace French history: After the Great Revolution, France was regarded as a land of revolutions and political instability for nearly a century. During that generation, foreign observers preached endlessly about the political inefficiency of the French people, and foretold the hopelessness of expecting any progress in the French Republic; just so to-day they sneer at young China, and foretell the political disintegration of the Chinese people.

Our Republic is only ten years old; she is like a child who takes time to grow up. The English people have taken hundreds of years to build up the England of to-day, and the same thing is true of China.

The work of drawing together the bonds of Anglo-Chinese friendship can be furthered very effectively by the encouragement of Chinese students to visit this country.

Chinese students in England are much fewer in number

than in America. There are only about 250 in this country, compared with those studying in American colleges and universities, numbering over 2,000. It is not because the Chinese students prefer America to England educationally, but simply because America provides both means and facilities for Chinese students, thus inducing them to go over to her. More attention should be drawn to the maintenance of Chinese students in America by means of the Boxer Indemnity Fund, which was returned to China by the American Government. Besides, American manufacturers welcome Chinese students who wish to work in the factories to gain practical experience.

America's trade with China has been greatly increasing during recent years, partly, it is true, because America took advantage of war conditions, but largely also because of pro-American Chinese advocating the use of American goods.

Why can't England do the same as America is doing to induce more Chinese students to come over here? The benefit is mutual: it will not only help China in educating her young generation for the future development of industrial enterprises, but will help the English manufacturers as well to expand their trade in the Chinese markets. More manufacturers will be kept busy with their machinery and their manual workers; more people will return to work. Therefore, it will indirectly help to solve your problem of unemployment.

England's business name stands high, and will be kept high; it is not difficult for you to do so—firstly, through the excellence of your standard of manufactures; secondly, on account of the rectitude of your dealings; and finally, by a better and more friendly understanding of the Chinese, who are such great buyers of your merchandise.

A JAPANESE VIEW OF THE PACIFIC PACT

BY AIICHI NISHINOIRI

(*London Correspondent of the "Nichi-Nichi," Tokyo*)

WHATEVER may be the form which the Pacific Pact may take, and however many Powers may ultimately become signatory to its terms, the Japanese can only welcome the Pact with the sincerest satisfaction. From time to time during the Conference negotiations which preceded the announcement of the draft Pact, rumours of difficulties connected with Japanese policy in regard to the general Pacific and Far Eastern position were prevalent, and, in some cases, it was stated that Japan might wreck the chances of agreement. Such statements were, as events proved, entirely unwarranted; but they were undoubtedly due to the misunderstanding, or ignorance, of the main lines of Japanese foreign policy, particularly with regard to China, which has not been subject to the variations which people have attributed to it.

Broadly speaking, Japan had always aimed at three things: the maintenance of cordial relations with America, the establishment of peace in China, and security for her own national development. With regard to the second point, it must be admitted by any impartial investigator of Sino-Japanese relations during the last two decades, that the Japanese Government has time and again given proof of exemplary patience and moderation in handling negotiations with the representatives of China. The course of events which ultimately resulted in the proclamation of a Chinese Republic had been witnessed by Japan with considerable misgiving, as she feared there was a strong possibility that a Republican leadership would fail to weld together into a coherent mass the elements of which her great Western neighbour was composed. A disunited China had always been regarded by Japanese statesmen as a potential danger to the peace of the East, not only on account of the influence which such a state of affairs was bound to exert upon the political and economic life of Japan, but because they recognized clearly that European nations with interests in China might possibly fall into disagreement over episodes directly due to the unsettled conditions. For these reasons Japan welcomed the Treaty, negotiated with Great Britain in 1902, and hoped that,

under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, they might be able to exert a steadying influence to maintain the peace of the Far East. The fall of the Manchu dynasty and the recognition in 1913 of the Chinese Republic were unfortunately the prelude to a state of chaos which proved that Japanese misgivings with regard to a settlement of Chinese affairs were abundantly justified. At the present moment, the confusion in China is probably worse than it has been at any period during the last ten years, and it has been a guiding principle of the Japanese delegates at Washington that general agreement among the Powers must be reached, in order to assist China to put her house in order. The moderation and magnanimity which Japan has displayed at the Conference table with regard to her legitimate interests in China and the sincere desire she has shown for amicable understanding with her great neighbour were not diplomatic manoeuvres, aimed at obtaining, by the support of America and other nations, a privileged position in regard to China, but were the simple and logical outcome of a carefully considered and long-pursued policy, the policy of establishing and maintaining peaceful relations with the Republic. Japan has willingly consented to the abrogation, or disappearance, of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, because the instrument which ultimately will secure the same objects is obviously as acceptable; the future adherence by other nations to the principles laid down is, to her mind, a striking tribute to the clear-sightedness of Great Britain and herself, because they originally evolved these principles nearly twenty years ago. Japan has, be it said, always been at a loss to understand why some sections of American opinion professed to see in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance a menace to peace between Japan and the United States, in view of her age-long policy of friendship with America, who was instrumental in opening up the Island Empire to intercourse with the world. Neither the Japanese people nor the Japanese Government has shared this conception: nevertheless, it is a source of satisfaction that, in addition to providing for joint deliberation among the contracting parties with regard to any Pacific question, the new Pact should tend to eliminate, once and for all, American suspicions of Japan. At the same time, there undoubtedly remains an impression of soreness on the part of the Japanese, who are conscious that their attitude towards China has been misjudged in America and now feel that the *amende honorable* in the shape of a renewal of American confidence may be reasonably expected.

In regard to the third point of Japanese foreign policy mentioned above—namely, the security for national development—this has been at least as much misunderstood as her traditional policy of friendship towards China. The Japanese Government has been faced by a problem of great difficulty: it was necessary, on the one hand, not only to provide an ever-increasing population with the primary means of subsistence, but also to safeguard the economic development of the Island Empire by securing access to raw materials for her industries. Both these objects could only be attained by securing the co-operation of the United States on the east and of China on the west, and unfortunately the former was mistrustful and the latter in a state bordering on chaos. America's trust was needed if Japan was to develop her export trade with her; China's economic prosperity was essential if Japan was to obtain from her those supplies of raw material which she urgently required. The future economic prosperity of each of the three countries was, in fact, interdependent.

To secure these conditions was therefore the mainspring of Japanese policy, and she was disappointed and chagrined to find that, instead of receiving the recognition of her natural aspiration for progress and development, she was accused of militaristic ambitions and a desire for the political domination of China. Happily, the Washington Conference provided a much-needed opportunity for the Japanese delegates to make their position clear: their declarations with regard to Shantung, their ready acceptance of the Root principles, and their concurrence in the proposals to abandon concessions, in common with other Powers in China, have proved their good faith to the world.

How, then, do the Japanese regard the prospects of the new Pact at present? The answer is that they consider that its successful application will depend on one thing only, and that is whether China can improve her internal situation. However satisfactorily the Powers may agree as to the methods which should be employed in China, all such agreement will be futile unless China herself takes energetic steps for her own salvation. Japan desires to believe that all will be well, and will play her part, with entire good faith, in assisting towards this result; but that good faith must not be doubted in the future, as it has been in the past, and above all, China herself must understand that the hand of fellowship and friendship is being extended to her in all sincerity:

INDIAN SWARAJ AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

BY PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY

(Editor of *The Bengalee*, Calcutta)

THERE are two political ideals before the Indian people at the present moment. One is the attainment of the status of Dominion Home Rule, and the other is "Swaraj" without the British. The former is the ideal of the Moderate and the Liberal party in India, and the latter of the non-co-operating Nationalists. These two objectives represent quite divergent and practically conflicting ideals of Indian Nationalism, and require a bit of close examination to find out what they really stand for and the implications that underlie them.

The word "Swaraj" was first introduced into Indian political literature by the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. In the course of a very diffuse and discursive address delivered to the Indian National Congress, as President of its session held in 1906 in Calcutta, Mr. Naoroji used the word "Swaraj" in the following context :

"All our sufferings and evils of the past centuries demand before God and man a reparation, which we may fairly expect from the present revival of the old noble British instincts of liberty and self-government. I do not intend to enter into our past sufferings, as I have already said at the outset.

"The British people would not allow themselves to be subjected for a single day to such an unnatural system of government as the one which has been imposed upon India for nearly a century and a half. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has made a happy quotation from Mr. Bright : 'I remember John Bright quoting in the House of Commons on one occasion two lines of a poet with reference to political matters :

" 'There is on earth a yet diviner thing,
Veiled though it be, than Parliament or King.'

"Then Sir Henry asks : 'What is that diviner thing? It is the human conscience inspiring human opinion and human sympathy.' I ask them to extend that human conscience, 'the diviner thing,' to India in the words of Mr. Morley :

" 'It will be a bad day indeed if we have one conscience for the Mother Country and another conscience for all that vast territory over which your eye does not extend.'

"And now the next question is : What are the British rights which we have a right to 'claim' ?

"This is not the occasion to enter into any details or argument. I keep to broad lines.

"(1) Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services, departments, and details is in the hands of the people themselves of that country, so should we in India claim that the administration in all services, departments, and details should be in the hands of the people themselves of India.

"This is not only a matter of right and matter of the aspirations of the educated—important enough as these matters are—but it is far more an absolute necessity as the only remedy for the great inevitable economic evil which Sir John Shore pointed out a hundred and twenty years ago, and which is the fundamental cause of the present drain and poverty. The remedy is absolutely necessary for the material, moral, intellectual, political, social, industrial, and every possible progress and welfare of the people of India.

"(2) As, in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, all taxation and legislation and the power of spending the taxes are in the hands of the representatives of the people of those countries, so should also be the rights of the people of India.

"(3) All financial relations between England and India must be just and on a footing of equality—*i.e.*, whatever money India may find towards expenditure in any department, civil or military or naval, to the extent of that share should Indians share in all the benefits of that expenditure in salaries, pensions, emoluments, materials, etc., as a partner in the Empire, as she is always declared to be. We do not ask any favours. We want only justice. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our rights as British citizens, the whole matter can be comprised in one word—'self-government,' or *swaraj*, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies."

Evidently, what Dadabhai Naoroji meant by "Swaraj" in 1906 was something quite different from what is understood by that term to-day. With Naoroji it meant some sort of responsible government, of course, within the Empire. He asked for more personal rights, greater liberties, and the bulk of high offices in the State for the Indian people. Within the scope of his "Swaraj" might also be included a scheme of all-round retrenchment, including the reduction of the military budget, and lesser bureaucratic rule and more popular control in all administrative affairs.

The Hobhouse Commission of Decentralization, appointed in 1907, and the Public Services Commission of 1913, over which Lord Islington presided, were feeble attempts made by the Government to meet halfway the objective Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had in view. The Reports of these Commissions, instead of placating Indian aspirations, tended to irritate public opinion. Between Mr. Naoroji's pronouncement of 1906 and the publication of the Islington Commission's Report in 1916, much water had flowed down the Ganges, and, with the great European War, quite a new wave of national self-consciousness seized the Indian

public mind. The new principle of "self-determination" offered a new heaven and a new earth to all subject and downtrodden peoples, and, since its enunciation from the high throne of state at Washington, the Nationalist mind in India has got obsessed with it, and would be comforted with nothing short of absolute responsible government. India is determined to try the experiment of pouring new and heady wine into an old bottle, come what may out of it.

In the Congress of 1920 Mr. Gandhi gave a new meaning to the word "Swaraj." From the year 1908, when Bal Gangadhar Tilak stood up for "Swaraj" at Surat, till the year of grace 1920, the Indian Nationalist mind had always understood by this word a form of responsible government within the British Empire. At any rate, this idea lay behind the creed of the Congress, which every delegate to it was required to sign, and had willingly subscribed to for close upon twelve years. In the Congress of 1920, held at Nagpur, Mr. Gandhi got that body to accept an amendment to its constitution which pulverized the Indian attachment to the British connection and carried the idea of "Swaraj" much beyond the original concept. In Mr. Gandhi's new patriotic ideal, and also in view of the Indian National Congress now, "Swaraj" means more an independent sovereign State than an integral part of the British Empire. Politically and frankly, that is Mr. Gandhi's ideal, and the ideal of the entire non-co-operation party in the country, though Mr. Gandhi has been careful enough not to describe "Swaraj" in explicit terms, nor to pin himself down to any definite creed. It may be that the idea is in a condition of flux and still eludes definition; it may be that Mr. Gandhi is afraid to make an open declaration of war against British rule; it may also be that Mr. Gandhi is pursuing the idea as a mere spiritual and philosophic will-o'-the-wisp. Whatever it be, it is quite on the cards that Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants do not desire any longer the continuance of British connection with this country. That is the long and short of the Gandhi cult—the most formidable menace to the future progress and well-being of India.

Here India stands at the parting of the ways. Is it good for her to start on a new career of "self-determination," without the protective agencies of British rule, or should she adhere to British connection and develop her manhood within that Empire? That is the living issue before New India. It is conveniently forgotten by the advocates of the first school of thought that India has a long coastline open

to attacks from all sides—in the east, west, and south—everywhere excepting the north and the north-west. So long as India is not able to develop her own navy, she has perforce to depend upon the British Navy for her protection round the sea-line. Even if Nationalist India wanted to build up a navy, they could not raise it for the mere asking, like Aladdin's lamp, and do it in less than four or five generations of time. Japan began her navy nearly a quarter of a century ago, and, with her illimitable resources and unique opportunities, she does not yet feel quite safe in her Pacific isolation. She has yet a long leeway to make up. If, in spite of all her frantic efforts to build up a navy, Japan has not succeeded in her purpose so far, how miserably must India lag behind in a naval competition with the world with her absolutely slender resources!

Then, as for our north-western and north-eastern frontiers, they have been the floodgates of invasion from the earliest dawn of history. From the earliest day when the Aryans swooped down the Hindukush and settled down in the Indus Valley, ambitious adventurers have used the rugged passes in the Suleman Range for endless raids into India. The north-eastern frontier has not offered very large temptations and facilities to the spirit of conquest; yet now and again seething masses of the yellow and the Mongoloid races have poured into Indian soil, and made peace and security of life unstable for centuries in Burma, Assam, and the eastern Himalayan districts.

The Nationalists seem to think that India has the finest natural defences in the world and absolutely no foe in sight—in fact none to knock at her gates and disturb her peace and placid contentment. And yet, would it be believed that in the year of grace 1920 no fewer than 611 raids took place in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province, involving the loss of nearly three hundred Indian lives and the wounding of nearly four hundred others, to say nothing of over four hundred and fifty cases of kidnapping? If this state of things is possible even when we have strong forces up on the frontier and British prestige behind them, it would be interesting to know what would happen to us if the British Army did not keep watch and ward over our safety in that part of the world.

Then there is the question of cultural development to consider. I suppose it would be agreed by all reasonable men that no people can progress and cultivate the arts and sciences so long as they find their hearths and homes insecure. It is only the security of life and property that

gives a nation the opportunity for the cultivation and practice of the arts and sciences and the nobler virtues of the human race. If British protection is withdrawn from India to-day, we shall certainly have to fill in the void by our indigenous efforts. And who will guarantee that on our own we shall always succeed in beating the foreign foe, no matter whether he comes from the north-west or down the valley of the Brahmaputra? It must not be thought that the problem of the defence of India is a very light one, and that even if the British were to withdraw from India we should have a very easy task in maintaining our "Swaraj." So long, therefore, as we cannot think of replacing the British Army and Navy with our own—equally well equipped and well organized—I cannot conceive of India as a self-dependent and self-secured sovereign State. And as to British rule being replaced by Afghan, Russian, Chinese, or Japanese conquest, I would certainly not like India to take a leap into the unknown. I have no doubt that eight out of every ten men who understand international politics or know anything of foreign affairs would prefer British rule to any other rule in India. If it is to be a foreign subjection, why not the subjection of the greatest and the most civilized Empire in the world? There is no room for sentiment in the decision of such a momentous issue, and no true friend of the Motherland should exert himself to change the shackles of a foreign yoke merely for the fun of getting new and harder shackles round his neck.

So those who want to cut our connection with England for a sort of "Swaraj" outside the British Empire must either be impatient idealists or hopeless visionaries. These amiable patriots do not count in practical politics, as their vision does not go much beyond their noses. They hardly realize that "Swaraj" without a national army and navy would certainly not be worth even a day's purchase. The Central Asian cloud is no mere boggy, but a real menace, and our enemies across the border will not allow us to enjoy our "Swaraj" without coming into a deadly grip, and measuring strength and sword, with us. How many people in India can realize what that struggle would involve?

There are some other difficulties in the situation of India which have to be seriously considered before India can think of breaking her connection with England. It is British arms and British rule and British law and order that have welded the multitudinous people of India into a united nation. Once British authority is withdrawn from

India, it is more likely than not that provinces and peoples will fall out amongst themselves and try to establish independent governments and seize each other's territories, as was done before the advent, and after the decay, of Mogul rule in Delhi. And when India becomes a divided house again, she will become a still more easy prey to the military ambitions of foreign courts, and the idea of a federal government and a united people again will recede back to the remote future like a mirage.

Conceding that an Indian Swaraj would materialize on December 31, as Mr. Gandhi has so confidently held out to his followers, what about the great Hindu-Muhammadan problem? Thanks to British suzerainty and British overlordship, a Hindu-Muhammadan entente has now become possible in India, though it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of this movement. The recent Moplah atrocities and outrages on Hindus in Malabar afford us an object-lesson of this insincerity. The Hindu religious ideals and practices differ so widely from those of the Muhammadans, that, until both give up their religious fanaticism and social conservatism, a real lasting union and alliance between these two warring communities must remain for a long time a camouflage and make-believe in Indian politics. I have no doubt in my own mind that, if British overlordship were withdrawn from India to-day, Hindus and Muhammadans would begin to fly at each other's throats to-morrow in all parts of the Empire and make a hell of Mr. Gandhi's "Swaraj."

Then there is another very important fact which is very conveniently ignored in the consideration of this vital issue. Nearly a third of India and a fifth of Indian mankind is still under Indian princes, and if they do not choose to throw in their lot with non-co-operating Swarajists in British India, what then? Would it not involve endless conflict and struggle and provoke a free flow of innocent blood for years, and the arrest and paralysis for that period of all arts, industries, and applied sciences throughout India? For what compensating advantages and benefits should we be prepared to destroy the work of centuries and set back the clock of progress? For what assured prospects should we prepare ourselves to enter into a long period of internecine quarrels and fratricidal conflict? Taking again the converse proposition as a possible contingency, that the Indian princes will sacrifice everything they have on earth and throw in their lot with non-co-operation, the same difficulty arises—how to apportion among the different provinces of

India the territories of these princes? Who would hold the balances even between these different powers? It is bound to lead India back to her elemental chaos.

Do or think as we may, there is no alternative to British suzerainty in India now and for a long time to come, and we want it if only to keep all warring sections of the community at peace with one another, and also to allow a homogeneous nationhood to develop and work a common destiny.

I have already set out the chances of domestic troubles and dissensions and foreign invasions, if India were to be left without the British to-day. A strong and insensate anti-British feeling may excite our passion and cloud our reasoning and common sense, and induce us to ignore the difficulties of the situation. But no true friend of India, who can think dispassionately, and knows the history, the traditions, and the experiences of the Motherland during her long travail through the centuries, will ever confound the real issues and leap from the frying-pan into the fire. No nation can ever thrive or flourish on the mere wisdom of the ostrich. The Sphinx must be rightly answered by every nation if it would escape doom or Nemesis. There is no short cut to the national goal.

I have dealt so far with the political ideal of that section of non-co-operation and the extreme Nationalist mind who have set their goal as the attainment of a "Swaraj" without the British. Now, I will discuss the Moderate or the Liberal ideal of getting to our goal with the help and co-operation of the British. This brings me to the positive side of the question.

I will start with the idea—an incontrovertible proposition—that the immense resources of the British Empire offer us a unique protection and security—a protection unthinkable under any other circumstances. Economically, of course, the maintenance of the British Army in India involves a huge drain upon the slender resources of India and paralyzes to a great extent the progress and development of the country. Yet, we have nothing to pay for the upkeep and maintenance of the British Navy, whose untiring vigilance has kept our shores secure for over two centuries. But apart from the financial question, the advantages of remaining as an integral part of the British Empire outweigh all other considerations. Among other advantages in favour of our retention of the British connection are the rights of colonization and emigration we have now secured in Canada, New Zealand, East Africa, Australia, and every

other part of the Empire excepting South Africa—rights which we could not think of under any other circumstance. As a unit of the Empire, we have also the markets of practically a third of the world open to our trade and commerce, and, above all pecuniary and material considerations, we enjoy unparalleled opportunities of commerce throughout the English-speaking world.

And now I come to an absolutely higher plane of thought. The time has now passed by when nations should still remain cribbed, cabined, and confined by narrow patriotic ideals. With the inauguration of the League of Nations, the world has opened a new chapter of international co-operation and of universal peace and prosperity. Parochial and patriotic ideals have been swept off the board everywhere only to be replaced by loftier sentiments, and even the vision of "self-determination" has been merged in the wider outlook of the concerted development of the human race. Internationalism and cosmopolitanism are the cries of the world to-day, the late European War having clearly shown that the world is too small a place for nations to fight with each other without serious risks to the culture and civilization of all. The Hindus of old in their self-contained hamlets on the banks of the Indus, the Ganges, or the Jumna, had realized, after centuries of bitter struggle and conflict, as the European nations are doing to-day, that the human mind could not develop to its proper stature with mere tribal, communal, or patriotic ideals. For man to grow to his full height, he must accept the brotherhood of the species as an abiding faith and extend his love to all corners of the earth. Absorption, assimilation, and love of man, and all sentient beings, including the botanical creation, became the outstanding features of Indian culture and civilization long before Christ was born. This ideal constituted the glory and pride of ancient India. What has happened to us in this new era of the world to justify a reactionary departure from the ancient ideals and aims of our life? If we have been a decadent people for so many centuries, is it necessary that we should try to go back upon our own culture and imitate the vulgar materialism of a commercial world? "Forward," and not "backward," should be the living principle of every social organism, and India, if it is to live and thrive, must be prepared to move "forward."

I think I have now been able to make my position clear as to why the ample folds of the British Empire offer us the realization of a satisfactory scheme of "Swaraj." To me,

who has been a careful student of Indian affairs for close upon a quarter of a century, the future ideal government in India is a federal commonwealth working as a limb of the English-speaking League of Nations. The federal units (or the provinces) of India will have to be developed on the lines of the United States of America, under certain restrictions and limitations, as have been imposed by the Central Government at Washington. Each Federal State shall have sovereign powers to deal with its domestic affairs, but none allowed to interfere with or encroach upon the independence and autonomy of the neighbouring States or raise tariff walls against each other. Each of these States shall raise its own revenues from certain defined sources and spend them as they please, the Central Government being allowed to draw its revenues from residuary sources. The Army and Navy, Railways, Customs, and Income Tax may continue to be Imperial subjects as they are at Washington, and now at Simla. The Government of India will act as the link between the people of India and the British Parliament and the Empire beyond. To me the best form of an Indian Swaraj would be a development on these lines. And this development is only possible so long as we retain our connection with the British Empire. No purely Indian hegemony is suitable for a congeries of decadent and dis-united Asiatic States.

The Government of India Act of 1919 is a notable advance towards this federal development, and, if the provinces progress and pull together in the meantime, it will not take India a long time to get to her national goal. On this line must we proceed in the future, and on this line only may we attain the only Swaraj which India can think of and retain without much struggle. This ideal will not only mean peace with the British, but peace with all our neighbours—a new life reconstructed on love and “ahimsa,” and not on hate and vindictiveness. Co-operation with all; non-co-operation with none. Absorption, assimilation, and inclusiveness, as against the spirit of boycott, non-co-operation, elimination, and exclusiveness—that would be the nearest approach, not only to the ancient Indian ideal, but also to the future world-internationalism. In that ideal only, not only India, but all nations of the world in the future, will find their destiny.

It is difficult to understand Mr. Gandhi's mentality, for he thinks that India can only live up to her culture and make peace and friends with the Englishman and the Western people through the practice of non-co-operation.

In a recent article in *Young India*, Mr. Gandhi elaborates the proposition in the following quaint manner:

"I consider it to be one of the gentlest practices of ethical conduct. It and it alone can pave the way for a genuine understanding between Englishmen and Indians; it and it alone can promote, if anything can, real friendship between the East and the West. It and it alone can enable India to realize the full height of her own unique culture. In spite of many appearances to the contrary, I see the day coming when Englishmen and Indians will come to regard one another as friends and fellow-workers."

I have never been a close student of philosophy in all my life, and, therefore, it is not within my competence to interpret philosophical paradoxes. In this bad and mad world of ours, sometimes good may come out of evil, but I have never known of cases when peace and love, amity and concord, have logically followed or suddenly developed out of acute differences and conflicts. However, in my scheme of the future development of the Indian Constitution, there is no room for miracles and paradoxes, and none of my readers need have any misgivings or any doubt as to why I consider co-operation as the sovereign remedy of our present national distemper, and how I look forward to it as the solvent of our future destiny.

In the above pages I have tried to establish that the idea of "Swaraj" without the British is chimerical moonshine, and that India can only work out her salvation under the ægis of the British Crown, and that not through non-co-operation, but through co-operation alone, can she restore her ancient culture and work out her future destiny. I have also discussed at length the kind of government which could satisfy the pride, patriotism, and self-respect of India, and this brings me to the very important question of the chances of a federal union realizing the ideal of an all-India national Swaraj. The question has indeed many facets, and no man can discuss them adequately within the purview of a short article. It may be quite possible that a federal ideal may be antagonistic for a short time to a united national ideal, but, with a country so vast and so illimitable as India, it is not possible for one single government to bring into line the development of so many different provinces and areas, with such a heterogeneous medley of race, creed, and speech. No human government can think of bringing so many different elements of culture and civilization—from the highly intellectual Brahmin to the semi-nude hillmen of the Garo Hills and Nilgris—to a uniform standard of life and administra-

tion, merely at its bidding ; and so long as there are such acute differences between man and man as there exist in India, the country has to be divided into convenient administrative and ethnic units. The present provincial boundaries may be arbitrary and may have to be altered, and the progress of all these units directed to a common purpose.

In spite of the lack of an administrative homogeneity or uniformity, which a federal scheme of government may tend to develop, India cannot think of any other scheme of national development which will meet the political aspirations of her people. No revolutionary or constitutional short cuts will take all her peoples together to a common goal at a given time. Whether we like it or not, we have no other alternative. So the ideal of an Indian "Swaraj" must after all resolve itself into so many different Provincial "Swarajes," with "self-determination" as their motto if you like, but certainly under a sovereign overlord. A united Indian Swaraj does not come into practical politics at least for some time to come. At the same time, it must not be overlooked that if we have a dominating Central Government, directing the affairs of the provinces to a common purpose, and if we have common speech, laws, and ideals, if a community of interest and a high general standard of patriotism is maintained in the press and the platform throughout the country, if interprovincial communications will always remain easy, and if no tariffs are raised by province against province—then perhaps the federal idea will not in the long run antagonize the ideal of a national "Swaraj."

Here again, as in many other matters, we must know our limitations and take facts as they are. Providence has not given India a clean slate to write her destiny. We must not ignore the fact that we are a congeries of different peoples thrown together in a huge continent, almost as large as Europe without Russia. Even in the United Kingdom, with all its apparent homogeneity of people and a common basis of speech, blood, and religion, a movement has been started to have a federal system of commonwealth, with Scotland, England, and Wales as so many different self-governing units. I will not mention the case of Ireland, for by the time this article appears in print she may possibly be making a final bid for separation from the Empire. The South African Union, Canada, and Australia are also very much built up on the federal idea ; so also are the constitutions of Germany and the United States. The poet's dream

of the "Federation of Man" is after all no Utopia, and stands a great chance of materialization at no distant future through the willing federation of all individual countries, states, and nations of the world. India has, therefore, no reason to turn her back upon that ideal, as ultimately the only way to push the progress of the human race is for nations to enter into a federation with each other. That way lies the salvation of mankind.

I will now conclude. I fully realize the fact that the status of Dominion Home Rule or our connection with England may not be the last word on the subject of our future government. British rule may be credited with many of the evils of our present-day life—our lost arts and industries, the replacement of our stable and metallic coins by a fickle and unsteady paper currency, our high prices and general indigence, our enfeebled physique and incapacity to resist the germs of plague, cholera, malaria, and hook-worm, the abandonment of a life of plain living and high thinking, the growing habit of living beyond means, and the new struggle to keep up an exaggerated standard of appearances, our intellectual dead level, our revolting ideas of private, public, and commercial morality, our Penal Code, Evidence Act, and "lawyer government," and our divorce from the realities of an old-world life—but no one will deny that, working in so many different ways, and with such steadfast pertinacity, it has turned a chaos into a nation and awakened in Indian mankind the faculty of reasoning, which had lain dormant since the days of Gautama Buddha—dispelled the darkness, ignorance, and superstition of centuries, and relaxed the galling conditions of domestic and social tyranny that had, from the days of Manu onwards, ground our manhood, taught us the inestimable blessings of liberty, freedom, and social and political equality, emancipated our womenfolk and untouchable classes beyond recognition, like Prometheus unbound, turned vast arid tracts into fertile soil, waving with golden harvest, and has, above everything, brought us into line with other civilized nations of the earth, through the magic influence of a press, platform, and common laws and speech, and the widespread currency of common thoughts and aspirations, given effect to by cheap postage, the ubiquitous telegraphic wire, and forty thousand miles of railways made possible by British capital and British enterprise. Whatever the character of the British Government be, and whatever evils it may have wrought in India, it would be "satanic" to snap our connection with it, after all that it

has done to make a nation of us and to get us out of the rut of a medieval world to place us in the position of a well-developed modern State.

And this must be recognized, that, if we keep our link with the British Empire, we are bound to march forward along with its future development. It is impossible to dip into a remote future and cast a long horoscope of India's political destiny. But, so far as my vision goes, I cannot think of a brighter, a more assured, and a more cheerful prospect for my Motherland than for her to march along with the other parts of the British Empire shoulder to shoulder to take her place in the sun.

THOUGHTS ON THE INDO-AMERICAN SITUATION

BY RUSTOM RUSTOMJEE

To understand clearly the Indo-American situation in all its ramifications one must bear in mind two or three fundamental facts about America and Americans. America is not a country, but a congeries of States and communities which compose that mighty republic, with different climates, different traditions, and different degrees of civilization. The Americans are not a nation, but a combination of nations. The people of the New England States are as different from those of the middle western States as the people of England are different from those of Spain. The people inhabiting the eastern States are diametrically different from those that live on the Pacific slope. Taking the whole population of America for our purpose, they can be roughly divided into three chief sections. The much-travelled, thoughtful, cultured people, sprung from the loins of Great Britain, and with a stake in the country, are anxious to cultivate amicable relations with the British. They appreciate the civilizing work carried on by what they call the "Mother Country" in all parts of this earth, and they realize fully the difficulties that at the present time confront Great Britain in the administration of her far-flung colonies, dependencies, and protectorates. On the other extreme stand the hyphenated masses of unasimilated Americans, composed of people of Irish descent, who are more Irish than American, and of German descent, who love Germany more than America, except those who had migrated to the United States before the Franco-German war. These people are out-and-out anti-British in their sentiments, and hostile to the progress and

stability of the British Empire. During the war they left no stone unturned to keep America out of the great crusade against German military autocracy, and at the present time are doing their very best not only to drive a wedge between the two great sections of the English-speaking people—I mean those of the United States of America and of the British Empire—but are aiding and abetting those who are seeking to disrupt the commonwealth of British nations called the British Empire, and to aggravate and complicate the British situation and British problems in all quarters of the globe.

Midway between these two great sections are the teeming masses of men and women of foreign descent, who are intensely parochial in their sentiments and outlook, and care nothing for what is going on outside their narrow sphere of life and activity. But even these people, I regret to say, are beginning to be affected by the virus of anti-British propaganda that has been so strenuously and extensively carried on all over the United States of America.

After much travelling and a prolonged stay in the United States of America I have come to the conclusion that the headquarters of the arch-conspirators against Great Britain are the United States of America, located in such cities as New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco, and the poisonous and mischievous work has not left even the great Dominion of Canada untouched and unaffected. About two years ago it was my painful duty to attend a meeting called for the purpose of inaugurating a league of oppressed nationalities. I naturally supposed that there would be representatives of the coloured people of America, of the Philippine Islands, of Algeria and Morocco, of the Dutch East Indies, together with, of course, representatives from the so-called oppressed of Ireland, Egypt, and India. But what did I find at the meeting? It was composed mostly of American Bolsheviks and Irish-American Sinn Feiners, and among the speakers were an Irish-American,

a Russian, an Italian, an Indian, a Persian, an Egyptian, a Chinese, and a Japanese, and the burden of their song was the oppression of Great Britain in their respective countries; and when the chairman declared the proclamation of a general strike in Great Britain, men and women, numbering more than four thousand, cheered the statement that the British Empire was at an end with such enthusiasm and unanimity as I had never witnessed at any other meeting, and when the names of Lenin and Trotsky were mentioned, the applause was so vociferous and clamorous that I thought the roof of the Lexington Opera House, where the meeting was held, had come down. But I see the dawn of a better day. The United States of America has, at the present time, at the helm of foreign affairs a man of unimpeachable integrity, sound common sense, wide experience, and consummate statesmanship—I refer of course to Mr. Charles Evans Hughes. He understands the meaning of the anti-British propaganda carried on in the United States of America. He appreciates Great Britain's difficulties in all parts of the world, he realizes the importance of keeping intact the British Empire as a great bulwark of Western civilization, and I feel certain that he will not do anything that would lend encouragement to the anti-British agitators in America; he would do nothing to aggravate Great Britain's situation in Asia and Africa, but he will help her in her high ambition till the cause of justice and democracy covers the surface of the globe as the waters cover the seas.

Now a few words about the character and position of anti-British agitators from India who are carrying on an intensive and extensive propaganda throughout the United States of America. Everything that malevolence could invent and vituperation express has been resorted to by these Indian agitators to blacken the fair name of the British administrators of my country. The amazing indiscretions committed by two or three British officials in the Punjab in the spring of 1919 have been magnified into

British atrocities, and represented to the people of America as the methods of government carried on by the British rulers of India. The British-Indian Government is represented as a military autocracy equal to, if not worse than, the military autocracy that prevailed in the now defunct German Empire. India is represented as being kept under the heel of Great Britain by the maintenance of enormous British armies, and it is described as a country devastated by continuous famines, ravaged and pillaged by the exploiting Britons in the country.

The second fundamental fact that must be borne in mind is that up to the year 1914 the people of America knew little, and cared less, for India; their ignorance about the history of India, both before and after the establishment of British power in the country, of the habits and customs of the teeming millions of Indians, was profound; their sole knowledge was derived by the stories circulated and pictures presented by American missionaries of the people steeped in ignorance and superstition, ravaged by disease and starved to death by famines. But the splendid response of India to the call of Great Britain in the day of her distress; their willingness to sacrifice their all to maintain the British Empire, have done much to draw the attention of the American people to their cousins' possessions in the Far East. Taking advantage of the desire to know more about India, the anti-British elements gathered together their forces to misrepresent Great Britain's work in the country, and many an Indian was led to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage of German gold. Small groups of Indians were formed all over the United States of America to help the German agents in their propaganda in order to create bad blood against Great Britain, and to foster sentiments of friendship towards Germany, and up to the advent of America in the struggle against the militarism of Germany these Indian revolutionaries were allowed to carry on their nefarious work without let or hindrance, but as soon as America threw down the gauntlet on the side of the Allies strong measures were taken to checkmate the anti-British

propaganda and to round up pro-German Indian revolutionaries. A large number of Indians were tried by American judges, before American juries, and were found guilty of breaking the laws of the Republic. They were incarcerated in American prisons and earmarked for deportation, but after the Armistice they were let loose all over the country, and it is these men who are carrying on the nefarious work I have above described. I have deplored that a flabby sentimentalism should have got the better of sound reasoning and judicial decisions.

At the present moment the people of America are mainly interested in two of the movements now prevailing in India: the caste co-operation movement, and the movement inaugurated by Mr. Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, to prepare the various peoples of India to enjoy the full fruition of responsible government. The non-co-operation movement is, of course, hailed by the anti-British sections of the American people as the first step taken by India in the disruption of the Indian Empire. The anti-British section of the American Press has published hundreds of articles giving glowing accounts of the progress of Ghandi's non-co-operation movement. It is represented as the beginning of the end of the British rule in India all over the States. False reports of the renunciation of titles and honorary posts by more than 300,000 Indians, of legal practice of more than 35,000 Indian lawyers, the emptying of British schools and universities in my country, have been assiduously circulated! When these Indian writers were taken to task for disseminating lies about the progress of the movement, they unblushingly declared that their object was to draw the attention of the American people to India, truth or no truth.

When the movement was first started, even those Americans who were friendly to Great Britain seemed to appreciate Mr. Ghandi's motives and approve of his methods of non-violent non-co-operation; but they are beginning to see through the whole movement; they are beginning to realize that though the movement was origi-

ally started against British rule in India, it has assumed the form of a cleverly devised conspiracy against the progress of Western civilization. Ghandi's declarations that Western education had produced slave mentality amongst the Indian peoples, and his appeals to Indians to turn their back upon everything that was Western and to renounce the study of such sciences as geography, history, and chemistry, and his statements that hospitals and railways are breeders of sin, have filled the minds of thoughtful Americans with feelings of disgust, if not of contempt.

As for Mr. Montagu's reforms, the anti-British elements have left no stone unturned to represent them as being a sham and a fraud unworthy of Great Britain to give and India to receive; but the thoughtful sections of the American people are watching the new Constitution of India with the keenest interest. Men like ex-President William H. Taft have not hesitated to declare it as a piece of consummate statesmanship. The manner in which the reforms have been worked in India, the splendid co-operation between non-official and official members of Indian legislatures, the keen anxiety manifested by high British officials to do even a little wrong to themselves that the greatest good to the greatest number of the people of India may accrue by official self-abnegation, and the superb loyalty with which the rank and file of the British civil servants have worked to make the reforms a success, have produced a splendid impression among the thinking sections of the American people.

The appointment of one of England's wisest and noblest sons as the Viceroy of India has deepened that favourable impression, for Lord Reading has left in America a name second only to that of Lord Bryce, and the American people have not hesitated to declare that if the educated people of India refuse to note the advice, guidance, and sympathy Lord Reading has proffered, they are not worthy to enjoy the high destiny which the King in Parliament has declared to be their portion.

AN INTERVIEW WITH KING FAISAL OF IRAQ

BY CAPTAIN A. H. ROBERTS

(Late Political Officer in Iraq)

WHEN the Amir Faisal, son of King Hussain of Hedjaz, arrived in Basrah as the accredited candidate for the rulership of Mesopotamia, there was not much enthusiasm felt there for his cause. Even before Turkey entered the war, Basrah people considered that the progress of their wilayat (province) was retarded by its connection with the central government, and there was a movement on foot to break away from the rest of the Iraq and form it into a separate state under a ruler chosen from among the leading local Arab families.

The Turkish Government became aware of the plot and sent one of their best administrators to Basrah to investigate. Their agent met his death by assassination just when he had succeeded in his search and had the proofs in his hands.

The spirit of Basrah is the same to-day, and it will take much of the tact and charm that King Faisal admittedly possesses, and some years of equitable government, to reconcile its inhabitants to their new lot.

Basrah people have benefited to a much greater degree than the rest of the Iraq from our occupation of the country, and they consider—rightly or wrongly remains to be seen—that they would be better off as a separate state under British protection than as a part of the new Iraq Government.

The above is intended to show one of the obstacles the Amir has to overcome in his endeavour to set up a new State. It is characteristic of the Amir that in spite of that feeling he made friends wherever he went in Basrah, and created a good impression in the community by his frank and open manner and well-chosen speech. He met with the same success in the Shia strongholds of Nejf and Kerbela, which he visited on his way to Baghdad.

The Amir should have arrived in Baghdad at 7 a.m. on June 29, but a breakdown on the line delayed the train. There is a story connected with the accident that is worth

relating here as an instance of the mentality of the present-day Baghdadi. The breakdown itself was simple enough. A violent sandstorm had taken place the day before and completely blocked the line thirty miles south of Baghdad at a place named Khan Aswad. The station-master wired to Baghdad for assistance. The telegraph messenger, in delivering the copies of the telegram to the officials concerned, left that of the executive engineer to the last, and before delivering it, paid a visit to the servant of another official. He there got into trouble, was arrested by the police, and taken to the lock-up. He forgot to mention that he had the undelivered telegram in his pocket, and it was overlooked by the police, with the result that no assistance was sent to clear the line, in time, and the Amir and his suite were obliged to spend a hot summer's day in a stuffy railway carriage.

Baghdad West station is situated, as its name indicates, on the western side. It is about a thousand yards from the town and river, near the terminus of the Baghdad line built by the Germans. The Amir arrived there at 6 p.m. apparently none the worse for his adventure. He was met at the station by H.E. the High Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, the Commander-in-Chief, General Haldane, a number of Government officials, and all the leading notables of Baghdad. A guard of honour of the Royal Berkshire Regiment was drawn up on the platform. The road leading to the station was lined with Arab Mounted Levies and Boy Scouts.

King Faisal has been busy from the moment he arrived in the Iraq preparing the minds of the many different communities to accept him as their king. It has been no easy task, for he was unknown to the people, who, for the most part, resented having thrust upon them a son of the King of Mecca, to whom they owed no allegiance.

He received me, as usual, very cordially, and on learning that I was leaving Baghdad for home, entered at once into the object of my visit, which was to obtain his views on the situation of the country and his plans for its future under his rule.

King Faisal was dressed in the picturesque robes and headdress of his countrymen. In stature he is well above the average, and slim in build. He has a long face, prominent nose, greyish eyes, and a small, well-trimmed brown beard. He is endowed with extraordinary personal charm, and his earnest manner and quick alert gestures impress one favourably. He is an early riser, and, like

most Orientals, gets through the important work of the day during the cool hours of the morning. It speaks well for his character that he has been able to put aside the traditional evasiveness of his race, and acquired a European sense of the value of prompt action and punctuality. He came to the point without any preamble. We spoke in Arabic.

The Amir started by recounting his impressions of the country as he found it. I put them in his own words: "I am profoundly disappointed in my expectations as to the state of the country, especially in regard to agricultural progress, education, and construction, both public and private. I was surprised to find that no progress had been made in agriculture since the Arab invasion, and that the magnificent irrigation works that then existed had disappeared, leaving hardly a trace of their former greatness.

"I had no idea that the mass of the population was illiterate to such an extent that it was difficult to find enough suitable men to occupy the subordinate posts in Government offices, and that men of technical ability were practically non-existent.

"I was not prepared to find that the whole of the Iraq to-day could not boast of a single public building or construction of Arab design and make, and that the descendants of the Persians and others who had made the buildings that were once the glory of ancient Baghdad had lost the cunning of their forefathers through lack of encouragement and demand upon their rich resources of talent.

"I foresee that much money and labour is required to repair the waste of energy and material of those lost centuries. I hope to establish a firm government under the tutelage of the British nation, to which I look as a child to its mother. I fully realize that without British aid it will be impossible for the Iraq to make even the first step towards regeneration. If that assistance is withheld, the country will inevitably fall a prey to internal dissensions, and Baghdad and Basrah, as well as the smaller provincial towns, will again have to throw up fortifications to protect them from marauding tribes. I am of opinion that without help from some Power strong enough to protect us from outside enemies and to aid us financially the Iraq must inevitably fall into a state lower than any that has yet befallen it in the whole of its chequered history. But I feel assured of your support, which will suffice to keep out exterior enemies. I am confident in our ability to raise a

local army, sufficient in strength and quality to compel unruly tribesmen to respect the Central Government, and anticipate no serious trouble from that quarter. Once an Arab government, holding the confidence of the country, is firmly established, industry and commerce will revive. There is much money in the country, especially in Baghdad and Basrah. Hundreds of local tradesmen who now hide their money will put it into circulation once the future of the country is guaranteed.

"With regard to improvements in education, I think we can do no better than follow the course laid down by you, which has already produced such good effects.

"In order to advance agriculture, irrigation schemes on a very large scale, necessitating a considerable outlay of money, are necessary. I am confident of being able to procure money for that purpose, and make an early start with some of the excellent projects already planned.

"The development of construction is dependent upon the material prosperity of the country. It can be greatly accelerated by the cheapening of building material, and with that in view it is intended to hasten the construction of the railway line already mapped out from Baghdad to the Mediterranean Sea. I place this railway in the first line of our projects for restoring the Iraq to its former greatness. Pending completion of the railway, we mean to have a road constructed along the route of the proposed line, and open up communications at once with the sea by means of motor transport. There are certain difficulties to be met with, such as water provision and the security of the road from Beduin raiders, but we do not consider them to be in any way insurmountable. We shall find means to bring the Beduin tribes of the desert to understand that their co-operation in such a scheme will be of benefit to them."

Referring to criticisms that had lately appeared in the French Press, the Amir authorized me to state that his policy is to work in complete harmony with French interests wherever they affect him, that he is, and always has been, a friend of France. It grieves him to see that he is misunderstood, but he is determined that, whatever happens, nothing shall ever make him commit an act of violence against that great nation.

The Amir was proclaimed King on August 23 with the almost unanimous approval of the nation. Although he would never have been elected without our support, it is only fair to say that he has scored a great personal success,

and has already gone a long way towards convincing the nation that he is worthy of its confidence. A marked change has already been produced in Basrah by the public speeches made by King Faisal in Baghdad soon after his arrival there. His utterances were characterized by a spirit of liberality, breadth of view, and religious tolerance that was particularly pleasing to the people of that town. For there is no town in the whole East where religious differences are so little in evidence as Basrah. There Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans fraternize together freely in the business, public, and social life of the town, and all sects take an equal part in the administration of it. All the business-men of the city, without distinction of class or religion, congregate together in the great central square every evening at sundown to drink coffee and discuss the affairs of the day, and the dominant note is an intense local patriotism.

The King's speeches show him to be animated with an ardent and sincere desire to restore the Iraq to its former glory. He appealed to all classes of the community to sink their differences of race and religion and think of themselves as Iraqis first. He asked them all to join with him in working for the welfare of the new state. He promised that the future government should be democratic in every sense of the word, and that hard work and ability would be the only roads to recognition and advancement. He said that having thrown off the yoke of the oppressor, all the people of the Iraq were now anxious to see their country independent and free to work out their national ideals. He promised them complete independence, security, and perfect freedom, and to every community, however small, full encouragement and help to develop on its own lines, provided they coincided with the welfare of the Iraq as a nation.

In a speech he delivered at the Chaldean Church, Baghdad, he asked for the confidence of that community in the following words, which are quoted from the *Times of Mesopotamia* of August 5, 1921: "Allow me to say this: For 700 years the Iraq has been under foreign rule, changing from one despotism to another, until it has reached its present condition. For every 200 years of past misrule, give me one year; come to me at the end of four years and I will give you an account of my stewardship." These were strong words, but I firmly believe that if he lives he is capable of carrying them out, provided the British Government stands firm as his supporter.

For it must be understood that neither Faisal nor any candidate would stand a chance of being nominated King of Iraq without our support.

What we should now avoid at all costs is a further change of policy. The Arab cannot by nature think in the abstract; he is a child in that respect, and people who have dealings with him must be mindful of that fact if they wish to gain his confidence. Speeches and promises do not move him. He bases his judgment purely upon acts. We have now an opportunity of regaining his lost confidence in us. We had the complete confidence of the Arabs of Mesopotamia up to the date of the Armistice. If we had then done what we are now doing, that is, set up a government in accordance with our declared principle of self-determination, compatible with the economical condition of the country, and giving full play to national aspirations, there would, perhaps, not have been a revolution in Iraq.

We alienated the Arabs of the river area by not giving to those Iraqians who were qualified by past experience, and entitled by the positions they had held in the former administration of the country, to hold important posts, a place in our administration; and, in many cases, raising men who had held inferior posts, or none, in the Turkish Administration to positions of confidence and trust.

The excuse put forward that we did not know what the future state of the country was to be, that we had to wait for the verdict of the Peace Conference before we could set up a local government of any form, was untenable from their point of view, because they considered that there was much more justification for putting up a provisional government in the form of a Council made up of representatives of the people than there was for setting up an expensive administration on a financial scale that the country could not support.

There were many men in Mesopotamia who had held important offices under the Turkish Administration, and were well fitted and disposed to work under us. These men saw their places being filled by an ever-increasing number of young officers, among whom were men who, although picked out for their good qualities, lacked administrative experience, knowledge of the language, people, and country. It was inevitable that such officers, through inexperience, should be at the mercy of sycophants, who made it impossible for honest men to get a hearing, with the result that free expression of opinion through proper channels was, in their districts, almost entirely suppressed.

When the revolution broke out there were no Arabs in the administration occupying positions that would qualify them to proffer advice. It was the men who might have occupied such positions who fomented the troubles and eventually brought about the revolution which cost us such an enormous amount in lives, money, and prestige.

The wells of speech lie deep down in the heart. Sympathy alone will attract confidence. You cannot know a people until you know that people's language. To learn it is to acquire a new soul, for it is to see all things from a different view-point, and the more different the language, the more different the point of view.

All our administrators should always remember the above in their dealings with eastern races. The Arab in particular is quick to respond to sympathy and confidence, especially from Englishmen in whom he has learnt to trust. On the other hand, he is quick to recognize the man who is out to outwit him, and will either retire completely, or use flattery and deceit to gain his ends, according to his individual temperament. That is the type of man we have to deal with in Mesopotamia. It will take much to regain his trust in us, but it can be done by supporting the present Iraq State as we have promised.

None is better fitted to represent us in Mesopotamia than the present High Commissioner, who, as far as he is himself concerned, has the entire confidence of every man in that country. "Kaks," as the Arabs call him, is known and revered in every household.

THE NEW FRENCH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT BILL

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

ON April 12, 1921, M. Albert Sarraut, Minister for the Colonies, presented to the Chamber of Deputies the draft of a Bill to establish a general programme of policy for the French Colonies. This project has entailed considerable labour. It lays down the essential principles of French Colonial policy, establishes a precise and detailed inventory of the resources of France beyond the seas, and outlines the measures which it is proposed to adopt and the works which it is necessary to undertake in order to mobilize the resources of the French Colonies. The preamble of the Bill which sets out the motives of the project is of very great importance, because it constitutes as it were a Magna Charta for the French Colonies, and defines in a clear and precise manner the policy which France intends to follow with regard to her overseas possessions. After the period of conquest, it declares, there follows the period of development for the occupied regions. "The hour has come when it has become necessary to substitute a general and precise policy for ill-defined and isolated measures." There has been enough of uncertainty and confusion in the process of developing the French Colonies; it is expedient to-day that we should unravel the tangled skein of complicated principles and set up a programme which will serve as a guide and direction for future development. This is an important duty for France, and, paradoxical though it may seem, victorious France of to-day must now make an effort by no means less vigorous than that undertaken by the defeated France

of 1870; the situation she has to face is the same, except that she has to mourn even more of her dead, reconstruct more ruins, and shoulder a financial burden still more crushing. However, the picture has also a brighter side to it. Whereas fifty years ago "France was only able to re-establish herself from her own resources, she finds to-day all her young and active Colonies affectionately pressing around her eager to help her in her effort."

The Colonies have for a long time been considered a costly fantasy which was at the best a hobby for a great nation. This legend persisted until the outbreak of the Great War. Now, however, even the most obstinate must open their eyes to facts that speak for themselves: 835,000 French subjects crossed the seas to defend the Mother Country; the subscriptions from the possessions under the control of the Minister of the Colonies surpassed 600,000,000 francs. To this must be added the very numerous subscriptions contributed on behalf of war charities. Lastly, in spite of submarines, 2,500,000 tons of material were transported to France by her Colonies during the period of hostilities.

This help, which no one in his wildest dreams would have thought possible, might have been still greater if the riches which remain undeveloped in Indo-China, Africa, Madagascar, and the French Islands of the Pacific had been exploited in a business-like manner. Now, however, France has determined to give more attention to her Colonial domains, and place them in a position in which they can co-operate effectively in repairing the damage and the losses of the Mother Country.

The development of her Colonies is, perhaps, the most important task for France apart from the German danger. As M. Sarraut points out: "Whilst great undertakings in the Mother Country can only contribute towards the *increase* of production, the development of the Colonies would lead to the *creation* of production by introducing riches which have not been as yet exploited, but are

available as soon as they are made accessible. In fact, with a smaller financial effort far greater economic results can be achieved in the Colonies than in the Mother Country, for it is less difficult to obtain supplies from fresh fields than to increase production where cultivation is already intensive.

But M. Albert Sarraut is not only animated by a desire which every landowner should feel in developing his estates. He also feels that hand in hand with the economic development of the French Colonies must be sought the social development of their inhabitants. Thus he is not only proposing a plan for economic development, but "a general mobilization of resources in which material benefits are closely allied with moral, political, intellectual, and social improvement." In this manner he rejects the ancient policy of the "Colonial pact" by which the Mother Country was able to exploit her Colonies without reference to whether they were being exhausted, prohibited every local effort which had for its object the manufacture of raw materials, and considered the indigenous inhabitants only as labour for harvesting these products. M. Sarraut raises the old conception of mercantile exploitation to the high aims of human solidarity. "France must develop her Colonies for her own advantage—that is agreed, but also for the benefit of the world at large. If these territories and their resources cannot be developed by the indigenous population without assistance, the profit from them would be lost to the natives themselves, as well as to humanity in general. The French protectorate has the task of increasing, not only material wealth, but also, and above all, the wealth of human intelligence, the moral and social talents of the races under her charge."

By this definition Colonial expansion is no longer based on the "right of the stronger," but on the "right of the stronger to help his weaker brother." Thereby M. Albert Sarraut keeps within the true traditions of French Colonial policy introduced by Champlain, Montcalm, Dupleix, and

in more recent times by Francis Garnier and Paul Bert in Indo-China, de Brazza in the Congo, and de Galliéni in Madagascar, not to mention administrators who are still among the living. France cannot do otherwise than undertake this civilizing mission. In the first place it has become a moral necessity on account of the proclamation that has been made to the effect that Germany is unfitted to possess colonies. Moreover, France's own security demands it. M. Le Myre de Villers said in 1901 : " The defence of the Colonies must be regarded far more a question of administration and policy towards the inhabitants than a military problem." The French people have been encouraged to emigrate and build up their future in distant lands ; we must in return guarantee their security, the blessings of peace, the confidence which it is necessary for them to feel in order to enable them to begin their work without fear amid an indigenous population. They must be treated in a just and liberal manner in order to encourage their labour, which is the *sine qua non* of Colonial development. Their labour cannot be efficient unless medical arrangements are well organized, and its quality depends on education.

Again, we must have a more extensive system of instruction. By these means the ranks of the indigenous officials can be filled, and at the same time the native chiefs, while remaining at their posts, will be able to fit themselves for their duties. They form an indispensable link in the system for controlling the rank and file. All education must be of a practical character. Its economic utility must always be kept in view. But that consideration ought not to prevent us from " establishing an upper class among the natives, selected by the proof of capacity. They should be granted special facilities to fit themselves for the higher spheres of knowledge and general development." The encouragement of education, far from compromising the power of the protecting Mother Country, is calculated, on the contrary, to furnish it with a more solid basis. M. Sarraut writes : " The real truth of the matter, proved up to

the hilt by past experience, is that a Government is far more exposed to disorders amongst an ignorant population on which a handful of agitators can exercise an unhappy influence, than when it has to deal with a people who, thanks to the instructions they have received, are able to distinguish between the propaganda of unreasoning fanatics and the counsels of representatives who are well informed.

The French Colonial Minister therefore is planning the development of education, and wishes thereby to make the natives eligible for administrative posts. Nevertheless, he rejects the "policy of assimilation." He declares that general naturalization "would be a profound error." The fact is that we must enlarge the actual basis of naturalization, and make it our aim to grant to those natives who are not French citizens a large extension of their political rights in their native status. We must realize that the evolution of the indigenous population under the guardianship of France must follow the lines of their own civilization, their own traditions, and their native institutions. These it is our task not to destroy, but to improve and develop by the penetration of our own civilization. Consequently what we must do is to increase indigenous representation in such a way that the candidates elected by the natives collaborate smoothly with the French authorities, and share with them in the light of native opinion the responsibility of Government.

Such a programme postulates a process of decentralization which furnishes Colonial Government with a wider autonomy and puts an end to what used to be known as "government by cable." Fears are entertained in certain quarters that the Colonial Government might abuse the generous extension of power which is to be accorded them. But France has a good safeguard from that danger, thanks to the periodical missions of Inspectors of Colonies, who are granted powers of thorough investigation, and who thereby give us a reliable guarantee. M. Sarraut goes so far as to consider that Delegations of Senators and

Deputies would be a profitable institution, as they would from time to time traverse all the Colonies in rotation. Thereby all territories would be submitted to the control of the representatives of the nation every two, three, or four years. The power entrusted to Colonial Governments would thus be under supervision, and possible excesses would be prevented by the vigilance of the Minister himself, of Parliament, and of Local Assemblies. That power would then, without any danger arising, secure liberty of action to arbitrate upon and solve all the great problems where the interests of France and of her Colonies must needs be happily blended. But the power of initiative must be left with the Governor once the essential lines of France's general policy in her Colonial domain have been satisfactorily laid down.

But is it true to say that these projects of autonomy and this scheme of modern education for the indigenous inhabitants has for its ultimate aim the preparation of independence for the Colonies? If so, it may be asked, of what use is it to develop countries which must inevitably be lost to us? M. Sarraut finds no embarrassment in replying to these pessimistic reflections. This is what he says: "Administrative autonomy for the Colonies no more means secession than regionalism and decentralization in France mean separation." In both cases National Unity remains undisturbed. The indigenous inhabitants know only too well what would happen to them if secession from the Mother Country were to take place. Their incapacity to govern themselves would bring about civil war, and they would fall into the hands of a Power which would perhaps turn out to be far more severe. Let us take a striking example. Without French sovereignty Indo-China would cease to exist, and become lost in groups of different peoples all more or less hostile to each other.

But let us go so far as to admit that the day will come when the French Colonies will resume their whole independence from the Mother Country. Even then, M. Sarraut

declares with emphasis, there is no reason for us to slacken our ardour in the high duties which our protectorate imposes upon us in our relations with these countries. Their future has been entrusted to us. Is it not in itself a glory for France to promote wherever she stands the strength and liberty of other races? It would prove to be no mean advantage for us to have created beyond the seas States where the language, the tradition, the lessons, the memory, and the very soul of France live on. Should it be accounted as nothing that the Mother Country has obtained the best results, and forged with her children, now grown to manhood, durable links of gratitude and common interest, together with economic and political relations, which will ensure that France retains her privileged position without having to bear the previous burdens of finance and responsibility.

M. Albert Sarraut has drawn up in definite terms France's general policy towards her Colonies. He has used the experiences of the past to draw up the laws for the present and the future. There is nothing in his programme which can be described as contrary to the traditions of France—traditions which are liberal, and dispense liberalism. With a stroke of the pen he banishes moral and economic slavery. The largeness of his political outlook invests him with a special authority to intervene where racial questions play perhaps the most important rôle.

At Washington he is the mouthpiece of France in all that concerns her Colonial policy; and particularly is he the spokesman of 18,000,000 inhabitants of Indo-China, whom he has governed for many years, and led in the paths of civilization with safety and confidence. He is an orator, but he is also a man of action. There can be no doubt that at the proper moment the words that will fall from his lips will be words of pacification and concord, of which the statesmen there present will stand in great need. Nor will he fail to give to France the rôle of mediator,

which is so befitting to her, for she loves her children equally, be they white or coloured, and she will accomplish with loyalty and sincerity the task of civilization which she has undertaken.

It is worthy of remark that both England and France at the same time—namely, at the commencement of a war which became “a rising of the peoples” (for to such an extent has it galvanized their energies)—should have thought of defining their attitude towards their Colonies which have in both cases given such powerful assistance during the dark hours of the great struggle. The programme of M. Sarraut, which draws up the lines of the economic and moral development of the French Colonies, finds an English parallel in the Imperial Conference which united the Ministers of the Dominions and the Delegates from India.

From this fact we can only draw the conclusion that England and France find themselves face to face with similar problems. They have decided to face them in a determined and loyal spirit rather than by shutting their eyes to them and adopting the ostrich policy. Both Powers have examined the situation in all its complexity, and both have found a just solution, and one that is in harmony with the high ideals of civilization and equity, which these two great friends and Allies so conspicuously share.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE LEPER PROBLEM IN INDIA AND THE TREATMENT OF LEPROSY

BY THE REV. FRANK OLDRIEVE

THERE is a leper problem in India to-day. That is the first point to be stressed and appreciated.

Leprosy is a very old disease in the world, and all peoples have had a special horror of it. It is a chronic disease, produced by a specific germ known as the *Bacillus lepræ*, and it attacks both sexes, old and young, often producing loss of fingers and toes, in some cases a particularly disfiguring change of the features, as well as other signs and symptoms.

It is contagious—that is, it is passed on, directly or indirectly, by an infected to an uninfected person. Whether there is an intermediary carrier we do not yet know, but it is almost universally admitted that it is contagious. This fact has been most clearly recognized by the following Conferences:

1. The Berlin Conference of Leprologists (1897).
2. The Bergen Conference of Leprologists (1909).
3. The Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine (1910).
4. A French Commission of the Academy of Medicine (1914).
5. The Calcutta Conference of Leper Asylum Superintendents and Others (1920).

The disease has never been known to start *de novo* in any country. There has always been some sort of association with a leper before the disease is contracted. In the Philippines this was proved by Dr. Denny in 29 per cent.

of 10,000 cases examined, and in the Hawaiian Islands Dr. McCoy obtained admissions of association with other lepers in 37 per cent. of 1,060 cases, although there was a strong tendency to deny it for fear of their relatives being segregated.

Lepers are found in all parts of the Indian Empire. No one has travelled far in India without seeing lepers begging in public. They are seen—these poor miserable sufferers—creeping along the roads, lying by the wayside, gathering outside the temples, exposing their hideous sores and disfigurements, and begging for their food. They hobble along on crutches, they creep on their hands and knees, the blind among them are led—piteous sights that should move the hearts of all.

In all parts of the land one sees them—in the hills, by the sea, on the plains. In all climates they live, in the cold as well as in the heat. Among all classes they are found, a ruling Raja being a leper; rich as well as poor are afflicted, educated as well as uneducated. Young as well as old are cursed. Most of the lepers found in India are, of course, Indians, but there are quite a number of Anglo-Indians, and some Europeans, who have been smitten with this terrible scourge.

This, however, must be said—that, on the whole, it is a disease that is found among the poorer classes, and that it spreads most rapidly where there are insanitary conditions and where the people are not properly fed. Thousands of lepers in India can do nothing but beg, and they herd together in the large cities, where it is most easy to obtain money. About two years ago a census of lepers was taken in Calcutta, and it was found that there were then about 1,200 lepers living in the city. There were two large and several smaller colonies of them right in the middle of the most densely populated part of the Indian portion of the city. In some cases lepers engage in all kinds of work, handling food and clothing which is afterwards used by healthy people.

One of the saddest things connected with this problem is the fact that there are so many children lepers. In the asylums in India connected with the Mission to Lepers there are to-day about 250 children lepers, and wherever lepers congregate in numbers these poor stricken children may be seen. Pitiful sights, little blighted lives! Now, it is an accepted fact that *leprosy is not hereditary*, and these children need not have been lepers. They have become so because they have been allowed to live with leper parents or leper relatives. Had they been removed in early childhood from contact with lepers they might have grown up quite as healthy as ordinary Indian children.

Sir Leonard Rogers recently wrote: "In studying the statistics of leprosy I have been struck by the exceptional frequency of the development of the disease in the second decade of life, indicating an especial susceptibility to the disease at that period." After quoting figures taken from the records of the Molokai Leper Settlement, he says: "We conclude that nearly all the lepers apprehended up to the age of thirty were actually infected before they completed their twentieth year. These amount to 65 per cent., or practically two-thirds of the whole. Thus I arrive at the conclusion that children and young adults are specially susceptible to the disease, and ought, therefore, to be especially guarded against exposure to infection."

This, however, I much regret to have to say, is not done at all, and healthy children are almost everywhere allowed to live with their leper parents or relatives without anyone being able to hinder it. This fact must be borne in mind when we are considering the leper problem.

The following are the figures for India taken from the 1911 census, but officials and Indians who are competent to express an opinion believe that these figures are probably at least 50 per cent. below the actual number of lepers in the country. Some, indeed, have told me that they possibly represent half the actual number of lepers:

Province, etc.	Number of Lepers (1911 Census).	Number of Lepers per 100,000 of Population.
Bengal	17,485	75
Bihar and Orissa	16,935	94
Madras	16,648	82
United Provinces	14,500	59
Bombay	10,303	75
Central Provinces	7,307	91
Burma	7,038	116
Assam	4,372	122
Punjab	3,091	25
Central Indian Agency	1,288	28
Baroda State	445	43
Hyderabad State	3,758	56
Travancore State	—	65
Cochin State	—	101
Kashmir State	1,352	85
Mysore State	767	26
North-West Frontier Province	282	—
Etcetera	3,523	—
Grand total	109,094	—

Try and imagine what this means! About 200,000 lepers!

Suppose we could marshal all the lepers in India in a procession and make them pass before us? What a sight it would be!

We will let them pass at the rate of twelve a minute. On they would come, old and young, rich and poor, all types of people from all parts of India, a sorrowing, suffering, long, long line of the sick. We would sit and watch them pass from sunrise to sunset, twelve hours a day, and day after day we should have to sit. How many days would it take for the procession to pass? About twenty-one days, at twelve hours a day, and twelve lepers hobbling, crawling along every minute. What tragedy would be represented, what pathos! The sight, if it were possible to view such a procession, would be the most moving that human eye has ever looked upon. But although these poor people can never be seen thus, do not forget that all the same they *are* moving about India each day, and those

who are in health, and those who are in authority, are in some way responsible for their needs being met. And of all those who would pass before us only one in every twenty would come from an asylum or home.

IS LEPROSY SPREADING IN INDIA?

This is a matter in which it is most difficult to obtain reliable information. When the figures of the recent census are available we shall definitely know. I have myself, however, known several places in India where there was accurate information obtainable which proved that during the last ten years the number of lepers had considerably increased, and that not by an influx of lepers from other places, but where the healthy people had developed the disease in their own village, there having been in every case a leper or lepers from whom they had taken it.

That this is only too possible has been proved by sad experience in other lands. In the Sandwich Islands leprosy was noted for the first time among the aborigines in 1859. Soon after its presence was recognized the disease spread so rapidly that by the year 1865 there were 230 known lepers in a population of 67,000. By 1891 the native population, from various causes, had diminished to 44,432, and of these 1,500 were lepers—1 in 30.

In New Caledonia leprosy was unknown till 1865. It is supposed to have been introduced by a Chinaman, and the man was well known. Its rapid diffusion throughout the island can be, and has been, traced step by step. In 1888 lepers numbered 4,000.

In the Loyalty Islands the first case was seen in 1882, and in 1888, in the Island of Mare alone, there were 70 lepers.

Mr. J. Vas, I.C.S., Collector of Bankura, Bengal, reported to the Calcutta Conference last year as follows :

"At the census of 1911 the incidence of leprosy in the district was found to be 23 in 10,000—that is, the number of lepers was 2,617. The district was

visited last year by a severe famine, and relief operations on an extensive scale were undertaken. It was found that a large proportion of those who had to be relieved gratuitously were lepers, and in a census taken by my relief officers as many as 4,698 were enumerated. This estimate errs, if at all, on the side of under-estimate. But if this figure is accepted there has been an increase of 75 per cent. in nine years."

I would not like to hazard an opinion as to whether leprosy has spread, taking India as a whole, but it certainly has done so in some small areas. It is prevalent, possibly spreading, in India, and seeing that it is such a particularly loathsome disease, as much as possible should be done to stamp it out.

THE PROBLEM TO BE FACED

The real problem is how to rid India of leprosy, if that can possibly be done. Everyone wishes to see the peoples of India healthy and strong, and able to take up the burdens which will be laid on their shoulders as they face the governing of their own land, and therefore every effort should be made to get rid of such sicknesses as trouble the people. Can India be freed from the grip of leprosy?

In seeking to answer this question, one remembers that when the Roman Empire was at the height of its power leprosy spread to Europe, that it was present throughout Spain and France when the Moors swept up from the South, and it had become a common and familiar affliction in England even before the Norman Conquest. During the Middle Ages no country escaped the disease. With plague and smallpox it constituted the most fearful scourge of mediæval times, until rulers and clergy became alarmed at its rapid extension and terrible ravages, and instituted measures for its control. So widely spread was the infection that every considerable town had its institution or hospital in which the victims were segregated. In England the first of these was erected at Canterbury in 1006, and

throughout Europe there were probably 20,000 leprosaria. In Great Britain there were some 112, and more than 2,000 in France. The repressive measures were highly successful, and leprosy was practically stamped out of the progressive European countries.

Of course, it must also be borne in mind that as time passed the general conditions of living were bettered and the health of the generality of the people improved, which meant that the resistance to disease was increased. Yet, even if this is allowed, the disease would not have been almost entirely stamped out had not segregation been enforced.

HOW THE PROBLEM MAY BE SOLVED

If this problem *is* to be solved during our lifetime, and I make bold to say that it may be solved if we are in earnest in the matter, two courses must be followed :

1. The voluntary segregation of lepers must be encouraged, and the compulsory segregation of those lepers who will not segregate themselves, but who are a real source of danger to the community, must be enforced.

2. The treatment of the disease itself, which is to-day hopeful for early cases, must be improved as far as possible and brought within the reach of all who suffer from the disease, that they may have the chance of recovering if that is possible.

THE RESULTS OF SEGREGATION

As has already been stated, leprosy was stamped out of Europe largely as a result of segregation. But in addition to this we have three outstanding modern examples of what segregation will do if it is undertaken in a systematic manner.

The Hawaiian Islands.—Leprosy has been rife in these islands for many years, but segregation has been enforced, and we learn from a United States Senate Report that "Leprosy in Hawaii is relatively and actually on the

decline. This satisfactory result is primarily attributed to the effective plan of segregation at Molokai."

Norway.—The same Report says: "The results achieved in Hawaii find their parallel in Norway. Under a policy of segregation the leper rate has been gradually reduced"; and the following figures are given:

Year.	Lepers per 100,000 in Norway.	Lepers per 100,000 Segregated.	Percentage Segregated.
1856	191'3	15'7	8'2
1875	97'1	34'5	35'6
1885	61'9	27'0	43'5
1890	48'4	25'5	52'7
1895	33'3	17'4	52'2
1900	25'7	13'3	51'8
1905	20'4	10'9	53'4
1910	13'5	8'5	63'0

Philippine Islands.—Leprosy is being stamped out to-day by the United States Government in these Islands, where almost all the lepers in the Islands are segregated on the Island of Culion. It has been said: "When the U.S. took over the Philippines they found lepers everywhere. Dr. Victor Heiser, who was made Director of Public Health and held that position for twelve years, personally superintended the segregation of nearly 9,000 lepers in the Island of Culion, where they were given every possible comfort. At the present time (1920) there are only about 3,500 lepers, showing that of these nearly 9,000 lepers the rest have passed away according to the natural order of the disease, and the disease is practically inhibited in the Philippines."

The segregation of lepers, therefore, is a really practical step to take in dealing with the leper problem, and does result in the stopping of the spreading of the disease, so that it is quite a reasonable view to take that if all the lepers in India could be segregated in this and the following generations, and no lepers allowed to enter India and become new foci of the disease, leprosy could be stamped out of India within about thirty years.

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM BEING ATTEMPTED

A good deal is at present being done in India, and most of the work is on right lines and is making a real contribution towards the stamping out of leprosy.

In every province in British India, and in most of the Native States, there are one or more leper asylums. The following table gives the number of lepers in leper asylums in each province, as far as I have been able to collect statistics; also the percentage of lepers segregated in each province.

Province.	Number of Lepers in Asylums.	Percentage of Lepers in Asylums.
Central Provinces	1,405	19
Punjab	360	11
Bombay	1,059	10
Bihar and Orissa	1,436	8
United Provinces	891	6
Burma	530	6
Madras	939	5
Bengal	534	3
Assam	103	2

NOTE.—The number of inmates is for the year 1921, but it is compared with the only official figures we have of the number of lepers in the provinces—those of the 1911 census. It must be remembered that these latter figures are at least 50 per cent. below the actual number, so that to gain an estimate which is at all reliable we must halve the figures in Column 2.

Taking British India as a whole, we see that the average percentage of lepers segregated is 7·7 per cent. If we are correct in thinking that the 1911 census figures are 50 per cent. below the actual number, it means that only about 5 per cent. of the lepers in the provinces are cared for at all in asylums. I am sure we shall admit that this is not a satisfactory condition of affairs. A very much larger percentage ought to be cared for than 5 per cent. Admitted that many lepers are in a good position socially and able to look after themselves, and are not, perhaps, a great source of danger to those around them, yet a very

large proportion of the 95 per cent. uncared for are a very real menace to the health of the community, and an effort should be made to deal with them.

When we analyze the figures given above, and add in the number of lepers in Native State asylums, also those in the Government asylum in Ceylon and two or three others, we have the lepers distributed as follows :

Controlling Body.	Number of Asylums.	Number of Leper Inmates.	Average Number of Inmates.
Mission to Lepers	41	4,967	130
Municipal and Government, etc.	19	2,004	105
Native State	19	1,081	56
Various	15	838	55
Total number of asylums =	94	with 8,890 inmates, an average number of 94 lepers.	

This is not the place to speak at length of the various bodies doing leper work in India, but I think that, seeing that it does the major part of the leper work in India, mention ought to be made of the fact that the Mission to Lepers is an international and interdenominational organization which carries on leper work all over the world. The largest leper asylums in India are those connected with this Mission, and I have no hesitation in saying that the most successful in the country are those managed by those men and women connected with this Mission. It may be pointed out that the average number of lepers in the Mission to Lepers asylums is 130, while the average for the other asylums is 72, and I make bold to say that the larger the institution is, up to, say, a maximum of 500, the more economical and successful it is.

All Provincial Governments make both maintenance and building grants to institutions which are approved by the Government medical officials, who are keenly alive to the character and value of the work being done, and are anxious to have it extended.

It may be mentioned that the Mission to Lepers gives financial aid to some nine leper asylums, in addition to those which are distinctively its own, and last year spent, including Government grants given, Rs.9,59,205 on its work in the Indian Empire.

PRESENT POSSIBILITIES OF THE SITUATION

Last year the Imperial Legislative Council passed an Amended Lepers Act, under which it is now possible for any Provincial Government to compulsorily segregate the pauper and begging lepers within its own borders. Since 1898 a Lepers Act has been upon the Statute Book, but it was so worded that it was of little use practically, and was, indeed, almost a dead letter. The existing Amended Lepers Act, however, is a most useful piece of legislation, and as soon as accommodation is available I believe that all the Provincial Governments will put it into force and make the first real attempt to deal with pauper and begging lepers.

The Bengal Government last year decided to build a leper settlement for lepers to be segregated under the Act. Land is being acquired in the Midnapore district, and it is proposed to build a settlement to accommodate 1,000 lepers. The site is a fine one of about 700 acres in extent, and is situated in a healthy district. Model houses, to accommodate twelve lepers, there being three rooms in which four lepers will live together, will be built, work will be provided, and everything will be done to make the settlement an attractive place.

The Madras Government proposes to encourage the voluntary segregation of its pauper lepers as much as possible, giving the leper who comes under the terms of the Act an opportunity of choosing to which of the existing asylums he will go and settle down. Those who refuse to make a choice, or who run away from an asylum to which they have gone, will be sent to a central leper settlement, which they will not be allowed to leave.

The United Provinces Government recently formed a Committee which has made comprehensive plans for dealing with the pauper lepers in that province, suggesting the building of several additional asylums for voluntary inmates, as well as two or three settlements for those to be compulsorily dealt with.

The Punjab Government is also taking definite action, so is the Central Provinces Government ; indeed, all the Provincial Governments are considering what ought to be done, so that one hopes that in a comparatively short time very much more will have been done in the direction of promoting both voluntary and compulsory segregation.

These forward movements are in line with the Findings and Recommendations of the Conference of the Leper Asylum Superintendents and Others held in Calcutta in 1920. This Conference was convened by the Mission to Lepers, and was the most representative Conference of leper workers and experts that has ever been held in the East. The Findings of this Conference are appended, and I would like to call particular attention to Findings Nos. 3, 4, and 5 which are as follows :

"3. That as far as possible segregation should be of a voluntary character, as is now carried out in the asylums of the Missions to Lepers, except as is hereinafter recommended in the case of pauper lepers under the Act.

"4. That it is our considered opinion that the present type of Mission Asylums, with sympathetic *Christian* management, affords the best means of effecting a voluntary segregation of lepers.

"5. That we further consider that where the compulsory segregation of large numbers of pauper lepers becomes necessary, this might be brought about by the establishment of suitable settlements for the care of this class of people."

This summarizes the attempt, as far as segregation is concerned, that is being made to-day to solve the leper problem in India.

THE TREATMENT OF LEPROSY

In addition to segregation, as we indicated before, there is another course to be followed if leprosy is to be stamped out in India, and that is to improve the treatment of the disease, with the hope of finding a real cure, and to make the very best treatment available to all lepers.

I feel diffident in speaking of a purely medical matter, and yet I have had a good deal to do with the trial of the latest treatments for leprosy, and so I am somewhat in a position of being able to say what has been, and is being, done in that direction.

Up to a few years ago there was really no treatment that was at all hopeful. Many remedies have been from time to time tried, but almost all of them have proved to be practically useless.

For some 200 years, so it is said, chaulmoogra oil has been used by lepers for outward application, but till the last year there was little that was permanent as a result of using this oil. It is to an I.M.S. Dr., Sir Leonard Rogers, that we owe so very much to-day, and he has done magnificent service to the Empire in conducting research in the direction of obtaining fresh preparations of chaulmoogra oil, and in finding other oils also, so that now we are in the happy position of being able to say that there is a reasonable hope of an early case of leprosy becoming apparently free of the disease if he will persevere with the treatment as given by a qualified doctor.

Three years ago, when I returned to India, I was impressed with the need of there being an extended trial of the latest treatments for leprosy, and I secured the interest and help of the then Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, who, with Lady Chelmsford, have done so much to help stir up public interest in India in this important matter. I submitted a scheme to the Government of India for the trial of the treatments by qualified European and American medical men and women, which was accepted immediately, and a

considerable sum of money was placed at my disposal for this purpose. I made the arrangements for the work to be done, Sir Leonard Rogers gave me technical advice and encouragement, and this scheme is still being worked out. Some of the results of these trials were collected by me last year, collated by Dr. E. Muir, now the Leprosy Research Worker at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, and presented to the Calcutta Conference to which reference has already been made. It was then stated by Dr. Muir that, although in most of the cases the treatment was of comparatively short duration, definite improvement was obtained in 72 per cent., and much improvement in 32 per cent., of the cases under review.

In those cases which were treated for from six to twelve months 100 per cent. showed definite improvement, while in 52 per cent. it was pronounced.

During the last year there has been a most remarkable advance made in the treatment, of which I cannot stay to speak in detail, but the following are the most important of the treatments being used at present :

1. Intravenous injections of sodium gynocardate and sodium hypnocardate. These are both prepared from chaulmoogra oil. The injections result in the destruction of the lepra bacilli in the tissues, followed, in some cases at least, by disappearance of the nodules, healing of the ulcers, and general improvement.

2. Intravenous and subcutaneous injections of sodium morrhuate. This is a preparation from cod-liver oil, and gives similar results to gynocardate injections with less trouble. In some cases both sodium gynocardate and sodium morrhuate are used on the same patient, one being alternated with the other, often with most hopeful results.

3. Subcutaneous injections of sodium soyate. This is prepared from the soya-bean oil, and has given good results in some cases. It has, however, not been much tried, as far as I am aware, but the results obtained were hopeful.

Sir Leonard Rogers suggests that the soya bean might well form part of the diet in leper asylums.

4. Intramuscular injections of ethyl ester preparations of the fatty acids of chaulmoogra oil. These are now being tried on a large scale, and are giving the best results of any of the treatments enumerated.

As a result of using these ethyl ester preparations, Dr. J. T. McDonald was able to report recently that seventy-eight of the Honolulu Leper Hospital patients had been paroled by a Medical Board, none of whom had relapsed at the time of writing his report. I have just received word from India that two lepers have been allowed to leave one of the Mission to Lepers asylums, as they were apparently free from the disease.

Sir Leonard Rogers recently said: "There is no doubt that a very great advance has been made in the treatment of leprosy by my researches in Calcutta and the more recent valuable extension of the work in Honolulu, which may well lead before long to actual cures of this terrible disease being obtained."

I would ask you to note, however, that all of us who work among lepers are most particular not to speak of having cured lepers. The average incubation period of leprosy is said to be about six to eight years, so that till the cases which are now symptom and bacteriologically free remain so for the average incubation period we should be unwise to speak of them as cured. On the other hand, when you cannot find any trace of the bacilli, when ulcers are healed, the nodules disappear, the anæsthetic parts have the feeling restored, and all outward signs of the disease are lost, we are not going too far in saying that we trust that the doctors are on the track of a real cure.

This treatment is making a great difference in the leper asylums. One of the honorary superintendents writes:

"The new treatment has changed the outlook. The people are clamorous for it . . . the old despair has passed."

Another writes :

"The effect of the treatment on the morals of the Home is nothing less than a miracle. They are 230 of the happiest, jolliest people you can come across."

Work among lepers, then, is not to-day the almost hopeless work it used to be. Formerly it was merely the question of taking care of the poor people till they passed away, giving them as much joy, affording them as much relief as possible, and putting before them the consolation of religion, and that was the end of what could be done. But to-day there is hope for very many of them! And we have the authority of such a great expert as Sir Leonard Rogers for hoping that soon we shall be using a treatment that will be a cure for the disease. This, therefore, is another reason why leper work should be undertaken as never before, the public co-operating with the Government in making provision for all lepers who either desire to segregate themselves or who ought to be segregated for the good of others.

SUMMARY

Segregation, which has done so much in other countries, should be encouraged, or enforced compulsorily in the case of those who are a danger to the public and who will not segregate themselves.

Asylums for voluntary inmates should be built wherever they are needed.

The Provincial Governments in India should be urged to proceed at once with the erection of leper settlements, so that the Amended Lepers Act may be put into force, and the thousands of wandering pauper and begging lepers may be prevented from spreading the disease wherever they go, as they undoubtedly do at present. This matter is one that should be treated as urgent. As His Excellency Lord Willingdon recently said in a letter to myself: "The leper problem is so important out here, and is, further, a matter which *can* be grappled with."

The untainted children of leper parents should be separated from their leper parents or relatives and brought up in special homes, where their friends could see them from time to time, and where they would be well cared for and properly educated. The Mission to Lepers has some twenty of these homes for untainted children in India, and they should be built wherever leper settlements are to be erected. They are a success, and the children are thus saved from becoming lepers.

The latest treatments for the disease should be made accessible to every leper in the country by being provided at every leper asylum or settlement, as well as at the large Government hospitals.

If these steps were taken we could confidently look forward to the time when we shall have solved the leper problem in India by having stamped out the disease in the whole Indian Empire.

It could be done. If it could, then it ought to be attempted.

APPENDIX

ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE ON THE LEPER PROBLEM

The most representative Leper Conference yet held in India met in Calcutta early in February, 1920. It was convened by the Mission to Lepers, and was a Conference of experts. The delegates were as follows: Forty Honorary Superintendents and workers in leper asylums; six Medical Missionaries connected with work among lepers; three Secretaries of the Mission to Lepers; five Government and official delegates.

The Government of India appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, I.M.S., and Lieutenant-Colonel F. H. G. Hutchinson, I.M.S. (Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India), as its delegates. The Government of Bengal sent Major N. P. Sinha, I.M.S., and the Government of Bombay Dr. Rodrigues. Many important questions were discussed, and the following findings were adopted by the Conference at its closing session:

1. That the Conference of Leper Asylum Superintendents now assembled in Calcutta adopt the unanimous findings of the special Medical Subcommittee, which are as follows:

(a) That leprosy is contagious, but slowly, with a long incubation period, through the escape of the causative bacillus in the nasal discharges of the majority of cases, which include many early cases having no outwardly visible ulceration, and to a less extent from open sores.

(b) That the disease is not directly hereditary, children being free from actual infection at birth, but that they are specially susceptible to contagion from an early age, children as a class being more susceptible than adults. These facts necessitate the earliest possible separation of infants and children from infected leper parents.

(c) That in view of the preceding opinions, segregation is the most effective measure for reducing the prevalence of leprosy, and the grave danger to the community of unrestricted association with lepers.

(d) That the Committee, therefore, unanimously endorse the Memorandum regarding the amendment of the Indian Lepers Act of 1898, which has been submitted by the Indian Auxiliary of the Mission to Lepers to the Government of India.

(e) That the Committee recommend that steps be taken to provide facilities for the training of Medical Assistants in the diagnosis and in the treatment of leprosy, to enable the best methods to be more generally used in asylums, and also in hospitals and dispensaries, as the majority of the more amenable earlier cases will for a long time to come be most easily and economically dealt with in the latter institutions. Leper institutions should be provided with facilities for microscopical examinations.

(f) That the Committee are of the opinion that, in view of the considerable degree of fecundity of lepers, especially of females, and the excessive danger of contagion to the children of lepers, which play a great part in maintaining the prevalence of the disease, the separation of the sexes is desirable as far as possible. Whenever this is not found to be practicable, married lepers should only be allowed to live together on the express understanding that any children born to them shall be separated from their infected parents at the earliest possible age. The Committee also consider that it is especially desirable to separate patients presenting good prospects of recovery under efficient treatment, to eliminate the risk of the healthy mate becoming infected while the partner is undergoing treatment.

(g) That the method of treatment with the salts of fatty acids introduced by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, I.M.S., has been lately tested by fourteen medical officers and assistants in leper asylums throughout India with most favourable results, 72 per cent. showing marked improvement in spite of the fact that

most of the cases were advanced and the period of treatment had been comparatively short. More research is needed, however, further to improve the treatment. In view of the international importance of research in connection with leprosy, carried on in India, an application be made to the International Health Commission for a grant towards this work.

2. That the Conference consider that legislation should be primarily concerned with pauper lepers, as these are the greatest menace to public health.

3. That as far as possible segregation should be of a voluntary character as is now carried out in the asylums of the Mission to Lepers, except as is hereinafter recommended in the case of pauper lepers under the Act.

4. That it is our considered opinion that the present type of Mission Asylums, with sympathetic Christian management, affords the best means of effecting a voluntary segregation of lepers.

5. That we further consider that where the compulsory segregation of large numbers of pauper lepers becomes necessary, this might be brought about by the establishment of suitable settlements for the care of this class of people.

6. That no amendment of the Lepers Act in itself, or the establishment of leper settlements, will be of any real value unless the provisions of the Act are strictly enforced.

7. That in the case of voluntary institutions now notified under the Act, the provision of detention wards is not desirable.

8. That the Conference reaffirm the principle that segregation of the sexes should be maintained in all Mission asylums except under exceptional circumstances, and that the marriage of lepers in Mission Asylums is not desirable.

9. That the Conference recommend that great care be observed in the selection of sites for new asylums and in the arrangements for water supply and drainage, and that where necessary expert advice should be obtained; also that it is desirable and economical to erect buildings of substantial construction and of an approved type according to local requirements.

10. That, in conclusion, it is the opinion of the Conference that the disease of leprosy could be stamped out in India if all lepers were segregated, but, as this does not appear to be practicable at this time, it strongly urges that the first step to be taken in this direction is the segregation of all pauper lepers.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, October 24, 1921, at which a Lantern Lecture was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Oldrieve, entitled "The Leper Problem in India." Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lieut. Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S., Sir William Ovens Clark, Dr. Thos. Summers, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Colonel and Mrs. M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. J. Procter-Watson, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Lady Kensington, Lady Gait, Mrs. Oldrieve, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mrs. Collis, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Murray, Miss Lester, Lady Johnstone, Miss Frère Smith, Miss Wade, Miss M. Sorabji, Dr. Cornwall Round, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. Drury, Miss Stuart, Mr. G. Crooke, Mr. P. V. Guiry, Dr. and Mrs. Prankherd, Colonel and Mrs. Stephen, Mrs. Bowlby, Major-General Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., Dr. S. B. Mehta, Mr. H. R. Cust, Mr. H. J. R. Hemming, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Mr. H. S. Rix, Mr. W. Hayward, M.B.E., Mrs. Alfred E. Thompson, Miss Nina Corner, Rev. Frank E. Miller, Miss Allwork, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Rev. Frank Oldrieve is the representative in India of the Mission to Lepers, which is doing such admirable work in India and other parts of Asia in bringing relief to persons suffering from one of the most painful, and certainly the most repulsive, of the diseases which afflict the human race. In the course of his duties he has toured throughout the length and breadth of India, investigating the local conditions, inspecting leper asylums, discussing relief measures with the Provincial Governments and their officers, and addressing public meetings. He is thus exceptionally well qualified to speak of the leper problem, and I will now ask him to read the paper which he has so kindly prepared for us.

The paper was then read, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have already had the satisfaction of taking part in several meetings where Mr. Oldrieve has spoken on the subject of his life's work. He has always proved himself to be most interesting and instructive, and the present occasion is no exception. We have all listened with great interest to his paper; he has stated the problem convincingly, and I personally find very little to criticize. As a former Census Commissioner for India, I feel tempted to discuss some statistical aspects of the question, but I will content myself with saying that Mr. Oldrieve is undoubtedly correct in his view that the actual number of lepers in India must greatly exceed the number

shown in the census tables. The disease inspires horror and loathing, and no one but a beggar who lives by parading his sufferings is willing to admit that he is a leper. The census officers were not in a position to make searching inquiries, and except where the existence of this disease was already known to them, they had to rely on what they were told. The precise extent of the omissions is a matter of opinion, but I should regard Mr. Oldrieve's estimate of 50 per cent. as the maximum.

The two essential facts which emerge from what the lecturer has said are that leprosy is terribly prevalent in India, and that it is contagious. Leprosy has not always been regarded as contagious. It was so regarded in Europe in the Middle Ages, when, as we have heard, lepers were rigorously segregated in asylums. But a generation or so ago the opinion gained ground that the disease was due to something eaten, and a fish diet in particular came under suspicion. At the time of the census of 1901 I had a long conversation with a distinguished physician who had come out to India to try and find support for the fish theory of infection. He failed to find any. Since then there has been a very remarkable consensus of expert opinion in favour of the contagious nature of the disease. The disease is caused by a specific bacillus, and its contagious character may now be regarded as fully established. The great importance of this fact has already been pointed out by the lecturer. If no one can be infected by the disease unless he comes into contact with a leper, it is clear that leprosy could easily be eradicated from India in a comparatively short time, just as it has already been eradicated from our own and most other European countries. In the provision of asylums the Mission to Lepers has taken a predominant part. The figures which have been quoted to us show that more lepers are accommodated in the Mission's asylums than in all other asylums taken together. I should also like to corroborate from my personal observation the statement of the lecturer that the management of the Mission's asylums is far superior to that of most others. The superintendents are missionaries who undertake the work, not as a means of livelihood, but in a spirit of pure philanthropy. I have visited several of these asylums, and have been immensely impressed by the efforts which are made to do everything possible to alleviate the lot of the unhappy inmates. Rejected by their own kith and kin, and regarded by the general public with horror and disgust, they find in these asylums a real home, and in the superintendents kind and sympathetic friends who treat them, not as outcasts, but as fellow human beings. The good work done by the Mission is recognized by all the Provincial Governments, who make capitation grants towards the maintenance of its asylums.

But, as Mr. Oldrieve has shown, the existing asylums accommodate only a small proportion of the total leper population, and their number must be very largely increased if the problem is to be adequately dealt with. It may be said that it is the duty of the Provincial Governments to find the necessary funds, but these Governments have many calls upon their resources, which are altogether inadequate; some of them are almost bankrupt, and they will have very great difficulty in providing for the

construction and maintenance of the proposed leper settlements for the segregation of the worst type of pauper lepers. As regards the voluntary asylums, on which reliance must mainly be placed, they will be unable, I fear, to do more than continue the existing system of making grants in aid. If the problem is to be properly tackled, we must look to the Mission to Lepers to do it, and the Mission will be unable to increase its efforts unless it gets more funds. Its present expenditure is equal to, if it does not exceed, its income. Until lately its supporters came mostly from the United Kingdom, but in the last two or three years I am glad to say that, thanks mainly to Mr. Oldrieve's ardent advocacy, many Indians have begun to contribute. It is to be hoped that these local contributions will be largely increased. But even so, the work to be done is so great that the Mission will be unable to cope with it unless largely increased subscriptions are obtained from the United Kingdom also. I know of few charities which are more deserving than this one.

We have been told how recently hopes have been aroused that a cure has been discovered for this disease, which has for so long baffled the best efforts of medical science. For this credit is due mainly to Sir Leonard Rogers, who has done so much valuable research work in connection with tropical diseases. Mr. Oldrieve has given us a good many of the leading facts in connection with this most hopeful development, and, as Sir Leonard himself is present here to-day, I will not take up more of your time, but I will call on him to describe his researches and the results which have already been achieved. (Hear, hear.)

Sir LEONARD ROGERS: Sir Edward Gait, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to have an opportunity of being present during this discussion. In the first place, I wish to add my testimony to the very good work Mr. Oldrieve has done in India in the last few years, in arousing interest, getting increased grants, and especially for getting a considerable amount of Indian subscriptions, which we hope will be further increased.

Secondly, the important point I wish to speak on is with regard to the renewed hope we now have of being able to tackle this great problem. That it *is* a great problem you have all heard, and it is scarcely possible to exaggerate it. Dr. Muir's recent statement that there are 500,000 lepers in India is based on the fact that he made careful inquiries amongst the lepers as to whether they had been returned in the census, and he found that only two out of thirty had been so returned. Of course, it is impossible to say how many there are, but I do not think 500,000 is an under-estimate. At any rate, the problem is an immense one, and the resources we have are not sufficient to deal with it adequately. Only if we bring new forces to our help shall we make better progress, and those new forces, I hope, we shall get from recent researches. Two of the great difficulties we have to deal with are, first of all, the very long incubation period of the disease, which is given as about eight years; and it may be from a few months up to many years, and in one case which was reported it was forty years. If you think of smallpox, with an incubation period of a few days, and then think of an incubation period of several years, how difficult will it be to trace the infection of leprosy. In

the case of leprosy we have the bacilli discharged from ulcers and still more in the nasal discharges of patients, many of the latter being in an early and not easily recognizable stage; and every time they sneeze or blow their noses they are distributing these bacilli. The other difficulty is that the disease begins very slowly and insidiously, and it is common in the less severe cases for a patient to have really suffered from the disease for several years before it is discoverable; and most of these cases are actively infectious, so that you will be able to see that even where the segregation method has been carried out in many places we have been greatly handicapped by the impossibility of controlling cases in the early stages. Even in the case of the Philippines cases are still cropping up every year, although there are no cases of marked disease going about now. That is a result partly of the long incubation period, and to infection from those early cases which are so difficult to detect. In such a dreadful disease it is obvious any patient will naturally hide the symptoms as long as he can, so that, as it seems to me, if we had some means to enable us to attract the early cases, and if, instead of the early cases hiding themselves, we could give them some inducement to come forward as early as possible (which would be done if they realized they had a chance of being cured), then the problem would be immensely simplified.

This is hardly the place to speak in detail with regard to the actual treatment, but I will deal with the principles. The principle of the recent advances is exceedingly simple, and is the same as I used in working out the emetine treatment of dysentery. It consists of nothing more than taking a drug, which has been used for centuries empirically, and which is believed by great numbers of medical men to have some definite influence over a definite disease, such as ipecacuanha in the case of dysentery and chaulmoogra oil in leprosy. Then we set to work to isolate the active principles, and get them into a soluble form, so that they can be given by injection instead of by the mouth. Recently chaulmoogra oil has been injected by the intermuscular method with better results than formerly. I had previously come to the conclusion that the lower melting-point fatty acids, called gynocardic acid, gave better results than the whole oil. As far back as 1912 I tried unsuccessfully to get an English firm to make me a soluble preparation of gynocardic acid. Later on I set to work again, and made soluble sodium salts of the different fatty acids of the oil, and I soon found that by injecting these subcutaneously I got better results; but the method was rather painful and slow, so I next found by a few very simple experiments that it was safe to inject these preparations intravenously. I then found you got a febrile and local reaction, followed by a much more rapid improvement, and on making microscopical investigations I found the leprosy bacilli in the tissues broke up into small round dots and were destroyed—the first time, I believe, in the history of medicine that a pathogenous bacillus has been destroyed in the human system by a vegetable substance. Then we found, after long treatment, the lesions completely disappeared, together with the bacilli.

I am afraid we cannot talk about a cure at this stage of a disease in

which the incubation period may be as long as eight years, because there may be some bacilli left which have not been destroyed, although I have a few cases who have remained well for about five years. At the same time, in 80 per cent. of my cases there has been very great improvement, and in over 40 per cent. the lesions have completely disappeared. The Americans have worked out a further practical advance, by using a slightly different chemical compound, an ethyl ester chaulmoograte, given intramuscularly. Dr. Muir is also using it in many cases in Calcutta, and its results are proving very satisfactory. With it you can give about 100 injections in an hour, against about 15 by the intravenous method. There are many other details which I cannot go into now, but those are the essential points, and I am glad to say that we have now renewed hope, and the main point to my mind is that once this is known amongst the lepers themselves they will come in for treatment as early as possible. Not only will they be able to be treated in the asylums and in the large leper colonies about to be started in India, and then possibly discharged and followed up, but also the treatment can now be carried out in every hospital in India and wherever leprosy occurs, and consequently it can be extended all over the world, and we shall therefore be in a better position to treat new cases which arise. The duration of the disease is about ten years.

Now just one final word about the children. A very remarkable fact is that where children of leper parents have lived with their parents for seven to ten years—that is, over the incubation period—44 per cent. were affected by leprosy; the children are infinitely more susceptible than adults, and if we could protect the children from infection we could, I believe, get rid of leprosy by that method alone in about three generations. When infected parents know that they can be treated efficiently, with a good chance of recovery, they will, I think, be only too ready to be separated for a time from their children, to lessen the danger of infecting them. By such measures we are getting into a much better position to deal with the problem, and I am glad to say I was able to arrange before I left India for Dr. Muir to take up the research work in leprosy, and that research is now going on, and we want more and more research work to be carried on. We also want definite knowledge as to the way in which the disease is conveyed. We know that one patient must infect another directly or indirectly, but exactly how we do not know. When we get to know exactly how the disease is conveyed, we shall be able to deal with it still more effectively. (Hear, hear, and applause).

Dr. CORNWELL ROUND said that he had a suggestion to make, but it was quite in the nature of drawing a bow at a venture. He knew very little about leprosy, except for having seen one case, but for the last few years he had been making experiments with a certain drug, of which very little was known—namely, tungstate of soda, which seemed to have a considerable retarding action on embryonic tissue, so much so that last year he had a tadpole alive in September (the control tadpoles having changed normally to frogs during the summer), and this year he had a tadpole (hatched in March) in the middle of October, a result achieved

solely by the inhibitory action of tungstate of soda. He thought there might possibly be some way in which tungstate of soda could be applied to the treatment of leprosy. For he had tried various strengths of solution on tadpoles, pond-weed, algæ and water-cress, and found that with increasing strengths it killed out first of all one form of algæ and then the water-cress, still greater strengths destroying the tadpoles; but finally, on the other hand, other forms of algæ seeming to be stimulated, thus suggesting a selective toxic action by tungstate of soda on various forms of life. According to German researches, it was comparatively innocuous to both animals and human beings, and he thought it might be worth trying to see if it had a poisonous effect on the bacilli of leprosy. He had looked up the authorities, but he could find no information with regard to it, except in the German reports. In his experiments he had tried, by using a weak solution, to retard embryonic tissue, and in the tadpoles whose development and growth had (after primary stimulation) been kept back, there was evidence that in some cases it would do so.*

Mr. COLDSTREAM: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—There has been put into my hands this afternoon a few sentences of a letter written by our good friend Dr. John Pollen, whose name is so well known by those in this room, addressed to Colonel Meade, who gave them to me, as he was obliged to leave early. I will take the liberty of reading them to you. Dr. Pollen says:

"I know something of lepers and leper asylums, for I was once superintendent of the asylum in Ratnagiri, and I lived for many years close by the Matunga Leper Asylum in Bombay (in which my friend and brother-civilian Harry Ackworth, I.C.S., took such an active and energetic interest). I used often to visit the asylum and tried to cheer the inmates, but usually lepers need little cheering. Taking them all round, they are a cheerful and sometimes jovial crew, bearing their crosses with God-given patience and resignation. It is the old story: 'He [God] does temper the wind to the shorn lamb,' and life to the leper has its compensations. Still, he is most grateful for sympathy, and being gifted with a brighter intelligence than the unafflicted, he realizes honest efforts to make his life happier, and is helpful and grateful for them.

"I am delighted to gather from Dr. Oldrieve's paper that there is some prospect of a recognized cure for leprosy. The Great Healer, of course, healed the disease by a touch, and there is perhaps more in Christian Science in relation to this fell disease than many imagine; and of course we know the dipping in Jordan's stream, with a kind of protesting half-faith and nascent hope, worked a well-known wonder. (Any faith that drives out the old despair must have a curative effect, and as an Esperantist I am a firm believer in Hope.)

"What a good thing it would be to get a Tolstoyan idealist like Gandhi to give up his political sainthood and work for the well-being of lepers!

* This series of experiments has been duplicated with like results by Mr. Milligan, F.Z.S., curator to the Zoological Department of Horniman Museum. The tadpole is still alive and unchanged at the end of November.

This is a work in which he might give up his Non-Co-operation and co-operate with the Government in making provision for all lepers who either desire to segregate themselves, or who ought to be segregated for the good of others."

Let us hope that Mr. Gandhi will be persuaded to turn his attention and his great energies in this direction.

Ladies and gentlemen, before I sit down I have to discharge another task. It is to propose for your acceptance a hearty vote of thanks to our chairman. We are fortunate in having as our chairman to-day Sir Edward Gait, who is so conversant with the whole problem of lepers, and who has distinguished himself by his work for the betterment of this people, and who has done long and honourable service in India, and latterly in the high position of Governor of Behar and Orissa. I am sure you will join with me in offering a most hearty vote of thanks to Sir Edward Gait.

The resolution was seconded, and carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN : This concludes the proceedings, and the meeting is now closed.

THE ENGLISH BOY IN INDIA

BY THE REV. OSWALD YOUNGHUSBAND

SINCE I have been back in England I have been trying to raise money for a University hostel for English students in India. On all sides I have been told that no time could be more difficult than the present for raising money. But apart from the question of money, there seems to be a considerable lack of knowledge as to the existence of these boys in India. To test that matter I recently put two questions to young Englishmen educated in India who have come home for further training at universities and workshops. I asked them, in the first place, how they found people in England, whether they were friendly to them, and they replied, "Perfectly." I then asked them whether they had ever yet found anybody in England who was aware of the existence of English boys educated in India, and they replied, "Never."

Perhaps the simplest explanation of the existence of English boys educated in India would be that if the inhabitants of any given town or village in England were to be planted down in India, only a limited number of them would be able to afford to send their boys home for education. Men who are working in such capacities as station-masters, guards, engine-drivers, foremen, and office superintendents are not always in a position to send their boys home for education, and, further than that, some of them have become domiciled or settled down in India. There are, then, these two bodies of men—those covenanted from England, and those domiciled in the country—who have their sons educated in India. In addition to them there are Anglo-Indians. The term "Eurasian" is a very vague term, and includes those who have no connection with England. The term "Anglo-Indian" means those

of English stock. A hundred and fifty years ago a journey to India took a long time, and those who went out were not in any hurry to come home again. They did not come home at those frequent intervals that men do now. English girls in those days were perhaps not so enterprising as they are now, and there were not many girls in England ready to take that long journey to India. Englishmen in India desired to marry, and in the absence of English girls they married Indian wives. It is not the usual custom at the present day for Englishmen to marry Indian wives. It dates from a period in the past when there were few English girls in the country. The descendants of these marriages have been brought up at English schools with English boys and on English lines, and they should, I think, be regarded as English. If they are not regarded as English, but as being neither one thing nor the other, it may lead to results not satisfactory to them or to anybody else. Sometimes men, in the bitterness of their hearts, have said: "If Englishmen wish to be apart from us we wish to be apart from Englishmen. We wish to be neither English nor Indian, but to have a separate Anglo-Indian race of our own." In practice that might come to mean: "We wish to be apart from Englishmen, but we can leave Englishmen to fag about and provide for the education of our boys"—an invitation which Englishmen would decline with thanks, and boys in India would be left to their fate. Government has, I think, made a serious mistake in regarding those who have been brought up in India as being not English. Some years ago I said to an English friend of mine, a high official of the Government of India, that I thought a certain Englishman would make an excellent representative for the domiciled community on the Legislative Council. He replied: "I quite agree with you. He is a first-rate man, but the unfortunate part of it is he happens to be an Englishman." I said: "I do not know why you should say unfortunate. I happen to be an Englishman myself, and for years the domiciled community in Lahore, English

and Anglo-Indian alike, have elected me as their President." The matter seems to have started in this way. In the old days it was considered an inferior thing to have been educated outside Britain. But Australians and Canadians, being masters of their own countries, were able to say to England: "We are attached to the Old Country, but we consider the young country to be just as good as the Old Country." And England could not say them nay, or the world-wide British Empire might have been reduced to a small island in the North Sea. Englishmen educated in India have been in a different position. They have never been masters of India. They have had on one side of them officials from England, and on the other side the masses of Indians, outnumbering them by a thousand to one, who have rapidly been gaining the power to rule and govern their own country. Whilst, then, it is no longer considered an inferior thing to have been educated in Canada or Australia, it is still regarded as an inferior thing to have been educated in India. When, in addition to this, some of the boys had a touch of colour, it was considered that the schools could not possibly be English schools.

I have gone into this matter at some length, because it vitally affects the educational problem in India at the present time. A considerable number of men who have been heads of Government departments, and not a few men who have come to the front in non-official capacities, have been educated at schools in Northern India. Taken as a whole, though there have certainly been exceptions, they have had little sense of responsibility to their own system of education.

As I toiled along with the weary task of raising money for a University hostel the attitude of too many of them was: "It is so nice seeing somebody fagging about and doing our work for us." Under those circumstances, nothing would have induced me to go on with the work except the knowledge that it was, anyhow, not the fault of the boys themselves. Then men educated in England, who seem to

me to have been the original cause of the trouble, said : " Let men educated in India do their own work themselves " ; whilst here at home men have said : " We have every sympathy with these boys, and we think the University hostel an excellent idea ; but income-tax in England is at six shillings in the pound, and it is for people in India to see it through."

Unless, then, there is a much better mutual understanding between men educated in India and in England the future before boys in India will be a perilous one. I venture to hope that the Prince of Wales, with his royal gift of sympathy, will be able to create a better spirit all round, and give a message of hope to these boys in India that England has not forgotten them, and will not forget them.

What, then, are the lines on which they should be trained, now that there is no longer any paternal government, and that they have to develop their own life as British settlers in India? I think that they should be trained much more on colonial lines, by which a lazy boy has things made unpleasant for him, and an energetic boy can rise to whatever position in life he is fit for. English boys in India, if they have been lazy, have had an easier time, and if they have been energetic a harder time in India than in other parts of the Empire.

Some four years ago I gathered together a number of boys, and said to them : " Some of you are lazy and some of you are energetic. In that respect you are exactly like boys in England and other parts of the Empire. I have not got the time to give to both classes, so I will leave the lazy boys to the general effects of the Reform scheme, which will be able to deal with them much better than I can, but I should like, if possible, to do something to help those that are energetic." I then set to work to make enquiries. Both the Engineering College at Roorkee and the Forest College at Dehra Dun told me that nearly all their students had previously taken science degrees, and that an English boy would not have the slightest chance of

holding his own unless he had had some measure of University education. I then asked business men what was the best commercial college in India, and I was told the Sydenham College of Commerce at Bombay. On enquiring at that college I was told that before a student could be admitted he must have read at the University up to the Intermediate stage. University training is also needed for a medical degree and for the different Imperial Services, for which there is now recruiting in India. The object of a University hostel is not to deter boys from coming to England, but to provide for those boys (and there are many of them) whose parents cannot afford to send them home.

The hostel, which is still in temporary buildings, is open to students from any part of India, and some have already come from the United and the Central Provinces, but the majority have come from the Punjab. As there is no likelihood that the Punjab Government would support more than one such hostel in the province, the fairest thing seemed to be to make it not only open to all denominations, but governed by a committee representative of all denominations. The Hostel Committee at Lahore includes the Church of England Bishop, a senior Roman Catholic priest, and the chairman of the Board regulating the affairs of the Presbyterian Church throughout India, besides the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University and other leading educationalists. The ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland, who has been commissioned to go to India this winter, tells me that he will make a point of visiting Lahore, and will, amongst other things, report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland what it can do along the lines of this hostel. The question has sometimes been asked whether boys are happy in India, or whether they are only there because they cannot help themselves.

Since I have been home, in England I have been told, both at public schools and Universities, that there is a strong reluctance on the part of young men at the present time to go out to India, at any rate to Government service

in India. I have therefore been rather struck by the attitude of young men educated in India. I put the matter to some of those recently come home in this way. I said to them: "Now that you are here in England there is no need for you to return to India, unless you want to. If you like, you can say to yourselves, 'Our fathers were very sensible men in settling down in India, but we may be rather foolish boys if we remain settled down in India.' There is no law that compels you to remain domiciled in India. You can change your domicile and settle down in England if you wish to do so." I found, however, that none of them wanted to settle down in England. Some of them wanted to go to some other part of the world, such as South America, for engineering experience, but they all seemed to wish eventually to make their way back to India.

Their feeling seemed to be something like this: "We have been brought up in India, and we like India. We are very glad to have come to England for experience. We would not have missed that experience for worlds, but we feel that England is too small and cramped an island to remain in, and we should like to go back to India." What, then, will be their position in India? Mr. Sastri once asked me whether the domiciled community considered that they were part of the nation of India. I replied: "No. I think they consider that they are part of the nation of England."

I believe that was the correct answer to give. I do not suppose that Indians resident in this country would consider that they are part of the nation of England. They would be, and would wish themselves to be, still Indians. Neither Englishmen nor Indians lose their identity by settling in the other country. The position of these boys in India will be, I should imagine, that of British settlers in India who, now that the days of a paternal government are over, have serious responsibilities to face.

As the East India Association includes amongst its members both Englishmen and Indians, and exists to

promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India, I thought it might be of some interest to consider whether the relations between these British settlers and the general body of the people of India are satisfactory; if they are unsatisfactory, what has caused them to be unsatisfactory, and if there are any ways by which they can be made more satisfactory. I believe that on the whole they are satisfactory, and that they could be made more satisfactory if attention is paid to certain points.

Any looking down on boys in India or calling them by unsatisfactory names makes things more difficult. The other day I read in a London paper a short article by a lady in Northern India, in which she said that these boys were looked down upon and were called half-castes, and that they in turn called Indians niggers. I have very rarely come across boys in India who call Indians niggers, and when they do so, it is the easiest thing in the world to deal with them. The rough and tumble life of a big railway workshop may not be the best place in the world for manners, but in spite of that their manners on the whole are extremely good; much better than are sometimes found in big workshops in England. I venture to hope, then, that epithets will not be applied about them, which they dislike very much indeed. Then, had religious bodies in England in the first instance gone carefully into the educational needs of English boys in India, made their education efficient and adequate for the needs of to-day, they would have had little difficulty in carrying them with them in work for Indians; but going in the first place to Indian students, providing University hostels for them, and then saying to English students, "We are sorry that we have not got the means to provide you with University hostels," has proved a source of irritation to English boys in India.

To take another point. Had Labour leaders when they came to India gone in the first instance to British artisans in India, carefully studied their problems and difficulties,

and, having done so, laid them before the Trades Unions in England, they would have had little difficulty in carrying British artisans with them in a sympathetic grasp of Indian affairs. As it is, British artisans in India consider that if India is to be ruled by the Labour party in England it will be the end of all things. Their view may be right or wrong, but it is worthy of notice. These matters all deserve consideration when the relations between British settlers and the general body of Indians are considered.

Some have thought that there is something radically wrong with the British boy in India, and that he cannot get on well with Indians. I believe that that is a complete mistake. Nearly four years ago a small University hostel was started for these boys in temporary quarters at Lahore. Not long after the Punjab disorders broke out. There has been a good deal of racial feeling, probably more in the Punjab than elsewhere. The position of these hostel students has not been an easy one. Had undergraduates from England been at this hostel it is quite likely that they might have come into collision with Indian students from time to time; yet during all this time I have not had a single complaint with regard to any hostel student, whilst Indian professors have told me that they are thorough young gentlemen, and that they would like to have many more of them.

The way to deal with racial feeling in India at the present time seems to be to create fresh points of contact between Englishmen and Indians. English sportsmen may not have much in common with Indian philosophers; but English sportsmen will have common interests with Indian sportsmen, English philosophers with Indian philosophers, English business men with Indian business men, and English politicians with Indian politicians. Who are there then to have points of contact with Indian undergraduates who are now at the most impressionable period of their lives easily influenced in one direction or another and who will play no small part in the future life of India?

The answer is, "Their English fellow-undergraduates." They may be able to speak in a language better understood by Indian students than that spoken by English officials. Officials are bound to say that Government is invariably right whatever their private judgment may be. Indians reply that Government is invariably wrong. The more that Englishmen say that Government is a divine institution, the more Indians reply that it is satanic. English undergraduates are free men, and can interpret the thoughts of Englishmen as follows: "None of us Englishmen really believe that Government is always right, and we are quite sure that you Indians do not really believe that Government is always wrong. If you study our newspapers in England you will see that whilst they are not favourably impressed by the red-tape that goes on in Government offices, they are quite ready to admit that permanent officials may sometimes do useful work." In the ordinary intercourse of daily life, and not least upon the playing fields, the English undergraduate has many opportunities of showing that, though the Englishman may take a little time to know, yet when you do get to know him he is not a bad fellow. The fact that this hostel, still in its infancy and hardly yet out of its cradle, has already done useful work in difficult times seems to me to be a sign that that often despised person, the English boy in India, has within him a greater capacity for usefulness than he has always been given credit for, and anything that the East India Association can do to sustain and develop interest in him will, I believe, be well worth the doing.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, November 21, 1921, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, at which a paper was read by the Rev. Oswald Younghusband, entitled "The English Boy in India." The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., LL.D., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Lady Kensington, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Khan Bahadur A. M. Dalal, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Drury, the Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, the Rev. Frank Penny, Captain Roberts, Mr. A. Gillespie, Mr. H. J. R. Hemming, Mrs. Collis, Mr. Cowell, Mrs. Walsh, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. P. H. de la Terre, Mrs. Reid, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the paper which we have met to hear this afternoon is possibly a little out of the ordinary run of the papers which we generally listen to at this Association; but on that account alone, and still more on account of the zeal and enthusiasm which lies behind it, as you will appreciate when you have heard the paper, I am sure it will receive your sympathetic attention. It is, in reality, part of a campaign which Mr. Younghusband is carrying on for the benefit and improvement of our own kith and kin in India. It is quite unnecessary for me to introduce Mr. Younghusband to you. For many years he has engaged himself, as you are all aware, in the interests of our people in India, and at present he is spending his hard-earned furlough and too brief leisure in trying to get established a university hostel at Lahore. Without further ado, I will ask Mr. Younghusband to read his paper.

The Lecture was then read and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we hear in this Association from time to time various points of view in regard to India and its needs, and we hear a great deal about its extraordinarily diverse educational requirements. The topic which has been presented to us by Mr. Younghusband this afternoon is, as we expected it would be, somewhat of an unusual character; and I think we ought to be grateful to Mr. Younghusband for the extraordinarily fairminded, lucid, and convincing manner in which he has described the conditions of a particularly difficult problem. There are many reasons why our sympathies would justly and legitimately be with him this afternoon. There are three reasons which stand straight in the forefront of the paper. In the first place, the existence of this special class for whom Mr. Younghusband pleads is our own fault—I do

not say the fault of those in this room, but the fault of their forefathers in India, and of the administration in India generally. He has pointed out that in the early days, owing to the condition of things, there was a great deal of cross-breeding. As a race we are responsible for that. Then we have continuously allowed, and very often encouraged, either directly or indirectly by the difficulties of their getting back to England, the settlement of Europeans in India; men of the European soldier type, men who have gone out there as artisans or otherwise on low pay, got married and settled there, and became incapable of returning and taking up their English domicile. That is the first reason why we should feel a special responsibility for the domiciled descendants of Englishmen. Then their condition in many respects is not satisfactory. I do not think it is known outside India how large and considerable a population of poor Europeans, Anglo-Indians, or Eurasians, or whatever you may choose to call them, there is in the large towns of India; nor is it realized how impoverished they are. It is quite true aspersions may be cast upon their lack of thrift, but the fact remains that they are living in very impoverished circumstances. And they are also liable to serious internal dissensions. My own experiences in attempting to get established a hostel in another part of India, somewhat similar to what Mr. Younghusband is now advocating in Lahore, were decidedly disappointing. The domiciled community set out to raise for this purpose a very substantial sum of money, and succeeded very well, up to a point when disagreement arose and contributions ceased. What had been raised fell short of what the local Government considered was sufficient to warrant the establishment of a hostel, and I believe the foundation stone of that hostel still stands in the middle of a ploughed field. And yet the first necessity for removing this poverty and inability to combine is more and better education; and in that necessity we have a second reason why we should do what we can to help our kith and kin in India. There is a third reason, a very difficult one to touch upon without getting into politics, and politics are very rightly barred at these meetings. I venture to think that, when Mr. Sastri put the Socratic question which Mr. Younghusband quoted in the paper, he knew exactly the answer which was going to be given, and he put it for the purpose of getting that answer and using that answer when necessary. Now it is, from the Indian point of view, a very difficult proposition to defend that the Indian taxpayer should use his money for the education of a community which declines to participate in the Indian nation, and should use for that purpose a relatively larger sum of money than for the education of his own nationals. The time may come, and I hope it will come, when these racial discrepancies, which at present make India and its national life so difficult, will largely vanish; when the English boy educated in India will be as proud of his Indian nationality as the Hindu or Mohammedan; but that time is not yet. Until, however, it does come, and so long as the domiciled community in India definitely and, it may be, sometimes a little ostentatiously, stands outside, I think it is upon us to relieve the Indian taxpayer of some part of the cost of their education. Those are the three

arguments which appeal to me for supporting very strongly the campaign which Mr. Younghusband has come over to this country to inaugurate. I see in this audience several who have done splendid service for the domiciled community in India, and I know we are addressing a converted audience; let everyone of us use whatever influence we have to promote the cause which Mr. Younghusband has so ably pleaded, and allow him to go back to Lahore with the feeling that he has succeeded. (Applause.)

I am requested to invite discussion, but, before general discussion takes place, I should like to ask Miss Scatcherd to read two letters which, I understand, are in her possession.

MISS F. R. SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen had followed his usual practice of sending a letter for the meeting, and she would just like to read the part that referred to Mr. Younghusband's paper, which was as follows:

The Lecturer seems to have been told many queer things about Indian-British boys, and to have said many queerer things to boys and fathers in India and in England. Things must certainly have changed a great deal in India since I last visited it ten years ago, if British boys in India are looked down upon and called "unsatisfactory names because they have been educated in Indian schools."

I seem to remember that Rudyard Kipling received his early education in Bombay—before he and my friend General Lionel Dunsterville (the original of "Stalky") were school-fellows at Weston-super-Mare: and I never remember any of the St. Xavier or Byculla schoolboys being looked down upon, or regarded with scorn because their schools happened to be in India.

Of course we all know that "a hundred and fifty years ago a journey to India took a long time," and that "some Englishmen married Indian wives," and that "it is not the usual custom at the present day for Englishmen to marry Indian wives." But I have never heard any of the descendants of these marriages (and I have met many) declare that they wish "to be apart from Englishmen"—but could "leave Englishmen to look about and provide for the education of their own boys."

Again, I have never heard of Englishmen or Indians "losing their identity by settling in the other country."

I fear I cannot quite follow the point the Lecturer makes about British artisans in India considering "that if India is to be ruled by the Labour Party in England it will be the end of all things."

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said he entirely agreed with what the Lecturer had told the meeting as to the large number of British-born boys there were in India whose parents could not afford to send them home to be educated, and how absolutely necessary it was that the best should be done to provide for the education of those boys in India. He could also quite realize what the Lecturer had said about boys brought up in India wishing to return there. For instance, boys brought up in India who came home and passed for the army generally wished to get into the Indian Army and to return to India. He thought everybody, wherever born, as a rule wanted to return to their native place, and especially in the case of India, where boys born and brought up there understood the people in the country so well. With regard to the Lecturer's remarks

as to the provision of university hostels for Indian students and not for English students, the Chairman had told the meeting of the difficulty there must be in getting the Indian taxpayer to provide money for the education of European children in India. It was a difficulty which had become apparent to all. In the papers the other day he had noticed a telegram from India saying that a Provincial Legislative Council had recommended that in future no grants in aid out of the Provincial revenues should be given to European schools which did not throw open admission to Indian students unreservedly, and which did not provide facilities for the residence and boarding of Indian students. That was an action unprecedented in India, and one which all must take cognizance of. It was an example of the feeling in the Provincial Legislative Councils of to-day, and we had to look forward to the time when financial control would be more and more given to the Legislative Councils, and, if the present bitter feeling continued, these Councils would endeavour to stop all grants to European schools. Personally, he thought that the domiciled Europeans who made India their residence were as much entitled to grants for their schools as the Indians were for theirs. (Hear, hear.) He thought that the policy which had hitherto prevailed should be maintained, and that grants should be given equally to Indians and to Europeans domiciled in the country, but he was sorry to say that, owing to the racial animosity amongst Indians which had grown up in India of late, and which, according to the papers, was growing stronger and stronger day by day, the probability was that all European schools would have their usefulness curtailed year by year as time went on. It was to be hoped that the spirit of racial antagonism amongst Indians would gradually die down, but, in his opinion, European schools ought to have a claim on the Government of India for a continuance of the grants that they had hitherto been enjoying, and every opposition should be offered to this action on the part of the Legislative Councils. With regard to the Lecturer's remarks to the effect that "had Labour leaders when they came to India gone in the first instance to British artisans in India, carefully studied their problems and difficulties, and, having done so, laid them before the Trade Unions in England, they would have had little difficulty in carrying British artisans with them in a sympathetic grasp of Indian affairs," it must be remembered that these Labour leaders went out to India solely for political purposes; their mission had nothing whatever to do with Labour or with Trade Unions. They went out solely for the purpose of meeting the Indian agitators; they associated solely with them, and he did not suppose that any Labour leader ever visited any of the railway workshops or other works in India where British labour was employed, or had done anything whatsoever to help the British working man. (Hear, hear.) In the House of Commons he had noticed the same failing of Labour leaders to help their countrymen in the case of Russia. When in Petrograd and Moscow he was very proud to see the number of British artisans who held good posts in the cotton mills and other works out there, but when the Bolshevik Revolution came all those English men, women, and children

were reduced to absolute beggary; they were rescued by the Government with difficulty, and many of them were now in the workhouse—they never had a word of comfort from any Labour leader. When the matter came up in the House of Commons, he heard a Labour leader say, "Let them go to the workhouse." They did nothing to help their own countrymen or their own class, but did all they could to help the Russian revolutionists. He thought the Lecturer, when he said what he did, spoke to the point, and that no help could be looked for from the Labour leaders in this country. He was glad to have heard from the Chairman how he had tried to establish a university hostel in his Province, but was sorry to hear that he had failed. The number of British working men in India was increasing and their families were increasing. As he had said before, he thought the children would probably want to stay in India, and what was to be done to help them was a very difficult problem. He could only join with the Chairman in saying that all must try to do what they could. (Applause.)

LORD LAMINGTON asked the Lecturer if he could give any idea as to what number of British youths there were who would avail themselves of such a hostel as proposed, and whether the numbers were large or diminishing. He presumed the number was diminishing, because not so many Englishmen were marrying Indians, and because of the greater facilities for sending boys home for commerce training in this country. He did not know whether Colonel Yate's statement, that it was the common instinct to return to the country in which one was born, was quite accurate. He undoubtedly thought that sympathy ought to be extended to those who had their domicile in India, and that every facility ought to be given to them to have their training in India if they so desired. Whether it was possible in these days of financial stringency to establish a fund for that purpose remained to be seen, but it seemed to him that nowadays the Government took three-quarters or more of one's income for their most excellent purposes, and every day some scheme was being brought forward which was absolutely impracticable. He thought the Government of India should realize that they had a certain responsibility towards those who had gone out to assist in the administration and development of India, and, in that way, something might be done to secure a hostel for those who were unable to come home for their education. (Applause.)

REV. DR. WEITERECHT STANTON said the question, What could be done for the British boy in India? had been treated from the side of education. In respect of that the Chairman had touched the heart of the question when he pointed out that the future position of the English boy in India would largely depend on his attitude towards the Indian national movement. If he, being already a statutory native of India, could learn to identify himself with Indian aspirations, he might get on very well, but if he did not he would have a very difficult time indeed. As an examiner in Urdu for the Cambridge Senior and Junior Local Examinations, the speaker had had occasion during several years to observe the attitude of

the Anglo-Indian boys and girls towards the leading Indian vernacular. From hundreds of papers it was abundantly evident that, although they could talk volubly and effectively to Indians in the country, their Urdu grammar and composition was lamentably and glaringly defective. That was due to the fact that they had been brought up to despise the vernacular and to imitate English blunders and barbarisms lest they should be taken for "natives." Such an attitude must be extremely detrimental to their success in life. If they would not put themselves into tune with the language which expressed the thought of the country, how were they going to get a position in that country? We needed to change the atmosphere of education for the Anglo-Indian boys, and to imbue them with an esteem for the language and literature of India and for the great country in which their lot is cast. Such a change of mental direction would do much towards helping Anglo-Indian youth to find such a touch with their environment as would render their futures more tolerable. Another question with reference to the nature of Anglo-Indian education the speaker asked with more diffidence, because he had not had such direct touch with it. Many of those present might be aware of the Commission sent out last year to India from the various missionary societies to investigate village education. After touring the whole country, their leading recommendation was that greater facilities should be provided for vocational education which would really fit the children for their prospective calling in life. Do we not need to do more in this direction in the education of Anglo-Indian children, so that this element of the Indian population may have an honourable place in the community for the services which it would be fitted to render to the community? (Applause.)

Rev. FRANK PENNY said he gathered from the paper that Mr. Young-husband was making an effort to cure a great mistake which had been made in the past. Of course, everybody felt that there was something wrong. One knew what the education given to the domiciled community in India was, and most people would like to know how to make it better. He thought that the only way to arrive at a proper conclusion was to go back to the history of the matter and see how it was that the train, so to speak, went off the line. Up to 1853 there was no difficulty for the Anglo-Indian, or the East Indian as he was then called, to get employment. He was the recognized person who came midway between the European on the one hand and the native of the country on the other; he was able to speak their language and be a very useful go-between between the two. Then came the Education Act, and by degrees (it was a gradual movement which was never intended) the Eurasian lost his position as a go-between, and, instead of being found as a superintendent in every office, he was found to be ousted by the better educated Indians, for whose education the Government paid. That has been going on for the last sixty or seventy years; gradually the native of the country has become better educated than the Eurasian; he can talk English better; he is more intelligent. He has gone through a college where there are good teachers, whereas the Eurasian only had education which would enable

him to become a good clerk, and, because of these differences, the Eurasian lost his place and the native stepped into it. It seemed to the speaker that, as there was an effort at the present time to improve matters, it was necessary to take notice of how the difficulty originally began in order to find out how to cure it in the future. To his mind the only possible way of curing the difficulty was to get first-rate schools started in India which would enable the Anglo-Indians to be as well educated as the natives of the country with whom they were competing. Whether this was done by means of hostels or by any other means the same conclusion would be arrived at, and there would be a well-educated Anglo-Indian community which would be able to protect its own interests. He stated that, amongst other Associations, the Indian Church Association had sent out about £5,000 a year—the Laidlaw Committee had sent a similar amount—for the education of the Anglo-Indians, so that really there was a good deal being done in England for the education of the Anglo-Indians; and it remained for them to rise to the position which it was hoped they would occupy. He was aware that the Chairman had particular ideas on the subject as to whether the Government should help in the scheme; but it was a large question on which there was something to be said on the other side. As an analogy he recalled the fact that when the Bishopric Bill was passed in 1813, the East India Company condemned and opposed it at first because they did not consider that their profits should be used for religious purposes; there was a large meeting of the Proprietors, who protested against the passing of the Bill because it was a wrong use of the money which ought to be distributed amongst themselves. Then certain alterations were made in the Bill, and it was made clear, first of all that the Bishops and Chaplains to be appointed were not to be paid out of the taxes at all, and, secondly, that they were not to be paid out of the profits of the Company, but that they were to be paid out of the territorial revenues. What was said was: We, as the owners of an estate in England, derive from our tenants such and such an income; we have a right to expend that income as we please; and if we appoint a chaplain for our personal benefit we will do so; and whatever we pay we will pay out of our territorial revenues. The position of the East India Company in India was the same as the landowner in England. That was another way of looking at the question. The Government of the country had to do the best it could considering that it had to govern a large number of people of different religions, different tastes, different habits, and different desires; what they had to do was to try and act as honestly and independently as possible, and do the best for every person that they ruled over. That was a point which he would like to have considered when trying to solve the difficult question raised. In conclusion, he wished Mr. Younghusband all luck in his efforts.

The SECRETARY said that, with reference to the Chairman's suggestion that it is extremely difficult to ask the Indian tax-payer to pay for the European schools, he did not think it was very easy to divide up taxation

into watertight compartments, and say that you would not pay for this and that and would pay for the other, and, if it was a question of more or less vague give and take, possibly the Indian might be met by the argument that the British boy in India comes largely from the artisan class, and that British artisans had originally come out to India for the benefit of India herself. As an example he instanced the Tata Steel Works at Jamshidpur, where a very large number of the higher staff positions were manned by Europeans. If Europeans went out to India to assist in the great industrial enterprises, it did not seem to him altogether fair that India should do all the taking and nothing of the giving. The fact that the Englishmen were out there, and very likely would have families out there, must be accepted, and it hardly seemed fair to take all that the artisan has to give to India and then say: "Your children may go hang for all I care." With regard to the other argument which Sir Charles Yate used, that it was a mere matter of policy, and that the present tendency was for the Indian to cut down all his grants, that was a fact which possibly his argument might not be sufficient to meet, but if it was desirable to encourage the English boy to accept Indian nationality, surely the worst possible way was to establish schools which accentuated that nationality. It seemed to him that the proper way of meeting the difficulty was to have mixed schools. If the Indians say that they will not give any grants to European schools which will not admit Indians, the retort is that English boys must be admitted into Indian schools. Possibly Indians would accept that, but then the customs were so different that it would be extremely difficult for an English boy to adapt himself to Indian customs, and the consequence would be that, in spite of all that could be done, he would remain English, whether in an Indian school or an English school.

Mr. W. COLDSTREAM, speaking as an old official who had resided for many years in the Punjab, said he thought there was a great obligation to act in the manner suggested by the Lecturer. There was a lack of higher education for the domiciled English boy and for the Eurasian or Anglo-Indian boy, and it was necessary to provide that in some kind of way. There was a great obligation, a great need, and a great encouragement. Young Anglo-Indians have done well in the past considering the measure of education available. He remembered, in the Punjab, a family of five or six boys who all went to Bishop Cotton's School in Simla; all of whom attained success in life, and several rose to very responsible posts in the administrative or judicial service of Government. The young fellows were there, and if suitable education was provided a great work would be accomplished, not only to their own benefit, but to the benefit of the Empire.

The LECTURER, in reply, said that as to what Dr. Stanton had said about the need for vocational training, the whole object of the hostel was to enable boys to get that professional training which they so much stood in need of, and for which there was an increasing desire on the part of the boys themselves. He did not advise boys necessarily to leave India, but, on the other hand, he thought it best for them not to get in such positions

that it would be impossible for them to do so. His advice to boys was to get such professional training that would be equally useful to them either in India or overseas. In answer to Lord Lamington's question as to whether, if mixed marriages are infrequent at the present time, the number of boys at the European schools was decreasing, he did not think that the English population attending these schools was decreasing, and with the increased cost of sending boys to England it might be on the increase. There were, no doubt, some men in high positions who had been educated in India who had wished to forget the fact that they had been educated in India. He was sure everybody would wish the rising generation always to be proud of their schools. To be strictly accurate, they were English and Anglo-Indians, but they were our own kith and kin, and he preferred to call them both alike English. He agreed with what Sir Charles Yate had said about boys brought up in India wishing to return there. He had had letters from boys who had left India, telling him that they had enjoyed their time in India and looked forward to coming back again.

With regard to the Indian question, he personally thought that, if possible, it was best for English boys to be educated by themselves at the school stage. Those who had done so got on perfectly well with Indian undergraduates when they came to meet them at the university stage. Indians sometimes had a feeling that they were excluded from English schools. Possibly it would meet the wishes of Indians in the matter by having schools of their own under English management.

A point that had to be realized was what Lord Meston had called attention to, that the Indian not unnaturally did not wish there to be any preferential treatment. The fact that English masters and boys adopted an English style of living which was on the whole more expensive than an Indian style of living had sometimes led to higher grants, but it was natural that that argument would not carry weight with Indian public opinion. More money would therefore be required from voluntary sources. This should not be left to retired officials, but the general body of people in England should support the education of English boys in India. In conclusion, he said that he was very much obliged to the East India Association for giving him the opportunity of speaking and to Lord Meston for so kindly taking the chair. (Applause.)

On the motion of Sir HERBERT HOLMWOOD, a very cordial vote of thanks to Lord Meston for presiding and to the Lecturer for his able paper was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the Lecturer and I jointly express our obligations to you. If I may just add one word to the discussion, I hope there will not be any misunderstanding as to what a hostel is. It is a university hostel that Mr. Younghusband wants to promote; it is not a machine for primary or secondary education. It is simply a method by which boys studying at a college, essentially and primarily an Indian college, will be able to live and carry on their studies at a hostel set apart to suit their habits of life. That is done for Hindus, that is done for Mohammedans and Parsees, and there is no reason why it should not be done for Anglo-Indians. (Applause.)

THE LIQUOR QUESTION IN INDIA

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., K.-I.-H.

"MAN being reasonable must get drunk." So sang Byron long ago, declaring that the "best of life" is but "intoxication."

If this be true, then the peoples of India must be most "unreasonable," and they have missed "the best of life" from the poet's point of view; for, speaking generally, Indians seldom, if ever, get drunk, and they know comparatively little of the joys of "intoxication."

Thus, although the Indian revenue from excise continues to rise (as temperance reformers are never tired of pointing out), India is the last country in the world which calls for compulsory teetotalism or requires to be rendered forcibly "dry." The majority of the people do not habitually drink spirits, and the quantity of alcohol consumed in the land per head of population is comparatively insignificant.

Indeed, on the whole, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that the inhabitants of India generally are an abstemious and very temperate people, and there is certainly no need to attempt to dragoon or tyrannize them into sobriety. The Hindus are naturally sober, and the Moslems, if true to their faith, are pledged to abstain from intoxicants. Thus, though the land is one in which liquor flows freely and in which "a man can raise a thirst," the drink evil is nothing like what it is in some nations of the West.

Therefore, the policy that

"Because A gets drunk when he's the chance,
B must not touch a glass,"

would prove even more preposterous and disastrous in India than in the great, so-called "free" countries in which "Prohibition" has obtained, with such lamentable consequences to all. Were an attempt made to introduce this prohibition system into India, it can hardly be doubted that it would tend to make India "drunk" instead of "sober," and would bring with it all the evils which Lord Northcliffe has so graphically described as attendant on Prohibition in the United States of North America. It would raise a false thirst; and a demoralizing era of "subterfuge, evasion, law-breaking and humbug" would soon arise! For it is well-known that in almost all parts of India intoxicating drinks—if desired or required—can be obtained with the greatest possible ease. They can be manufactured from mhowra flowers in the forests and jungles, from sugarcane and molasses and grain in the villages, and can be drawn, in the shape of "toddy" (taḍi), from cocoanut and date trees and palms of almost every variety without toil or trouble. There are, of course, parts of India which have always been more or less "dry"; but, on the other hand, there are parts which have never been and never will be anything but "wet." So to attempt to enforce "Prohibition" throughout India would require armies of extra police and additional revenue officers; and wholesale oppression and corruption would inevitably result, in spite of India's innate sobriety.

No; whatever steps may or can be taken to prevent the spread of intemperance in India, compulsory repression is certainly not one of them. It would prove a curse and could not possibly succeed. Such treatment is only fit for children or savages, and Indians are neither the one nor the other. In their case "Prohibition" would become a degrading tyranny, and an ineffectual tyranny at that. "Force is no remedy"; and, in this case, force would need a kind of Spanish Inquisition to render it of any avail whatsoever.

It is only by stimulating and reviving the religious habits

and sentiments of the Moslems, and rousing the Hindoos against the use of alcohol and narcotics, that any real progress in temperance can be hoped for. Indians must be raised and encouraged—not bullied and oppressed, or hounded into total abstinence.

The temperate peasantry and working classes in India, as elsewhere, have a clear right to get decent liquor at a reasonable price if they require it; but it should be supplied under conditions that will reduce consumption to the lowest possible level, and discourage adulteration, intoxication, and all excess. And these were certainly the conditions under which the Abkari Department worked in Bombay from very early days, for I well remember that, when I handed over charge in Bombay,

“In the first year of him who first
Was Emperor and King,”

the established and settled policy of the Department was to minimize the consumption of intoxicating drinks, (a) by restricting the number of shops, and (b) by raising the duty upon liquor as high as it could be raised without running the risk of stimulating illicit production to such a degree as would increase instead of diminishing the total consumption.

This policy (after the elimination of vested interests in the Liquor Trade) “of minimizing temptation amongst those who did not drink and discouraging excess amongst those who did” was initiated by Sir Charles Pritchard (the first Bombay Abkari Commissioner), and was consistently followed up to and during my time; and even extreme temperance reformers and rabid calumniators of Government have been obliged to admit that liquor was taxed “higher and higher every year,” and that the number of liquor shops had been “materially diminished.” But, in spite of this, there are still persistent detractors of the Administration who continue to assert that from the very first the “*sole* object of the Government has been to enhance the revenue,” and that the last thing Government

really desire is a diminution in the total consumption—"their *sole* interest being merely to collect as much revenue as possible from the sale of drink."

This was certainly not the case in my time, for I remember distinctly that in 1899 I pointed out, as forcibly as I could, that under what was known as the "Pritchard system of Excise Administration" the following advantages had been gained :

(a) The growth or revival of vested interests in the Liquor Trade—adverse to those of the Government and of the public—had been suppressed and prevented.

(b) Complete administrative control and supervision over manufacture and sale had been established ; and

(c) The consumers and public were not left to the tender mercies of speculating contractors or unscrupulous shopkeepers.

Under this system it was possible to make sure—

1. That those who required it got pure, wholesome, unadulterated liquor at a fair and reasonable price.

2. That undue consumption was discouraged.

3. That poorer class purchasers were protected against possible extortion and the wiles and tricks of distillers and retailers.

In other words, administrative control and effective regulation were the main points of the Bombay "District Monopoly System," the object of Government being to secure the minimum of consumption with the maximum of revenue.

In working out and elaborating this system the Department succeeded in securing, by means of sealed tenders, the co-operation of Indian gentlemen of experience, ability, and recognized integrity and position (as contractors for the manufacture and sale of country liquor), who worked in close accord with the police and revenue and excise officers in detecting smuggling, repressing illicit distillation, and in strictly supervising shopkeepers and preventing intoxication, use of short measures, adulteration, and other malpractices.

It would have been extremely difficult for Government to have controlled the Liquor Trade without such skilled assistance, and in Bombay the Department was particularly fortunate in securing the co-operation of highly respectable and well-known Indian gentlemen ; and such a system as putting up liquor farms and shops to indiscriminate public auction sales and disposing of them to the highest bidder did not then prevail. Farms were entrusted to responsible contractors, and it was hoped that by raising the duty on liquor to as high a point as possible undue consumption would be checked and prevented. It is perhaps a pity that Government did not raise the duty higher and restrict the hours more than they did, for it may be noted that this not unreasonable hope, that raising the price and reducing the hours would check consumption, was certainly justifiable, seeing that a reduction in consumption (though not in revenue) certainly resulted in the United Kingdom during the Great War from the imposition of higher duties ; and it is well known that by the enhancement of price and curtailment of hours of sale Mr. Lloyd George's Government did more for the cause of temperance and the discouragement of the consumption of alcohol than the whole host of Temperance Reformers had ever accomplished before. But in India, unfortunately, it was found (and must be admitted) that, in spite of the rise in duty, consumption considerably increased—the gross excise revenue in two Provinces having more than doubled in ten years, the smallest increase being in the Punjab and amounting to fifty-one lakhs, and the maximum increase in Madras, amounting to over two crores and ten lakhs !

This increase is undoubtedly great and is much to be deplored. But is it true that it was due "solely to the policy of Government," and that "the excise policy pursued by Government has been with a view *solely* to enhancing the revenue"?

Now, on this point I tried to get recent information direct from India and from non-Government sources ; and this is

what an old Indian friend of high integrity and prolonged experience (who, like myself, earnestly desires to discourage the drinking habit) writes :

“The increase in drink is chiefly due to the encouragement the labour class is getting. The more you try to improve their position by increasing their wages and cutting down their hours of work, the more they take to drinking. Before, therefore, encouraging them to go on strikes and reducing their hours of work and supporting their demand for increased wages, some arrangement should be made or promise taken from them with the consent of Government that they should avoid drinking as far as possible or restrict it within certain limits. By the adoption of this course their position will improve and not otherwise.”

My friend adds that he has come to this conclusion “after careful consideration and personal experience, and frequent contact with labourers, bricklayers, carpenters, and others.” At present, he declares: “These men earn from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a day each, and most of their family members are also wage-earners.” My friend may know of cases where such wages have been earned, but, though it is well known that wages have doubled or trebled, it would not do to accept these figures as a general statement.

Again he writes: “The more you encourage the labour class the more the consumption of liquor will correspondingly increase. Day labourers, such as ordinary coolies, their wives, bricklayers, carpenters, mochiees, ghanchies, all have raised the rate of labour nearly four times above that they used to get formerly.” He notes that an ordinary coolie up-country now gets Rs. 1 As. 4, a day, and in Bombay from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a day, while artisans are paid from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 a day. This may be an over-statement, but “these men,” he adds, “with such wages have no proper clothes to put on, or anything left with them in the morning to buy food. All they get is spent in drinking. Formerly they used to drink once in the evening, but now twice, once at the recess time and subsequently in the evening. All the family members are

wage-earners, so that their joint income has now considerably increased, but they spend more than half of that portion in drink, and so very little is left to them for food and clothes." He quaintly concludes that "before the advocates of improving the status of the labour class advise the labourers, artisans, etc., to raise their wages, they should have, in the first place, seen to this drink evil. Unless, therefore, some such arrangement is made it is impossible to stop it, as the drink craze is very great."

From these simple statements of fact by an intelligent Bombay observer (which correspond closely with others ascertained from Madras and the Punjab), it would seem that the doubling of the excise revenue has curiously synchronized with the trebling and quadrupling of the wages formerly earned by the Indian labourers and artisans. From all this it may reasonably be inferred that the remedy lies, not in Prohibition, but in raising and educating the working classes, and in encouraging temperance by every means possible amongst them. And in this Government ought undoubtedly to take an actively earnest part by enlisting the sympathy and support, not only of influential Indians, but also of the labourers themselves and their families, and of all practical temperance reformers. Otherwise there is danger of the mischief spreading throughout temperate India. Honest and true temperance workers are always ready to help, but no good can come from railing at and bringing false charges against the British Government. It was not the British Government that introduced drinking into India, nor is it "fostering the drink trade for the sake of revenue." Yet the Rev. Mr. C. F. Andrews and other well-meaning fanatics recklessly assert that the drink evil has been "foisted upon the Indian people against their will by the British Government merely for the sake of revenue," and that "the evil now flourishes under the fostering care of the Excise Department, and, like a parasite, lives and thrives on the life of the nation." Indeed, I myself heard the late Mr. Tilak

tell a temperance audience in Caxton Hall that the British Government were the first to introduce drinking into India. This was certainly not true, and Mr. Gandhi himself has had the honesty to admit that the drink evil existed in India long before the advent of the British. So it is quite false to maintain that "the British Government inflicted on the people of India the undoubted evils of drink" or to pretend that the Excise Department is forcing intoxication on a reluctant people for the sake of the revenue derived therefrom. Nor is it true that excise is a necessary and indispensable source of revenue, and that Government cannot get on without it. Government could dispense with it; but there can be no reason why the profits from the manufacture and sale of liquor, etc., should go untaxed, or that vested interests in the Liquor Trade should be created, revived, or continued so that all profits should pass into the hands of private persons, or exploiting firms and crafty speculators. This would simply mean the transfer of revenues which should belong to the public to private pockets. If (as has been pretended) "by the abolition of the Excise Department India could have in its hands the money it now spends unproductively on drink," this would, no doubt, be an excellent thing, and the Department should be got rid of at once. But would the abolition of the Department and the removal of all control prevent people who want to get drink from getting it? or would it prevent the revival of the old out-still or unlicensed systems under which smuggling, illicit distillation, and all the old malpractices to the detriment of the poor flourished? Any one who understands Indian excise conditions realizes that it would not. No; it is improvement and not abolition that is required, and there seems to be little doubt that there is room for improvement in the Department, and by abolishing indiscriminate auction sales, by rationing liquor shops under a fee system, by diminishing temptations, and by repressing abuses that still survive, much could no doubt be done to help and encourage the cause of true temperance.

It ought to be possible to convert many of the dark liquor shops, saloons, and drinking dens, into open-air booths or into pleasant and respectable places of refreshment on the Continental plan, where customers with their wives and families could obtain food and fruit and non-alcoholic drinks if they so desired instead of toddy and ardent spirits ; and it would be well to try to open cold-drink shops as a kind of counter-attraction in close proximity to the country liquor shops and in competition with them.

Furthermore, seeing that India can produce wholesome liquors of its own, including "beer and even wine," duties on sales of European or foreign stimulants and alcoholic concoctions might be raised and everything possible done to give preference to Indian productions.

In the Excise Department itself a further long-delayed reform seems urgently necessary, and that is the proper and liberal payment of the subordinate staff. These subordinates should be placed as far as possible beyond the reach of temptation, and should be clearly made to understand that the chief part of their duty is not merely the detection and repression of smuggling and illicit distillation and other abuses, but also the discouragement of excessive drinking and the fostering of temperance by every means in their power. Much too could, no doubt, be done to help to enforce temperance by—

- (a) Curtailing the hours of sale.
- (b) Limiting the quantity supplied to each person.
- (c) Strictly enforcing the closing hour, and by other provisions which experience may suggest.

I have shown that it is false to assert that England introduced drinking into India, and it is doubly false to say that the British Government desires, or ever desired, to encourage drinking for the sake of revenue, or that it is "shameless enough to exploit the sins of the people" for this purpose. Government desire, and have always desired, the sobriety and well-being of the people of India, and there is no reason whatever why the Excise Depart-

ment should not work cordially with Temperance Reformers provided the latter do not interfere with the liberty of the subject or strive to demoralize the people by the tyrannous imposition of Prohibition. I approach the subject from the stand-point of an earnest Temperance Reformer.

"India sober" may mean "India free." But "India compulsorily dry" would mean "India enslaved," and would make it simply intolerable for Indians (with or without Swaraj). Prohibition in India on the American plan would certainly prove a positive curse to every one concerned. And this curse would be rendered twice accursed by interference and excited excesses such as those of Mr. Gandhi's followers.

But excise administration in India is now a "transferred subject," and it will henceforward be for Indian Legislatures and Indian Ministers to devise the best means to protect the population against undue interference and secure revenue, while at the same time discouraging over-consumption and intoxication and preventing illicit distillation and other malpractices.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, December 12, 1921, Sir W. D. Sheppard in the chair. A paper by Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., K.-i-H., entitled, "The Liquor Question in India," was read by F. H. Brown, Esq., C.I.E. The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. H. Bradley, C.S.I., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., General F. E. A. Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel P. W. O'Gorman, C.M.G., M.D., I.M.S., Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Dantra, M.D., Mrs. Fred Pollen, Mr. I. N. Thakor, Khan Bahadur A. M. Dalal, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. A. E. Goodwin, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. William E. Johnson ("Pussyfoot"), Mrs. Brett, Miss Turner, Mr. J. Sladen, Miss Johnston, Mrs. M. M. Whiton, Mr. T. C. Fenton, Mrs. Drury, Mr. A. M. McMillan, Mrs S. H. Firks, Miss Firks, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. Qadir Husain, Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Mrs. Partridge, Baroness Oscar and Miss de Thoren, Mr. E. C. Emerson, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. J. Procter-Watson, the Rev. Stuart Churchill, Mrs. Collis, the Rev. W. Cutting, Mr. R. H. H. Cust, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. F. W. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. Guiterman, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Clayton, Baron de Thoren, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

Mr. F. H. Brown prefaced the reading of the paper by saying that he had readily assented to Dr. Pollen's request to him to fill the gap caused by his unavoidable absence. He did so, not because he had any special knowledge of the subject before them that day, or as necessarily identifying himself with all the views to which the paper gave expression. Still less did he accept the invitation as feeling adequate to be a substitute for Dr. Pollen, for he entirely lacked his elocutionary power and his gifts of eloquence. He was there out of warm regard for the author of a paper, who had shown him, as he had shown so many others present, great personal kindness. He had known Dr. Pollen almost since the day when, as a youth, he landed in Bombay, and he had been a constant friend ever since. It was therefore a pleasure to serve him and the Association to which he had devoted so much self-sacrificing effort for a long period of years as honorary secretary. They all recognized Dr. Pollen's profound love for India, and it was no more than the obvious fact to those who knew him well that he, as he had written to Miss Scatcherd, "lived in India almost every day." This was in connection with the facile view of some people in India that no one could understand her affairs who had been out of the country for a few years. On the subject before them, at all events, Dr. Pollen spoke with special knowledge, he, as is well known, having been Abkari Commissioner in Bombay for some time before his retirement. In this capacity he had shown his independence of judgment by minuting strongly against proposals which were favoured at the time by higher authority. In this country Dr. Pollen had long been a

member of what he called "the true temperance association"—*i.e.*, the Public House Reform Association.

The paper was then read.

Mr. Brown said it might assist discussion if at this stage he supplemented the paper by a few facts as to the existing position. The fact mentioned by Dr. Pollen that excise administration was now a "transferred" subject was a point of great importance for them to keep in mind that afternoon. It meant that excise policy and revenue were within the control of Indian Ministers and the provincial legislatures. It followed that any legislation must be provincial; that the matter must be dealt with by the autonomous provinces and not by all-India legislation. Recently in the Legislative Assembly at Simla a motion in favour of temperance measures was not carried in the form in which it was brought forward because Government speakers pointed out that it would not do for the Central Legislature to attempt in any way to dictate to, or hamper, the provincial governments and legislatures. For this reason the resolution as passed did not go beyond a general expression of favour of temperance measures. Active steps toward reform were being taken in various provinces. The Central Provinces Legislature had passed a resolution declaring prohibition to be the goal to aim at, but this was no more than a statement of opinion. In the Punjab a resolution had been passed favouring local option. In Madras a Bill for local option was being promoted by his friend Mr. Ramachandra Rao, who was recently in this country. In all the provinces the Ministers in charge of the Abkari portfolio were re-examining the excise policy in order to satisfy the local Legislative Councils that all practicable measures were being taken to put down the drink evil, and that the moral interests of the people were in no way being subordinated to considerations of revenue. Unhappily, while these practical steps were being taken, a great deal of intimidation and pressure was being brought to bear upon the people by the non-co-operationists to compel their abstinence from liquor. In his "India Old and New," just published, Sir Valentine Chirol had quoted Mr. Gandhi as making the extraordinary statement in Bombay that "liquor shops must be closed even if it cost rivers of blood." They might contrast such intemperate temperance with the practical review of the difficulties confronting reform, and the grave dangers of widespread illicit distillation in the event of the closing of shops, made by the Indian Minister of Agriculture in the Punjab within the last few weeks, and his appeal for the co-operation in practical ways of temperance reformers.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am indicated as the person who will next address the meeting, but I propose to postpone my remarks until later in order that I may see whether the discussion turns on an absolute temperance policy *per se*—drink or no drink—or as to whether the arrangements that are made for the control of the liquor-supply in India are satisfactory or not. Those two points are quite distinct. It is quite possible that you may think the one is more important than the other, and I would rather like to hear your comments on the paper before I decide whether you wish me to reply on the temperance question absolutely or whether you wish my remarks on this paper that we have just heard read, which is a justification—

and, in my opinion, a somewhat pessimistic justification—of how the actual condition of affairs in India has been dealt with by us. I am told we have here present Mr. Johnson, who is known to us in England as Mr. "Pussy-foot" Johnson. He has been to India in the interests of temperance, or for further discovery of the truth, and I am sure we shall be pleased to hear his remarks at the earliest possible moment. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. E. JOHNSON said he wished to touch upon one or two points in the paper; the first was the reference to the Rev. C. F. Andrews, whom Dr. Pollen referred to as a fanatic. That was a most unfortunate expression to use. There was no more loyal Britisher in India than the Rev. C. F. Andrews, and there was no white man in the world who had the love and confidence of the Indian people to the extent that Mr. Andrews had. It was like applying the epithet to the President of the United States, every member of the Supreme Court, and forty-seven out of the forty-eight Governors. Dr. Pollen had referred to prohibition as degrading and ineffectual tyranny, and an attempt to terrorize the Indian people into sobriety. So far as he knew no one wanted to bully and hound the Indian people into total abstinence or sobriety. The great religious teachers in India were teaching people abstinence and sobriety before America was discovered, and when England was a wilderness inhabited by savages clothed in the skins of wild animals. There was a spontaneous demand on the part of the Indian people for prohibition; no one who knew anything about the subject would try to bully or terrorize them. When he was in India people came out in their thousands to encourage the movement. During the ten weeks he was in India, he had not found a single paper owned by an Indian which was not in favour of prohibition. The Indian members of the legislative councils were solid for it; every single Indian member of the Punjab Council had voted in favour of the local option measure with two exceptions—an official of the British Administration and a minister of excise. He had been told that the measure would take effect in April. The Government had the draft of it. His information was that the demand on the part of the people of the Punjab was so great on the point of prohibition that one half of the Punjab would become dry at once and the other half would go dry very shortly. With regard to the question of prohibition in Ceylon, in one district the vote in favour of local option was 1,316 to 18; so that the people of Ceylon were out for protection against the liquor traffic just as they were in India. Dr. Pollen's paper told them how the drink habit was increasing. During the few weeks he had been in India he had heard more about violation of the liquor laws, corruption of the police, and the shortcomings of the excise officers than they would hear in months in America. In company with the Rev. Norman Bennett he had visited several drink shops in Lucknow, in every one of which he found children, and in one case arrack was being sold to an eight-year-old boy. Again, he had visited a drink shop in Patna, and there were several children there also, and the liquor seller was in the act of selling liquor to a small boy. He asked a policeman who was standing outside the shop what he proposed to do in regard to the matter, and he replied, "Nothing; it is going on all the time." They might talk about violations of the law in America, or violations of the

law in England—he had not been in England three months before he had lost his watch—but there were greater violations of the liquor laws in India. It was the protest of the people against these violations and against the existing conditions which had developed the extraordinary demand for the elimination of the whole business. He had only been in India ten weeks, but he had never met such a warm-hearted, lovable people on the face of the earth. The demand of the people of the Indians themselves was for prohibition, and who should say that they were wrong? (Applause.)

Mr. A. E. DUCHESNE said he cordially agreed with the greater part of Dr. Pollen's paper. His residence in India had been 130 times as long as that of Mr. Johnson, and he, therefore, claimed to know something at any rate about the subject. In his opinion they should refrain from anything except the tendering of their cordial advice to those to whom, by legislative enactment, had been entrusted so many of the functions hitherto reserved to the British race. He begged to suggest to Mr. Johnson that ten weeks was not an excessive time in which to gather the opinions of 320,000,000 people of different races and different creeds. He advised Mr. Johnson to exercise a modest reticence in putting his opinion forward as to what the real views, wishes, and demands of the Indian races were. They were no more unanimous for prohibition than were the British.

Assuming that the legislative bodies in the various provinces were in favour of local option or prohibition, or any other interference with the habits of the people, they must recollect that by far the larger number of the people of India were not adequately represented in these assemblies as they were at present constituted. The time had not yet come when the teeming masses of India, hundreds of millions of them, could elect really proper representatives in any form of legislative assembly. (Hear, hear.) He had every respect for the legal profession, and for no one more than for that ornament of it to whose admirable paper they had listened with such pleasure; but up to the present the majority of the members of the assemblies had been lawyers of some description or another, and of course it was the function of the lawyer to live by the law and to make laws to live upon. He therefore asked, Was it right at the present time to contemplate changing by law the habits of the masses in India in obedience to the opinions of those who, having regard to their own habits and principles, were not affected at all? It was easy for a Brahmin to assert that other people should follow his example and abstain from the use of any liquor; but it was a different thing when a Brahmin, or anybody else, assumed the right to compel such abstention by the force of law. Had Mr. Johnson heard of the riots in various parts of the country at which Mr. Gandhi's perfervid supporters, encouraged by his desire to enforce teetotalism at the point of the sword, had set fire not only to liquor shops, but other shops, because they suspected the people who owned them of drinking liquor? Did Mr. Johnson think that at a time when there was so much unrest in India it was wise that a question such as the present, which did not affect to any very great extent either the health or the prosperity of the people of India, should be brought forward in obedience to the wishes of a fanatic section of the British, or any other race?—a fanatic being a person who

fixed his attention on one point only to the exclusion of the environment in which that point should in fairness be viewed. Had any such people the right to impose such legislation upon all the teeming millions of India? With all deference to Mr. Johnson, it was a matter of indifference to 299 millions out of 300 millions of the abstemious races of India. (Applause.)

Mr. I. N. THAKOR thought that Mr. Johnson had gauged the minds of the Indians much better than any of the Anglo-Indians. Both the religions—the Hindu and Islam—had forbidden drink, and the Government, pledged to non-interference in religious matters, ought not to have touched the liquor trade. The Government was guilty because it was so much under financial stress that it sought sources of revenue irrespective of the moral or immoral character of the source. Whatever it had done was done reluctantly, under pressure of public opinion. It was wrong to assert that the Brahmin alone did not want liquor. The warrior class of Kshatriyas, trading class, and agriculturists all were against it. Even the lowest of the people admitted, unlike the workers in England in the case of beer, that it was an addiction. He had in mind a number of higher-class families who had become addicted to drink, and their moral fibre and domestic peace had been ruined. They ought not to treat the question as an isolated question as in England, where there is no religious injunction or conventional opinion against it. In India it was considered as bad as adultery. Hence the person got this habit in bad company, and the question, therefore, could not be judged on its merits without the moral and the domestic aspects. The liquor agitation was not due to lawyers. Mr. Gandhi had the whole of the feminine and orthodox opinion on his side. The suggestion with regard to terrorizing the people into sobriety was a gross exaggeration. He assured them that there would be no more terrorizing in this case than in that of compulsion in the introduction of primary education.

KHAN BAHADUR A. M. DALAL said, speaking as an Indian of sixty-six years of age, he was acquainted with the liquor trade. He had known Dr. Pollen since the time when he assumed the position of Commissioner of Customs. He knew what harm the liquor trade had done to India, and he associated himself with what Dr. Pollen had said in his paper. Formerly liquor had been drunk by people with demoralizing effects; that was due to the out-stills. The out-stills had been abolished by the British Government, and central distillation establishments had been created; legitimate checks had been imposed upon the liquor shops, and the drinking hours had been curtailed. At the present time the drinking shops were only open from 10 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening. The Government of India was introducing legislation to repress drinking. And if the Government of India were to be blamed, what was to be said of those States which were under their own native rulers? Formerly liquor could be bought at the shops in the Native States at a much cheaper price than in the British shops. That had gradually been remedied by the British Government. A further point was that the Government of India, which had sacrificed a large opium revenue for the sake of China, would hesitate in any way to foster intoxication on the part

of their own subjects ; it was preposterous to suggest it. At a time when unrest was so prevalent in India it would be a disastrous calamity if by a stroke of the pen or by any legislation total prohibition were to be enforced. It would be impossible in India, where 300,000,000 people had been used to drinking from time immemorial. There had been a great improvement by the introduction of counter-attractions. Mr. Gandhi wished to close the tea shops, which would be a direct invitation to intoxication. He exonerated the British Government from all blame for encouraging or fostering intoxication. (Applause.)

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE, M.P., said he was very pleased to hear the speech of Mr. Dalal, which was a corrective of the very wild and impractical statements made by the previous speaker (Mr. Thakor), who seemed to be imbued with the spirit, so prevalent in India at the present time, that nothing was right except to abuse the British Government. With regard to Mr. Johnson, he had wound up his speech by saying that he had said all that was worth saying. The question that passed through his mind was whether Mr. Johnson had said anything worth saying at all. If prohibition in India were to be dependent for its development on the arguments put forward by Mr. Johnson, he could not think it would go very far. He had never heard a more immature or impracticable series of statements in his life. A man who had been only ten weeks in India could not presume to represent the opinions of all the people in India. With regard to Mr. Johnson's statement that there was not a single newspaper in India owned by an Indian which was not in favour of prohibition, the probability was that Mr. Johnson had seen no papers but those edited in the interests of Mr. Gandhi, and he had probably come into contact only with non-co-operators and men of that stamp. It seemed impossible that in the short time at his disposal he could have come into contact with all the great leaders of Indian thought as he stated. No doubt he had travelled about from one place to another and had been interviewed at each place by Mr. Gandhi's representatives one after another. Mr. Johnson had based his arguments for total prohibition in India on the fact that in one district in Ceylon 1,300 people had voted in favour of the prohibition of toddy, but the population of Ceylon, so far as he could remember, was between four and five millions, and the proportion that voted must have been very small. Mr. Johnson had stated that the people of India demanded prohibition. What could he know of the demands of the people? He had not seen one-millionth part of the 300,000,000 people who lived in India, and wild statements of that kind could not carry weight. He (the speaker) supported Dr. Pollen's paper, which in his opinion was a really practical paper, and he hoped it would be well studied in India. (Applause.)

Mr. A. E. GOODWIN thought that Government officials were not the best people to express opinions upon a question such as the present, because they must look at the matter from their own point of view. He spoke simply as a business man, and not from any detached point of view. The excise revenue had gone up by leaps and bounds within the last twenty years. Every reform with regard to the excise had had to be pressed upon

the Government officials. The out-stills had been abolished owing to the agitation of private individuals. In Bengal it had taken a considerable time to secure the reform that no woman should be allowed to sell liquor and that no children should be served with liquor. Every reform had been checked and hindered by the Government officials.

Mr. CHANCELLOR thought that the question whether prohibition was the right policy to adopt was a matter for the Indians themselves to decide, and the local councils were capable of rising to the great moral height of sacrificing revenue rather than to allow the liquor trade to continue.

Lieut.-Colonel O'GORMAN, as an Indian Medical Service officer of over thirty years' experience and special study of the subject under discussion, begged to controvert Dr. Pollen's view on prohibition. The question of alcohol as a beverage must be regarded fundamentally from two main points—the physical and the moral, the latter connoting the spiritual and the psychological. Influences affecting the body interacted on the soul, and *vice versa*. All religions—especially the Christian, the Hindu, and the Moslem—condemned the abuse of alcohol, and in practical politics the relation of the soul to its Creator could not be relegated to a secondary place, nor could any amount of so-called "good" compensate for the sin of intemperance. Nor is alcohol in its physical or psychological effects advantageous in any climate, and much less so in a tropical one as in India. Alcohol, the principle of all intoxicant liquors, is an *irritant-narcotic drug*. This means that the preliminary temporary stimulation is superseded by a prolonged depression of all the functions of the body. But there is one most important result that is of fundamental consequence to the spiritual as well as physical being of man. By a well-known pharmacological law, the latest developments or achievements of the brain and nervous system are the first to be assailed by narcotics, the effect being sedative in small, and narcotic in large, doses, but both being radically degrees of paralysis. Consequently *the intellect is confounded*, but, above all, *the will is undermined* and SELF-CONTROL SUBMERGED. Here we see the reason why, with every glass of indulgence, a man is liable to drink more and more, and end in intemperance. And thus a most important result follows—*a habit is formed*. Now, as it is notorious that virgin soil is the most susceptible and fructuous, permanently abstinent classes of people are particularly responsive to the seeds of intemperance. And the lower their stage of civilization—that is, their intellectual attainments, their will-power, and power of self-control—the more easily do they succumb. The Indians, like all abstemious peoples, suffer more, and, as the masses are very deficient in these mental qualities—passivity, moreover, being a fatal predisposition—they more readily fall victims to the habit of intemperance. This is a psychological law. In doing so, they descend early into degradation, and cut themselves off from civilization, sinking to the level of the savage and brute beast. Hence alcohol is obviously an *anti-civilization drug*. Are we, then, perversely to favour its dissemination among Indians, especially if even those most intimately concerned protest strongly against it—as happened, for one instance, with the Khonds? "Prevention is better than cure" is a truism. To give facilities for the

spread of the fire of intemperance, instead of permanently protesting against the source of the conflagration, is what no insurance company would approve. Moreover, why should the curse of "vested interests," Government or private, such as shackles and obstructs all the effects of temperance reforms in Europe and America, be deliberately allowed to be established in India? The time for prohibition is certainly now, and not after the evil has secured a firm foothold.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, the discussion this afternoon has drifted, as I rather expected it would, into the advocacy of total prohibition for the whole of India, and has left alone the more immediate object of Dr. Pollen's paper, which was the more limited question of liquor control. I do not wish to say much on the subject of total prohibition. I have doubts, in the first place, as to its desirability, and as a practical measure I do not believe that it would be any more easy to establish absolute prohibition in India than it has been found to be in America, or would be found to be in England. I think it will be found impossible in this country, and an impossibility in India, too.

I, of course, deplore anything like excess in drinking, and I entirely agree with those speakers who have urged that there are castes in India who distinctly loathe drink and who feel it a disgrace that members of their caste should become addicted to drinking. These, however, are the higher and middle classes only. There is no reason why these people should drink: it is contrary to their religion and contrary to their caste customs, and I would suggest that nothing has been done by the British Government to induce them to depart from their old morality in this matter. Caste is powerful still, and can well look after the habits of its people.

The ordinary labouring man comes into a different category. He has always been in the habit of getting a daily dram, and after the exhaustion of his labour, and in many cases the unhealthiness of the locality in which he has to work—whether on the land or in a factory—it is, I think, inevitable, if not desirable, that he should be able to obtain this slight alleviation of his dull and dreary lot. The British Government, as speakers have admitted, did not introduce drink or the drinking habit into India. They found it existing over the whole country, and it was with the determination to control it, and to ensure that the liquor supplied should be wholesome and good, that they have gradually put a stop to private and now illicit distillation, and fixed the localities of the shops at which it may be sold, and decided how many such shops there should be. I do not consider that Government is to blame, if, in connection with and in consequence of their control, they have been able to secure for the State a constantly increasing revenue. Such increase has not been due to increased drinking, but rather to the raising of the price at which liquor has been supplied. This is clear from the figures for the Bombay Presidency for the last ten years, which show that throughout the whole of that period the annual consumption has remained at the figure of 26 lakhs of proof gallons, while during the same period the gross excise revenue has increased from 169 lakhs of rupees to 363 lakhs of rupees. There has been a slight diminution in consumption over the whole presidency except in the town

and island of Bombay, the town of Poona, and in a part of Gujarat (including the city of Ahmedabad). The location of shops has been settled in consultation with local advisory committees, and many shops have been closed. Every effort has been made to popularize the weaker strengths of liquor, and now there are as many as 600 shops at which liquor of only 60° u.p. is sold out of a total number of 1,900 shops. Only a few years ago the strength of the spirit supplied was rarely less than 25° u.p., and I would submit that even a hard drinker will not do himself any harm if he limits his drinking to spirit so weak in strength as 60° u.p.

The hours at which shops may be open for the sale of liquor have also been materially reduced, and no one can get a drink in the morning before 10.30 or in the evening later than 8.30.

Liquor control in India has now passed into the hands of Indian ministers—excise being a transferred subject—and the legislative assemblies and minister will jointly be responsible for the policy of the future in the matter of drink. I trust they will continuously strive for the greatest possible sobriety among the people; but I cannot pretend to look forward to sudden prohibition throughout India without serious apprehension and alarm. (Applause.)

On the motion of Colonel Sir Charles Yate, M.P., seconded by the Rev. William Cummings, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman, Mr. Brown, and Dr. Pollen.

The Chairman having thanked the meeting the proceedings terminated.

The following notes from Mr. J. B. Pennington and Mr. G. M. Ryan (who would have spoken had time permitted) have been received by the Hon. Secretary :

"The discussion on Dr. Pollen's paper was so good that there was no need for me to say how thoroughly I agreed with him on the whole; but I should have liked to tell the gentleman who has so honourably acquired the name 'Pussyfoot' two stories I heard the other day from a young friend who spent two months enjoying herself in America this spring. The first was that she had never in all her life (not a very long one) seen so many tipsy men as she met at the dances she attended there,* and the other was that one man boasted he had laid up liquor enough to last his family 'for three generations.' No wonder he, and his like, did not worry about prohibition.

(Signed) "J. B. PENNINGTON."

"Quite three-fourths of the intoxicating liquors drunk in Western and Central India are manufactured from the flowers of the mhowra tree, and it seems to me that if it is desired to diminish the consumption of such liquor there, one effective way of doing so would under the circumstances be, not by compulsory legislation, but by diverting mhowra spirit from its present destiny into other channels if possible, such as industrial purposes.

* "I should hope she had never seen an Englishman the worse for liquor at a dance."

"It is an established fact that industrial or power alcohol is quite as good if not much better as a liquid fuel than petrol. This the London General Omnibus Company ascertained by experiments made with it some time ago.

"In the Nizam's Dominions they are pushing ahead with the manufacture of power alcohol at the rate of about 10,000 gallons daily.

"In British India about ten or twelve times that quantity might be manufactured under a system of organized village plantations which the people could be encouraged to take part in.

"The Indian Government, however, would probably not view with favour any scheme which tends to reduce their large and increasing excise revenue, such as the manufacture of power alcohol instead of potable alcohol would bring about ; but any loss of revenue would be more than compensated for probably by the extended rise of motor transport and industrial and agricultural machinery.

"If power alcohol can be manufactured at four to five annas per gallon from mhowra as is now done apparently in the Nizam's Dominions, and if its distribution to large centres of consumption could be arranged without interfering with existing railway traffic by means of pipe lines, like petrol in America and palm oil on the West African coast, most people who have the true interests of India's development at heart will agree that the proper destiny of spirit made from the mhowra-flower is not potable but industrial alcohol.

"An influential and prominent Indian merchant is now considering this question of industrial alcohol manufacture in Bombay. It remains to be seen whether he can successfully overcome the various difficulties that lie in his way before his scheme materializes. (Signed) "G. M. RYAN."

The following reply to the above discussion has been received from Dr. Pollen :

"I have just seen the shorthand writer's notes of the discussion on my paper, and should like to say how very grateful I feel to my friend Mr. Brown for so readily reading the paper for me, and to Sir William Sheppard for so kindly taking the chair.

"My object in drawing up the paper was to help to protect the good peoples of India, and, at the same time, to disprove and denounce the wicked assertion that the British Government had deliberately fostered and encouraged the drink evil in India for the sake of revenue.

"It was in connection with this assertion that, after reading his pamphlet on 'The Drink and Opium Evil,' I incidentally included Mr. C. F. Andrews amongst 'other well-meaning fanatics' who insisted that the drink evil in India was due to foreign rulers. Mr. 'Pussyfoot' Johnson would seem to imply that the President of the United States, every member of the Supreme Court of the United States, and forty-seven out of forty-eight Governors of the United States would agree with this view of Mr. Andrews ! But then they do not know India ; and, whatever may be said, ~~it is not true~~ that the British Government ever forced drink for the sake of revenue upon any section of the Indian people ! Khan

Bahadur A. M. Dalal, speaking with lifelong experience, has correctly summarized the attitude of the British Government in India with regard to the drink question, and Mr. A. E. Duchesne has ably disposed of most of Mr. Johnson's hallucinations.

"The Chairman has so ably dealt with the chief points in the discussion that there remains very little for me to add. He speaks with more recent experience of India than mine, and I am glad that he agrees with me that prohibition is an impossibility in India under present conditions. I am also pleased that he was able to show that the total consumption of liquor in India has not increased during the last ten years, although the revenue has risen, and that Government have been able to reduce the strength of the liquor consumed.

"Mr. Pennington's note is most interesting ; and Mr. G. M. Ryan has suggested a practical way of diminishing the consumption of mhowra liquor by diverting the spirit from its present destiny into industrial channels.

"J. POLLEN."

THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO INDIA

THE following letter was addressed to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on the eve of his departure for India :

TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., ETC.

October 7, 1921.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

On behalf of the East India Association, a body which exists solely to promote the welfare of India and a good understanding between Englishmen and Indians, we desire respectfully to wish you Godspeed in your forthcoming historic journey through India. We are well aware that in the changed and changing conditions of the present day there may be difficulties before you ; but we believe that the heart of India is sound, and that her people are loyal to the august person of the King-Emperor. We are therefore confident that you will find a cordial welcome as the ambassador of peace and good-will from His Majesty and the British people, and we know that to no better hands could such an embassy be entrusted. May you return to England filled with that deep love for India and her people which those feel who have had the privilege of serving His Majesty there. That you will plant for yourself a root of abiding affection in Indian hearts we venture to regard as a foregone conclusion.

(Signed)

LAMINGTON, *Chairman of Council.*

STANLEY P. RICE, *Hon. Secretary.*

[REPLY].

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, S.W.,

October 8, 1921.

MY LORD,

The Prince of Wales desires me to ask you to convey to the East India Association his sincere appreciation of the good wishes expressed in your letter of the 4th October for the success of his journey through India.

It is His Royal Highness's earnest hope that this visit may contribute towards uniting that great country more closely to the British Empire, and it is very gratifying to him to know that so honourable and distinguished an association as yours is in complete sympathy with him.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A. LASCELLES,

Assistant Private Secretary.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD LAMINGTON,

G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

OBITUARY

THE LATE MR. T. W. ROLLESTON AND THE INDIA SOCIETY

BY HARIHAR DAS, F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S.

MR. ROLLESTON was a man of varied gifts, for while he was a journalist by profession, he showed himself at the same time to be both a poet and a philosopher. For his enthusiastic love of India and his service to Indian culture he has merited a place in the front rank. He was prominent amongst those who study Indian art and literature, and his public work did much to bring about that better understanding between East and West which is so much to be desired. Though in other branches of literary activity his name will be cherished, Indians at least will always associate his name with the India Society of which he was one of the originators. His Secretarial work in connection with this Society was of so thorough a nature, and carried out with so much devotion and zeal, that he opened the first chapter of its history with a promise of important achievements to come in the sphere of Indian æsthetics. Those who are true sons of the East, and who, whether born in East or West, reverence the work of Indian poets, artists, or litterateurs, will agree that Mr. Rolleston's name is worthy to live, and this brief memoir is intended at once as a humble tribute and as a summary of the chief facts of the life of one whom we Indians "delight to honour."

Thomas William Hazen Rolleston, who died at Hampstead on Sunday, December 5, 1920, was born at Glasshouse, Shinrone, King's County, Ireland, on May 1, 1857. He was the third and youngest son of Charles Rolleston-Spunner, Q.C., County Court Judge for North Tipperary, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Right Hon. John Richards, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Ireland. As he was born fifteen years after his brother, his early childhood was spent to a great extent apart from companions of his own age. He found scope for his imagination in Nature and books, and made acquaintance with Shelley when he was eight years old. He was educated at St. Columba's College, Rathfarnham, a school built on the slopes of the Three Rock Mountain in County Wicklow. On holidays and Sundays he was free to roam at will, alone or with friends, over the wild and beautiful mountain. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1874, where, after a brilliant career, he won the Vice-Chancellor's prize for English verse with a lyrical drama, "The Feast of Belshazzar," and in 1878 took his B.A. degree. While at College he formed a close writing friendship with the American poet, Walt Whitman, whose works had greatly influenced him at that time. Walt Whitman, who

was always keenly interested in young men's thoughts, ideals, and aspirations, wrote frequently to him, and also presented him with copies of his works. In after life Mr. Rolleston always spoke with the deepest gratitude of this friendship. In his younger days he was a good sportsman, and when at College he took up rowing. All through his life he loved the sea and running waters. Once he and a friend of his secured two Rob Roy canoes, and during one of their vacations took a delightful trip from Wicklow Point up to a northern part of Ireland, the risk of the undertaking adding to the excitement of the trip.

After taking his degree at Trinity he went to Germany in 1879, and while there devoted himself to the study of its language and literature, and made himself a very efficient German scholar, speaking the language fluently. In 1879 he married Edith, daughter of the Rev. W. de Burgh, D.D., and had as issue three sons and one daughter. His wife was also in Germany with him, and while there he learnt to play the zither, a musical instrument of peculiar sweetness. He played it in after life with much enjoyment to himself and to his home circle. Even a few days before his death he was playing Irish airs on this instrument, as he often took it up in the evening as a rest and relaxation after a long day's strenuous brain work. In 1897 he married Miss Maud Brooke, daughter of the late Rev. Stopford Brooke.

Mr. Rolleston, while in Germany, translated the "Encheiridion of Epictetus," an excellent vade-mecum of the Stoic Philosophy. This little book soon found its way into the hands and pockets of many an admirer. He also at this time wrote the "Life of Lessing," published in 1889.

Leaving Germany in 1883, he returned to Ireland and took up the editorship of the *Dublin University Review* from May, 1885 to December, 1885. W. B. Yeats, Katherine Tynan, and Jane Barlow wrote some of their earliest work in this publication, while men of many divergent views, such as Michael Davitt, Professor Dowden, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Douglas Hyde, Standish O'Grady, John O'Leary, and others, were also frequent contributors to its pages.

In 1892, having settled near London in order to do journalistic work, he helped to found the Irish Literary Society.

Mr. Rolleston returned to Dublin in 1892 as Secretary of the Irish Industries Association, which post he held till 1897, and became later on leader-writer of the *Dublin Daily Express* and *Dublin Chronicle* from 1898-1900.

In 1909 he and his family moved from Ireland to England, where work was opening out for him in London. Mr. Rolleston took up his abode in Hampstead, renewed his connection with the Irish Literary Society, lecturing frequently, and writing for the leading monthlies and magazines, and became a valued and regular contributor to *The Times* "Literary Supplement," especially on Oriental subjects. During the war he worked in the Censor's Office, and later acted as Librarian to the Ministry of Information. He "joined up" as a volunteer in the Old Boys' Corps; later became a special constable, and then entered the *Inns of Court* Volunteers.

In 1910 Mr. Rolleston, in conjunction with Professor William Rothenstein, Mr. Laurence Binyon, Dr. T. W. Arnold, Mr. E. B. Havell, and others, founded the India Society, which "owed its origin to the belief of a body of artists and students that the æsthetic culture of India, more particularly in the provinces of painting, sculpture, and music, had in it elements of beauty and interest which in Europe and even in modern India were too little understood and valued." This body has promoted the study and encouraged the appreciation of Indian art, using that term in its widest sense. It has, on suitable occasions, made important representations to the Government. As an instance of this side of its activities, it may be remembered that, when the question of the architecture of the new Delhi was being discussed, the Society pointed out that the spirit of indigenous tradition ought to be considered. Moreover, the Society has contributed to the literature of Indian art, and encouraged individual effort. In the last connection, the names of Lady Herringham, Professor William Rothenstein, and Mr. Laurence Binyon may be mentioned. Among its other notable publications are the poet Tagore's first edition of "*Gitanjali*" and Dr. Coomaraswamy's Indian drawings. It has a list of influential members on the Committee, among whom are Lord Carmichael of Skirling, Mr. A. H. Fox-Strangways, and others.

Mr. Rolleston was the guiding spirit of this Society after he became Secretary, on the retirement of Mr. Fox-Strangways. His keen interest to promote its cause—broad sympathy and wide knowledge in Indian thought and literature—made him an accomplished Secretary. The work of the Society was so near to his heart that he gave gratuitously the last years of his life to its development. He had many plans in his mind which he often expressed with enthusiasm to his friends. The King's speech on the opening of the School of Oriental Studies, in which it was declared that "the ancient literature and the art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour," stirred his sympathies and imbued him with the idea of establishing a Lecturership in Indian Art at the School of Oriental Studies. He spared no pains to make his scheme successful by influencing the Indian notabilities and others who were interested in Indian art to contribute to the funds for the purpose.

His home at Hampstead was always a centre of hospitality. Mr. Brereton wrote in *The Times* "Literary Supplement": "With Rolleston no passwords were necessary. One entered, so to say, an open house, and at once felt at home." His amiability and readiness to help his friends either in literary or other spheres were characteristic. Many writers on Oriental subjects found in Mr. Rolleston a friend in need in connection with the publication of their works.* He gave such aid with the same devotion that he would bring to bear upon his own work. The present writer owes Mr. Rolleston a deep debt of gratitude for such assistance.

He made many friends in literary circles, and knew Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and other prominent Indians. A friend of forty years' standing wrote to Mrs. Rolleston in the following terms: "The charm of his personality and even the gentleness and kindness of his character were, perhaps, not such rare qualities as his absolute sincerity and genuineness

and transparency, and his desire to get the truth, even if he had to confess himself mistaken." Mr. Rolleston had a fascinating style of his own, and in this respect he resembled somewhat Stopford Brooke. His writings are delightful, forcible, and straightforward.

It is a sacred duty to perpetuate the memory of such a man, who, by his personal sagacity and practical example, can well be claimed as a friend of India, and the memory of such an exponent should not die. In the Report of the India Society issued December, 1920, and signed by the Chairman, Lord Carmichael, we read: "Mr. Rolleston's wide sympathies and scholarship, his personal distinction and untiring courtesy, made him an ideal Secretary, and under his able administration the Society has enlarged the scope of its activities and has steadily increased its membership, despite the brake the war necessarily put upon its initiative. No one had the interests of Indian culture more at heart than Mr. Rolleston. His loss will be felt far beyond the limits of the India Society. But he regarded his work for us as specially important, and the Committee believe that, in carrying out the plans he himself hoped to bring to fruition, they will be setting up the most fitting tribute to his memory." There can be no finer tribute paid to Mr. Rolleston's work in connection with the India Society than this; but it may perhaps be suggested as a fitting tribute to his worth that the Society should name the Lectureship on Indian Art at the School of Oriental Studies after him. It is hoped that the patrons of the India Society, both in England and abroad, will approve of this by giving their generous help towards the maintenance of the Chair.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

INDIAN ECONOMICS

BY G. KEATINGE, C.I.E.

FOR the past twenty years or so the term "Indian economics" has been in common use amongst public men in India, and books have been published under this title. More recently the term has been used by several Indian universities, and by the Government of India. It is therefore necessary to consider exactly what is implied by it. The term "economics" has been variously defined; but for general purposes it may be taken as denoting the science which concerns itself with the production, distribution, and exchange of wealth. It enquires how men produce wealth, and how they consume it, and analyzes the motives which govern the production and the use of wealth.

Human needs are, of course, not a constant factor. They vary from one country to another, and from one time to another; and as needs vary, so will the devices to supply them vary. It will, therefore, be a cause of surprise to no one to find that there are certain peculiarities of Indian industry and trade which arise partly from the physical circumstances of India, and partly from the present stage of material development in that country; and it is probable that, with some people, the term "Indian economics" is intended merely to call attention to the fact that there are many peculiar problems connected with Indian industry and trade which need special study. The term, however, implies more than this, and is often used to denote more than this.

The older economists were apt to regard political economy as having a particular field of investigation of its own, apart from other branches of social science. Subsequently it was usual to consider economic matters in relation to social, political, and ethical institutions; and it is when considering economic questions with regard to Indian institutions that the term "Indian economics" is often used. There are certain advantages in considering economic questions with reference to national institutions; and at this stage it is only necessary to note that, in a country like India, where religious and social observances count for so much,

there is a danger that, in following such a course, the economic side of any problem may be ignored to a great extent.

It is proposed in the first instance to consider briefly some of the physical features which govern production, and the institutions which have been developed in India to meet the situation. It will then be easier to estimate the present economic position in India, and to understand the use which is made of the term "Indian economics."

It is a commonplace statement that the industry of any country is governed to a great extent by physical conditions. If a country possesses a fertile soil and a favourable climate we may hope to find agriculture flourishing. Where coal mines and raw material abound, manufactures may be looked for. If metals are plentiful, a metallurgic industry is indicated; while an extensive sea-board gives rise to a seafaring race. We know, however, that these developments do not always occur. In India the mining and manufacturing industries are very small as compared with the natural facilities which exist, and we look in vain for the race of sailors which the extensive sea-board would lead us to expect. It is therefore proposed to consider only some of the physical features which influence industry in a marked degree.

First in importance comes the matter of climate, which may be considered under three aspects—viz., the mean temperature from month to month, the degree of humidity associated with various temperatures, and the change in the weather from day to day. It is not possible to go into the details of such matters, showing how they affect the various parts of India; but it may be briefly stated that over most of India the climate, for considerable parts of the year, is not conducive to human energy. Excessive temperature or humidity is inimical to sustained effort, physical or mental; while the long periods of uniform weather are far less stimulating than the rapid changes brought about in some favoured countries by frequent cyclonic storms.

The enervating nature of a tropical climate is generally recognized, but the full effect on a population of a tropical climate and tropical diseases may, perhaps, hardly be appreciated by those who have not lived in the tropics. To take an extreme example in the province of Sind. During nearly half the year the people of Sind are prostrated by intense heat. Then follows the period of malaria, when most of them are shaking with fever. After that comes the cold weather, which is found so pleasant and stimulating

by visitors to Sind. But the change is too severe for the debilitated condition of many of the inhabitants, who readily develop pneumonia. It is difficult to see how satisfactory progress can be secured in these circumstances ; and looking at the country as a whole it must be admitted that in the matter of climate India suffers from a severe handicap.

In the matter of rainfall, also, India is at a disadvantage. The rainfall is of a markedly seasonal nature, which, for an agricultural population, means that work is at a standstill for about one-third of the year. This results in direct loss to the people, and has a serious after-effect ; for the intermittent nature of the work, the periods of enforced idleness, react unfavourably on their normal activity, in the same way that intermittent labour is found to impair efficiency in other countries.

Some years, of course, the rain fails altogether, and the crops wither in spite of all efforts to save them ; this spells disaster for many, and for all it produces a feeling of helplessness, apathy, and fatalism which discourages alike energy and enterprise.

The fact is that in the matters referred to above India is at a disadvantage. Let us now consider what institutions she has developed to meet these difficulties. It is, of course, impossible to do more than note the salient points of a few of the most prominent characteristics of Hindu society ; but it is not difficult to trace the connection between the physical difficulties which beset the Indian cultivator and the social organization which the wisdom of bygone ages has evolved to meet them, "the beneficial, co-operative, rural life whereon the whole system of the civilization of the Hindus have been immemorially based."

The features of this system are fourfold, viz. :

1. The Hindu family, joint in interests, joint in property, which guarantees maintenance not only to every member of the family, but to as many children as he may choose to bring into the world.

2. The caste divides up the community into watertight compartments, and directs the domestic and industrial life of each man at every turn, prescribing, on the one hand, what he may eat and drink and whom he may marry, and, on the other hand, what work he may do and by what methods he should do it.

3. The village community is designed to regulate the relations of the various castes to each other and to co-ordinate local industry for the common good.

4. Last, but not least, comes the conception of the

paternal Government, which is expected to interest itself actively in the domestic and industrial life of the subject.

Now, how does this system work out in practice? Such a system could hardly be expected to develop personal initiative and enterprise; and, as a matter of fact, it does not do so. Even as regards activity and industry, the incentive of personal ambition and the spur of individual necessity are largely absent; and their absence tends to depress still further the low standard of effort which a debilitating climate will allow.

The fact that the units of the population are grouped together into joint families and brigaded into cohesive village communities certainly does, to some extent, secure the object aimed at: it offers several lines of defence to the people in their struggle with nature. Thanks to Hindu institutions, the blows of fortune which, under a different organization, would fall on the individual are borne by a group; and, except in time of widespread distress, it is not necessary for the central Government to organize poor relief. But the policy is a negative one. The individual is saved from disaster at the expense of the community, a low standard of effort is balanced by a low standard of living, and the hope of the future is sacrificed to the convenience of the present.

The industrial facts of the situation are made clear by the census figures, which show that nearly three-quarters of the inhabitants of India are dependent on agriculture, and that out of a population of 320,000,000 only about one million are engaged in manufacture based on modern factory organization. As in other countries so in India, the products of the handicraftsman have been largely ousted by the products of the power-driven machine; but the introduction of machinery into India has been so slow that the machine-made products which have ousted Indian handicrafts come mainly from abroad, and the population has been thrown back more than ever on agriculture.

The Government of India has often been severely criticized for not taking effective steps to introduce modern industrial methods more rapidly into India. But the question arises: "Do the people of India desire the rapid introduction of modern industrial methods?" For a long time past there has been a party which has advocated such a policy; but, on the other hand, there have always been many Indians who recognized that modern industrialism was not compatible with the orthodox Hindu system, and who for this reason were strongly opposed to it. This view

has lately found expression in popular exhortations to regard industrialism as a deadly peril, to give up machinery and Western learning, to cultivate asceticism to the exclusion of all desire for material progress, and to return to the ideal of primitive Hindu simplicity. The popularity of such preaching shows that the introduction into India of modern industrialism, slow and meagre as it has been, is sufficient to provoke a somewhat violent reaction in the opposite direction.

Until recent years it was the view of the Government of India that it was not part of their duty to urge the millions of India along unfamiliar paths contrary to their wishes and inclinations. As a result of the recommendations made by the Industrial Commission, the policy is now to hasten the pace. Under the reformed system of government it will be for Indians and not for Englishmen to set the pace; and only time can show how far the industrial policy will be successful or how far it will produce a reaction strong enough to defeat the object aimed at.

Such are the physical conditions, the institutions, and the facts regarding the industrial development of India which the economist, and still more so the administrator, has to consider when he addresses himself to Indian problems; and it was doubtless a consideration of such matters which led the Indian Industrial Commission to state their opinion that for industrial progress in India it was essential that Government should associate itself actively with the work, and should find a large part of the enterprise, the driving power, and the technical skill which were required. But this attitude of considering all the facts of the situation does not imply any system of economics which is peculiarly Indian. What, then, is the significance of the term *Indian economics*? Professor R. Mukerjee, in his book "*The Foundations of Indian Economics*," makes the matter clear. He states: "I have sought to discover the economic message of India breathed forth by her immemorial institutions." "The time has come for a clear analysis of the regulative social and ethical ideals of India to which all economic institutions must be adapted." The idea which underlies this conception of *Indian economics* is that the economic life of the people must conform to the ideals and standards prescribed by the Hindu system of religion, law, and society which has been handed down from primitive times to the present day. Within these confines Professor Mukerjee evolves a scheme of industrial organization in which the typical Hindu institutions of the family, the caste,

and the village community are strengthened and amplified. Every man is to be put in possession of a plot of land and a decent house to live in, and electrical power is to be provided to run the village industries. In this way work is to be made a pleasure; life is to be made beautiful and noble. Other exponents of this idea may fill in the details of the scheme differently, but the fundamental notion of a return to the primitive purity of Hindu institutions predominates. The idea is, no doubt, connected with the national spirit which has of late years come into existence, a spirit which finds expression in the demand for a return to the indigenous system of medicine or the resuscitation of the obsolete village *panchayats* which inevitably died a natural death as soon as a strong central Government was established. The movement is essentially reactionary, not progressive.

Now there can be no objection to anyone propounding any system of national organization which may seem good to him; but is it legitimate to describe as economic a system or proposals based, not on a consideration of calculable human motive, but on religious and social precepts which do not admit of argument? In spite of some physical disadvantages India possesses vast stores of potential wealth and a population which is quite capable of developing this wealth, provided that their institutions allow them to do so. Unless progress is desired it is unlikely that progress will take place. In that case the poverty of the people will continue to dominate the situation—poverty with all its attendant evils. If progress is desired, it is likely to take place, but on one condition only, and that is that the people are willing to pay the price in enterprise and initiative, in activity and energy. To do this they must be prepared to modify such institutions as dull their energy or blunt their enterprise. And this is the ground for objecting to any so-called system of "Indian economics" based on a rigid subordination to ancient Hindu institutions, not merely because it is a misuse of the term "economics," but because it adds to the difficulties of a situation which already has sufficient difficulties of its own.

[The above is the substance of a lecture given at the London School of Economics as introductory to a course of lectures on Indian industry and trade.]

INDIAN PLAYS IN LONDON

UNDER the auspices of the Maharaja of Jhalawar, Pandit Shyam Shankar has given a series of Indian performances at the Court Theatre. The courage of his experiment is worthy of the highest praise, for art can snap its fingers at politics, and to learn to appreciate Indian art is to unlock the innermost chamber of Indian personality. It is true that the house was by no means full, yet the public are not to blame, because at present Indian music and Indian dancing are "caviare to the general." The peculiar excellences of both have not yet been grasped; until we become more accustomed to strange scales and strange movements, an audience in England must be rather interested than enthusiastic.

The bill was varied. Undoubtedly the most artistic part of it was the "Water Carriers'" song and dance and the performance of Indian music on the sitar, diruba, and the flute (the latter a European imitation in metal of the Indian wooden flute), accompanied, of course, by the tabla, or double drum. But this part was, for the reasons already given, the least popular. The audience were more familiar with the illusion scene which followed, because the art of the Indian conjuror is so thoroughly well known in England that good folk have been known to mutter in all sincerity their conviction of Satanic co-operation.

The two plays offered were not so successful. The "Princess of Chitor" was set in obviously Saracenic surroundings, and the play suffers dramatically and artistically from being written almost entirely in monologue. The queen monopolizes quite five-sixths of the whole speaking part. Finally, the "Sleeper Awakened" was handicapped by its description as a "screaming farce." It was, in fact, mildly funny comedy, in which the humour chiefly consisted of "stage business." It was very noticeable that the principal male singer was utterly at sea in European times and rhythms. The orchestra tried in vain to follow him, but it was nearly always in front or behind—an interesting compliment to the English difficulty of mastering Indian time and rhythm.

But no Indian production can fail to please the eye. Not only was there a revel of colour, but the innate Indian artistic sense was prominent in the blends and contrasts to be noticed in the same costume. To an audience, however, accustomed to the finished productions of the English stage, there was somewhat of an amateur flavour in the performance, and one may hope that a more careful study of technique will lead to improved productions in the future.

S. P. RICE.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I. A NEAR EAST CONFERENCE

UNDER the above heading, *The Near East*,* with its usual frankness and vigour, tells us that when the Conference of the British, French, and Italian Foreign Ministers, summoned by Lord Curzon, has decided upon terms, it will be time enough to argue as to whether France can co-operate with her Allies or not. Emphasizing the need for action, it points out that—

"Valuable time is being lost by the British Government's attempt to put off a Near Eastern settlement until the Angora Treaty is out of the way. Only a speedy peace with Turkey will obviate the worst effects of France's betrayal of the unfortunate people who trusted to her protection. For if there is still war between Greece and Turkey when the Nationalists take complete control of Cilicia, they will deal with their Greek and Armenian enemies in the occupied territories according to custom."

What that custom is can be gathered from the "Tragedy of Baffra," described later on in these notes.

II. FRANCE AND THE ARMENIANS

M. Léon Savadjian† with admirable wisdom and foresight warns us against the danger of allowing anxiety for the safety of the Christians in Cilicia to degenerate into a campaign against France. It would be to him and all Armenians a source of profound sorrow should disagreements arising between France and England in their efforts to protect the Christians of Cilicia be one day laid at the door of Armenia:

"The Armenian democracy," he writes, "has always drawn inspiration from French history. During the Great War all Armenians capable of bearing arms were found side by side with France, fighting on behalf of an outraged civilization; and if to-morrow France should again find herself in peril, no Armenian would refuse her his blood or his life."

Friends of Armenia will desire to congratulate Boghos Nubar Pasha on his convalescence, and will wish for his speedy return to full health and vigour, so that he may bring his mature experience to bear upon the problem of securing the safety of his Armenian brethren in Cilicia.

III. THE GREEK MISSION IN LONDON

The Gounaris mission is still in London, prepared to express the Greek Government view with regard to Asia Minor. In the course of conversation Mr. Mathieu Chrussachi, chief of the first political section of the Greek High Commission of Smyrna, emphasized that the dividing-line in the Near East was not religious. Among the immigrant population there were some who were almost fanatically pro-Turk, though they were Christians. On the other hand, there were Moslems, such as the Circassians, who had given recruits to the Greek army, and were opposed to the return of the Turks, as were also the Kizil Bashis. Others, again—the Yuruks, for example—were neutral.

As regards the military campaign against the Turks, he asserted that

* *The Near East*, December 15, 1921.

† *La Revue des Balkans*, December, 1921, p. 194.

Greece had not been given a fair chance. She had not been allowed to make effective use of her fleet, and the right of search had been withheld, otherwise the campaign might have had a different ending.

It is claimed that the Greek administration in Smyrna "is a constructive influence, making for peace and prosperity in a corner of the distracted Near East." In support of this statement the following reasons are adduced:—

1. The Greek administration, under M. Sterghiadis in Smyrna, has succeeded in paying its way. Its first budget shows a surplus of 2,000,000 drachmas, and it should be noted in this connection (a) that no new taxes have been imposed, and (b) that no less than 60 per cent. of the local revenue is mortgaged to the Dette Publique Ottomane and the Régie Co-intéressée des Tabacs, and collected by these institutions directly, without the intervention of the State.

2. Good work has also been done by the Public Health Department. Under the Turkish régime cholera, typhus, and smallpox were almost endemic in the Smyrna region. In some outlying districts gunpowder dissolved in water was the only medicine of which the villagers had any knowledge. Under the auspices of the Smyrna administration, the Greek Red Cross has organized twenty-one hospitals in which over 300,000 patients have received medical treatment. In addition to this, quinine and other medicaments have been distributed gratis to 600,000 applicants. A children's hospital and a Pasteur institute* have been established, and an institute of hygiene is in process of organization in connection with the University.

3. The Greek administration has honestly striven to conciliate the Turkish element. The use of the Turkish language is admitted in the law-courts and in correspondence with the administration. The staff of the latter, moreover, comprises a considerable number of Moslems. Thus, not to mention minor officials, the Mayor of Smyrna and the Prefect of Magnesia are Turks. Further, all distinctively Moslem institutions existing previous to the Greek occupation (Yakoufs, Orphans' Fund, religious courts) have been maintained with an exclusively Moslem personnel. Similarly, Moslem education is controlled by a Board on which all the members are Moslem. It may be added in this connection that the Greek administration, while it has so far left the upkeep of the Greek schools to the local Greek communes, has spent over 1,000,000 drachmas in grants to Turkish schools and colleges.

Above all things, the Greek administration is careful never, by commission or by omission, to offend the religious feeling of the Turkish inhabitants. A visitor to Smyrna during the Bairam feast may hear the salute of guns prescribed by Moslem tradition fired at the appointed hours by Greek batteries and warships.

IV.—PONTOS, THE KEY OF CIVILIZATION IN THE NEAR EAST

In an impassioned appeal, dated October 19, 1921, Dr. Platon Drakoules, writing from Athens, gives full and precise details of the atrocities perpetrated in the Republic of Pontos. Unless the Powers intervene, and that speedily, we shall have to deplore the disappearance of the last traces of Greek civilization in the Hellenic country of Pontos.

"Setting aside the significance of Pontos from a political, economical, and civilizing standpoint, the Council, composed of the leaders of that Greek republic, limit themselves for the present to the humanitarian aspect, and appeal for sympathy and help to everyone desirous of saving hundreds of thousands of lives of a race which alone in that land has proved the creator of civilization and the guarantor of order and security."

V.—APPEAL OF THE PONTOS COUNCIL TO DR. DRAKOULES

Dr. Platon Drakoules,
Athens.

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF PONTOS,
15, RUE PAPASHEGOPOULON,
ATHENS,

September 29, 1921.

DEAR SIR,—The Central Council addresses itself primarily to you, whose life has been a long devotion and self-sacrifice for the general interests of Hellenism and humanity, and whose unique example provides

* A doubtful benefit, unless humanely supervised.—F. R. S.

a model and a guide for a true altruist. The Central Council invokes your invaluable advocacy of our cause, and trusts that you will find means to make these crimes known to all humane persons and societies, in order that public opinion may be aroused and an intervention be brought about for terminating the unheard-of atrocities in Pontos.

Confident as we feel that in your person the Central Council of Pontos finds a friend, adviser, and collaborator, we express in the name of the myriads of Pontian victims' and martyrs, our brethren and their bereaved widows and orphans, our eternal gratitude and our deepest respect.

A. NEOPHYTOS
(*Vice-President*).

N. LEONTIDES
(*General Secretary*).

VI.—THE TRAGEDY OF BAFRA IN PONTOS

An eyewitness, who escaped the massacre of Baffra, was rescued with 100 others on a sailing ship to Medea in Thrace. A necessarily brief résumé of his report, translated from the Turkish text written in Greek characters, is given below:

Driving out the Inhabitants of Baffra.—On June 5, 1921, Saturday morning, the town of Baffra was surrounded by troops and armed Baffrian Turks. Companies consisting of Turks, Albanians, Lazoes, and led by gendarmes, were suddenly scattered in the Christian parishes, where they demanded the surrender of the men of each family. Without delay they took their prisoners to the police-station, and allowed the Government agents to despoil the houses. Among the prisoners were priests and the notables Murat Dzelepoglou and Basil Karassavaoglou. The keys of the church were delivered to the under-Governor of Baffra. In the meantime the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, by order of their notables, Nevrisin Mehmet and Tiralizate Mehmet, encircled the church. The seven priests were killed by an axe at the entrance of the church. Tragic was the funeral service and the appropriate sermon by the priest Papayanni in anticipation of the fate which awaited them. After the massacre of the seven priests, the troops and the armed peasants climbed the walls of the church and fired from there; then the bayonet and the axe were utilized. One of the martyrs, Nicolas Jordanoglou, offered his last £T300 for the privilege of being shot instead of being put to any other death.

The courage and self-abnegation of the Greek women of Baffra is beyond description. Submitted for whole days to unheard-of tortures, not one was induced to reveal the hiding-place of husband or neighbour. At the risk of their lives these heroic women had many hidden in their houses, and thus several men escaped the Turkish police.

The evacuation of these districts was organized in four convoys, three of which were subsequently put to the sword. The fourth, consisting of thirty-five persons, among whom were the merchants, Anastasios Azzoglou and Constantine Azzoglou, reached safety. It is not known why the Turks, after having exterminated the greatest part of the Greek population, thought it necessary to make sure that this small and insignificant last convoy should be taken safely to the place of exile, a town near Marash, called Elvistan, where the exiled were able to telegraph to friends.

JOHN DILMITOGLU,
Notable of Baffra, escaped to Medea in Thrace.

Athens,
October 13, 1921.

VII.—THE ANGLO-HELLENIC LEAGUE

To the above League belongs the honour of organizing a Mansion House meeting on December 12 last, not for political purposes, but for securing an effective guarantee for the lives and elementary rights of the Armenian Greek and other minorities of Asia Minor, especially of Cilicia.

The British Armenian Committee, whose action in this matter seemed long overdue, associated itself therewith.

Unable to attend the meeting, I sent the following message:

"The essential thing is that the Near Eastern question should be considered dispassionately. Let us have an impartial Commission on which every creed will be represented, before which evidence like that furnished by Dr. Platon Drakoules with regard to Pontos could find a hearing.

"M. Venizelos,* who has in the past shown himself tolerant to all faiths and is now totally separated from all politics, should be invited by this meeting to represent the vital interests of all the minorities in Asia Minor at Geneva, as well as at any Conferences on the Near East which the Powers may call from time to time."

VIII.—THE ARAB CASE IN PALESTINE

With so many centres of unrest in the Near East, it is to be hoped that the situation in Palestine will not be allowed to get out of control. An Arab delegation has now been in London for some months, and has sent to *The Times* a long letter setting out their case. According to the latest census it appears that there are only 70,000 Jews out of a total population of 800,000. Besides this overwhelming majority they can point to definite pledges given to them during and after the war—viz., the High Commissioner for Egypt, in October, 1915; Mr. Lloyd George, in September, 1919; and Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons this year. Their present demands are as follows:

1. That a national Government be created in Palestine which shall be responsible to a Parliament elected by those inhabitants of the country who lived there before the war—namely, Moslems, Christians, and Jews.
2. The abolition of the present Zionist policy in Palestine; and that the regulation of immigration be controlled by this national Government, which is the best judge of the capacity of the country to support newcomers.
3. That the Holy Places for all religions be left in the entire control of their present guardians, and that neither the national Parliament nor any other authority be allowed to effect any changes therein.
4. That a local gendarmerie be created for policing purposes, the expenses for this body to be met by the Palestine Government.

* At the last Council Meeting of the Federation of the League of Nations Societies, which met at Vienna, a Committee of World Propaganda was formed, including Lord Robert Cecil, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator Ruffini, and M. Gustav Ador. M. Venizelos was invited to serve on the Committee and to devote himself entirely to its cause.

Major David Davies, M.P., writing in the *Westminster Gazette*, tells us that "after prolonged consideration M. Venizelos has agreed."

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

INDIAN SYMBOLISM

By STANLEY RICE

IT is not always easy to apply to ourselves the standard which we set for others; if we sit comfortably by our own fireside and ask why such an one has chosen to do this or such another to think that, it is not so much from a want of sympathy with that other's outlook as from sheer inability to appreciate wholly the circumstances in which he is placed. It is, in fact, the reverse of the situation in Burns's famous couplet: we need not only to see ourselves as others see us, but to see others as they see themselves, to appreciate their difficulties, to rejoice with their laughter, to weep with their tears, and in that most intimate and delicate matter of our relations with the unseen and of our speculations upon the unknown to see with their eyes and to hear with their ears.

Are these things truisms? Perhaps; but they are none the less difficult to put into practice. We hear it said again and again that what we need is more sympathy, and if we hug ourselves with the comfortable assurance that we at least are in no need of such exhortation, do we always apply that large-hearted sympathy which we flatter ourselves that we possess? Can we always get outside our own familiar customs and institutions and survey them as a detached observer, as some far-off Martian might survey the doings of this planet? The familiar stories of our childhood, David and Goliath, Daniel in the lions' den, the wrestling of Jacob, have become so familiar that we take them for granted; and not so long ago the orthodox who smiled at the Greek or Babylonish story of the Flood would have been scandalized at the suggestion that to them the divinely inspired Jewish story was of exactly the same value—neither more nor less.

We must, then, approach the Hindu symbolism in this spirit of detachment and try to find in it universal principles

seeking to express themselves in a manner characteristic of the people. Thus there appears to be something grotesque in a god, otherwise anthropomorphic, who can boast of six arms or four heads. The Greeks, we should argue, did not do such things; Apollo, and Hermes, Athena, and Artemis were fashioned in the likeness of men, and the ideas which they embodied were represented by their subsidiary accompaniments. But Christian art has not followed the Greek fidelity to type; we represent the angels as men and women distinguishable only by the wings which grow from their shoulders. Now, what do these wings mean? Surely they imply that the angels are the messengers—*οἱ ἄγγελοι*—of God who pass between heaven and earth, and are simply the physical and artistic presentment of a spiritual conception. And if some stranger suggested that these figures—half bird, half man—were grotesque, even as the Satyr and the Centaur of Greece were grotesque, the sufficient answer would be that you can postulate anything of an ideal conception which tries to present itself in concrete form. The angels being spirits, and the form of spirits being unknown, there is no reason why they should not have wings, either two or more, as had the angel of Isaiah's vision.

If, then, we admit without compunction this presentment of the idea of a heavenly messenger, an idea which, it may be remarked in passing, was embodied also by the Greeks in the person of Hermes with the winged sandals, and which India has portrayed under a more human form such as Dante gave to his guide, we must logically admit the Hindu conception of omnipotence in a multiplication of arms, and the whole matter becomes one of æsthetic taste. It is an elementary idea that power resides in the arm. "Hast thou an arm like God?" is God's rebuke to Job in one of the most inspired passages of that inspired poem, and lest the words be misunderstood, he adds, with the duplication characteristic of Hebrew poetry: "Canst thou thunder with a voice like Him?" To our finite intelligence the saying that God is a spirit is too hard; modern Christianity tries to realize the loftiness of this conception by treating the First Person of the Trinity as something outside the possibility of artistic representation and confines the portrayal of the Holy Spirit to the emblematic figure of a Dove. The mediæval artists were not so nice; God the Father was to them a majestic figure of an old grey-bearded man in robe and crown. Yet even in our modern days we cannot quite escape from the notion of

anthropomorphism; the very idea of the Fatherhood of God, the very language we use of the Invisible and the Unknowable, betrays it. Man, said the Hebrew cosmogonists, was made in the image of God, thereby implying that he is the finite exemplar of the form of the Infinite. This anthropomorphic conception, which we cannot altogether get away from, makes any deviation from it seem to us grotesque, even though the variations of it are merely the symbolical expressions of attributes, with which every religion clothes its deities. If Ganesa has the head of an elephant and if Siva is represented with more than one head, let us not forget that in the ecstatic vision of Ezekiel the cherubic inhabitants of heaven had four faces and two of these were like unto the animal creation.

The Indians have been called a race of philosophers; to a certain extent this is true, but they are something more. They are a race of artists. The contemplative nature, for which they are famous, turns instinctively to the riddle of the Universe, to the nature of God and to the destiny of man. And, in seeking to give expression to their idealism, they lose the vision of the finite and their art is centred upon the idea, without reference to the limitations of phenomenal Nature. Nor is this true alone of pictorial art; in their serious poetry, too, is enshrined their philosophy. They talk in parables, yet always revert to the philosophic subject. "A bird was faint with thirst," says Mahommed Iqbal, who though a Mahomedan is thoroughly Indian in thought. ". . . He saw a diamond in the garden; . . . the foolish bird fancied that it was water." And then he saw a dewdrop. "Be a diamond," cries the poet, "not a dewdrop! Be massive in nature, like mountains. . . . Save thyself by affirmation of self!"

India, in fact, is saturated with symbolism. He who seeks to interpret this or that custom by reference to mere utilitarianism has never found the spirit of the country. The more transcendental the explanation the more nearly will it be right; it is always safe to distrust a solution which is based upon considerations of convenience. There is no more common sight in all India than the thread of the Brahman; yet, as a recent writer has said: "Everything about the sacred cord is symbolic; its length is ninety-six times the breadth of the four fingers of a man, the reason given being that a man's height is ninety-six times the breadth of one finger, while each of the four fingers represents one of the four states the soul experiences from time to time—namely, the three states of waking, of

dreaming, and of dreamless sleep, and also the fourth state, that of the Absolute Brahman. The cord must be three-fold, because there are three qualities out of which our bodies are compounded—reality, passion, darkness. The twist of the thread must be upward, so that the good quality may predominate and so the wearer may rise to great spiritual heights. . . . The whole cord is tied together by a knot called *Brahma granthi*, which has three parts representing *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*." The very exuberance of this fancy shocks our more practical European mind; we are accustomed to speak of Oriental hyperbole as something to be avoided. Yet may it not be that this very exuberance is the natural outcome of the influence of Nature upon the children of the country? An Indian has said that the passion of Hindu drama and the passion of Hindu music fail to appeal because they are always rigidly kept under restraint; if that is the genius of the art as it is interpreted by the leaders of art, we must seek elsewhere for the cause of this traditional exuberance. And we shall surely find it in the stupendous mountains, in the limitless forests, in the majestic rivers, even in the wide and monotonous plains of India. All nature is on the exuberant scale. The sun shines with furnace heat; the rain descends with the force of a deluge; the titanic Himalayas preserve their secret in fastnesses of unmeasured snow and unrecorded ice; the flooded rivers rush down, carrying in their giant arms huge trunks of fallen trees and at times sweeping contemptuously away the puny works of man; the jungle stretches out innumerable tentacles to catch the unwary, and the tiger and the elephant lie hidden in its deepest recesses. And man in the endeavour to express himself has caught the spirit of the nature around him; his images are gigantic. The strong man of Homer lifted stones which perhaps four or five men of a more degenerate age could not move; the strong man of Israelite legend bore away the gates of a town and cracked the pillars of a temple, burying himself and his enemies in the ruins; the strong man of Greece tamed wild horses and overcame the seemingly immortal beast of Lerna. But the strong man of India is endowed with the strength of ten thousand elephants. What does this mean? To us who can break a branch from a tree, or tear a sapling from the earth, that strength which cracks a pillar is only an extension in the same plane; if a man can fight with a mastiff, a super-man can conquer a lion or a hydra. But the strength of an elephant is prodigious; the strength of a hundred is past

our comprehension, and imagination sinks under the idea of the strength of ten thousand. Surely, then, it is merely the gigantic image of superlative, if you will, of incredible strength.

It is these gigantic figures which to our soberer imagination make the Hindu miracle almost ridiculous. Huxley long ago distinguished between possibilities and impossibilities; he pointed out that we have no right to call that impossible which is merely not yet revealed to our ignorance, and also that a thing which is possible now was equally possible in former ages, though far less probable. And, conversely, if we apply the test of human knowledge to that which we call a miracle, and by hypothesis announced as impossible, a miracle becomes no stronger because it is multiplied in degree. You may, if you choose, explain a so-called miracle rationally; you may say that the Shunamite's son was in a trance or that the Red Sea parted owing to a catastrophic disturbance. Or, again, you may resort to symbolism, and hold that Daniel's escape was a parable to show the loving care of God for the pious. Or, once more, you may accept the miraculous, and maintain that Elijah's prayer really called down authentic fire from heaven, and that he left the earth in a flaming chariot which was sent by God. But whichever test you apply, you must logically apply to Hindu miracles. If a man can jump 22 feet, we can easily believe that he can jump 23 or 25, and imagination might be brought to accept 30 or even 50; but we assert confidently that no man can jump 100 yards, and the impossibility is really no greater if we magnify 100 yards into a mile. If no man can raise the dead, the miracle is not the greater because the corpse was decapitated. Men do not always reason thus. To conceive the rising up of a body after death seems to be only an extension of the rising of the living man after sleep; it puts too great a strain upon the imagination when we are told that the head has first been severed from the body. We accept Durendal, or sword Nothung, without demur, but a bow that turns back flights of arrows is more than we can stomach.

These things we maintain are part of the Hindu symbolism, which is everywhere to be sought; and their extravagance is to be attributed to that exuberant fancy which the country has engendered. Nevertheless, it is true that to a weaker generation the symbolism, the poetic and artistic imagery of an idea, has too often been obscured by the vulgar appetite for a mere story. The fine concep-

tion that the impure lusts of man are blasted and withered by the terrible eye of Him who destroys evil and purifies the world of sin is turned by the common people into a rather grotesque fable, in which Kama, the God of Love, the counterpart rather of Aphrodite than of Eros, is consumed by the third eye of Siva. The very emblem under which Siva himself is worshipped, and which we would fain think is intended to remind us of the eternal cycle of the world, the ever-recurrent winter and spring, when the old and worn out is cast aside, and the livery of new and young life is put on—this emblem is grafted on to a tale which is too impure to write, and which suggests that “the god is always worshipped under the livery of his shame.”

Hinduism has been overtaken by the fate which so often befalls the heritage of high thought, bequeathed to men too little of stature to comprehend, and it must bear the burden of misunderstanding by the foreigner in consequence. The thought of those nobler spirits is missed, who looked beyond the symbol to the reality; who cared but little for the immediate effect of their imagery, provided that thereby they could express the idea. Hence it comes that the traveller, making a faithful record of what he sees and hears, fails to catch the spirit of the country; too often it is the fault of those from whom he inquires. For these simple souls do as their fathers did, and never ask the reason why; it is their whole philosophy to carry out with scrupulous care the pontifical decrees of bygone Brahmans, and again and again they will say as their only answer: “It is the custom; we do not know the meaning of it. Our Guru tells us to do this or that, but even he does not know what it implies.”

We call India “The Land of Regrets,” and if we analyze our feelings we shall perhaps find that what we most regret is that ethereal atmosphere which is always expressing itself symbolically in the life around us. We call India “idolatrous,” but that is because we have not learned to interpret her symbolism, to disregard the phenomenal, and look only to the invisible. We call India spiritual, idealistic; her genius, despising the obvious and the sensible, strives beyond them to the unattainable, and the visions that she sees, if only in a glass darkly, she paints for the grosser finite senses of man in a constant and universal symbolism.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA: OLD AND NEW. By Sir Valentine Chirol. (*Macmillan and Co.*) 10s.

(Reviewed by Sir VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

No book concerning India has been more widely read than Sir Valentine Chirol's "Indian Unrest," published eleven years ago. The author's brilliant style, wide information, and careful research were recognized even by those who disagreed with some of his conclusions. Sir Valentine has now published a second book, which deals mainly with the same subject but covers wider ground and travels back into remote ages. He surveys the history of India, not only from the year 1600 to the year 1921, but also from the beginning of recorded time. Since the publication of "Indian Unrest," our author has visited India four times, twice in circumstances which gave him peculiar opportunities of observation. In December, 1916, he witnessed remarkable political meetings at Lucknow. In February, 1921, he saw the opening of the new parliament at Delhi. He visited the Jallianwala Bagh and stood where General Dyer stood on April 13, 1919, in widely different circumstances. He tells us that, as is apparent from passages in this book, his views have in some degree altered, and that he recognizes more clearly now the shortcomings of British rule in India. He urges strongly that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were the best solution possible of a tangled problem, and that their outcome must be regarded "in a hopeful spirit."

It is idle now to discuss this contention. Professor Coupland, in an interesting lecture before the University of Oxford on "The Study of the British Commonwealth," has rightly observed that "nationality, in one shape or another, is to-day the most powerful and the most troublesome element in the whole complex of world politics." The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were the method of dealing with Indian Nationalism which was preferred by Parliament. That method is now being tested, and will as time goes on be further tested, very severely indeed, by experience. We hope that the result will be satisfactory, that the structure will grow into the stately edifice designed by the architects. But we would ask that while prayers are offered for its future, justice be done to the old abandoned dwelling-house, which was for India a cover from the tempest of a world-wide war, and that men who served their generation faithfully be judged with the fullest possible comprehension of their real surroundings. Our author has meant to be fair, but was rightly anxious to be generous to "the spirit of new India," and, possibly through this anxiety, has not appreciated with sufficient accuracy all the elements of certain situations.

As an example of our meaning we will quote a sentence regarding the work of those British administrators who laboured in India twenty years ago, before the coming of the "first great wave of unrest." Sir Valentine

Chirol has written : " What constituted good government efficiency came to be regarded as the one test that mattered, and it was a test which only Englishmen were competent to apply, and which Indians were required to accept as final, whatever their wishes or their thoughts might be."

These words, we venture to suggest, convey an inaccurate impression of the real situation. It has of late years frequently been laid to the charge of Indian Civil Servants that they care too much for efficiency in administration. We have not been able to appreciate precisely the meaning of this accusation. Does it mean that unjustifiable reluctance is shown in allowing such functions of government as education or care for the public health to be subjected to varied experiments, or does it mean that supreme importance is attached to punctual reports and neat returns? But if we cannot answer this question, we are quite sure of the meaning which the much abused bureaucrats themselves attach to " efficiency " in administration. Their ideals have always been the same: firm and impartial justice, protection of the people of their districts from the effects of natural calamities and the designs of rascals, assuagement of religious animosities, payment of the State's just dues, and, last but by no means least, harmonious working with the local self-government boards and the leaders of prominent interests for the promoting of progress. Those officers who came nearest to attaining to such ideals were held by their fellows to be most efficient. Can anyone suppose that in their efforts for success they dared to disregard the feelings and wishes of the people concerned, or that their Government encouraged such preposterous folly? Further on our author writes: " The British administrator was not altogether unwarranted in his conviction that in standing in the ancient ways he had behind him not only the tacit consent of the inarticulate masses, but the positive support of very important classes and communities "—*i.e.*, of the great majority of the people of India. We have no hesitation in expanding this cautious concession into the assertion that not only then, but long afterwards, the British administrator *had* the support of this great majority. India's history would have been different had this not been the case.

But why had the administration this support? Because it was efficient. Because it was the most efficient government India had known. Persons who imagine that in calm moments Indians like bad government are suffering from sad delusion. They like it no more than we do. Incidentally we remember a striking testimony to pre-war British rule paid by an Indian political leader who never hesitated to point out its defects. On August 13, 1914, Sir Pherozeshahi Mehta said in the Bombay Town Hall: " At this solemn moment we can only remember that we owe sacred duties and holy obligations to that British rule under whose auspices the lofty destinies of this great and magnificent land are being moulded for over a century, and under whose wise, and provident, and righteous statesmanship the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of the country are being incessantly promoted."

The Declaration of August 20, 1917, events outside India, the Reforms

and their results have given a new orientation to the minds of many who formerly stood away from politics. But when the war came it found the old system of Government, even though chiefly directed by Englishmen, in possession of the support of the country.

In enumerating the political complaints of twenty years ago, Sir Valentine Chirol hardly takes into account the small number of the politicians of those days. Local Government Boards were still young, and the rise to power of the literary classes which these institutions so largely facilitated was a strange idea to other sections of the population. The landlords were unquestionably the acknowledged leaders of the great majority of Indians. Their attitude was entirely conservative. The propagation of racialism and nationalism had barely begun. The Indian National Congress itself was representative of a particular class of Hindus only, and of no class of Muhammadans. The Government of India had solid reason for regarding it as voicing the demands of a very small portion of the population. We think that they underrated its importance, but we know that they were not open to the accusation of disregarding general Indian wishes and thoughts. On the contrary, they were constantly endeavouring to work in harmony with general Indian ideas. In quoting the partition of Bengal as the consummation of remorseless efficiency, our author might well have explained that the object of that measure was to secure ordinarily good government for the territories covered by the original charge of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, provinces far too large for a single administration to direct. Repugnant, moreover, though the measure was to Calcutta Hindus, it was so welcome to the Muhammadans, who formed the majority of the population in Eastern Bengal, that its subsequent alteration largely contributed to that alienation of Muslim sentiment which began definitely in 1912, and, encouraged by other circumstances, has since made intermittent progress with such melancholy results.

Sir Valentine Chirol apparently holds that previous widening of Indian representation on councils, dilution of the Civil Service, periodical parliamentary inquisitions, would have impeded or disarmed the first Hindu revolutionary movement. It is always difficult to say what might have been, and in any case what might have been is as though it could not be. But we remember that this movement was preceded by a zealous campaign throughout many districts of Bengal carried on by enthusiasts, inspired by strong racial-cum-religious sentiment and encouraged by the achievements of Japan. We much doubt if it would have progressed less slowly in the presence of somewhat enlarged legislative councils and Indian district officials. And we reflect that all the parliamentary enquiries which preceded the Mutiny in no way prevented or gave warning of that cataclysm. It seems to us that in any case many Western-educated Hindus would for some time have sympathized with the early revolutionaries. We are not impressed by the contrast which our author draws between the behaviour of Western-educated Indians in the Mutiny and their attitude in 1907-8. The whole circumstances of the two cases were widely dissimilar. Western-educated Indians in the provinces affected by the Mutiny were a

handful, untouched by Nationalist idealism, and, in all probability, mainly in Government service.

The book emphasizes the inadequacy of the Morley-Minto Reforms, stating that just before the commencement of the War the educated classes, "balked of the political liberties which they regarded as their due, seemed to be drifting hopelessly into bitter antagonism to British rule." Our recollection, however, is that at that time these classes were happier than they had been for years. They were much more influential and their influence was growing rapidly. Their extreme wing was under eclipse. The revolutionary section was carrying on subterranean activities, but was small, and, although piling up a tale of crime, was not influencing the general trend of politics. We remember the following passage on page 340, volume ii., of "Lord Morley's Recollections": "For the result [of the Morley-Minto reforms] we have the high authority of Lord Minto's successor. 'Since the outbreak of the war,' said Lord Hardinge (in 1915), all political controversies concerning India have been suspended by the educated and political classes with the object of not increasing the difficulties of the Government's task. In certain cases where drastic legislation was necessary, the Indian Government was able to pass it without the slightest opposition in the Imperial Legislative Council, which consists of sixty-eight members with an Indian representation of about thirty, and a Government majority of only four. Speeches made by Indian members are striking testimony of the increased responsibility. There is no doubt of the very considerable progress of India. Even during the five and a half years of my stay I noticed a vast political development. It is unquestionable that this improvement is an outcome of the reformation of councils undertaken by Lord Morley and Lord Minto."

In March, 1916, Lord Hardinge advised his Legislative Council to remember that the development of self-governing institutions had been achieved not by "sudden strokes of statesmanship," but by a steady and patient evolution which had raised and united all classes of the community. When he left India, the country was profoundly quiet. He was succeeded by a Viceroy who was already convinced that a radical stroke of statesmanship was imperative. Many things followed and the old order has been largely swept away. Sir Valentine Chirol summarizes the story and observes that the enduring success of the new constitution cannot be predicted "with absolute assurance." We agree entirely. For India's sake, for our brethren and companions' sake, we wish this constitution prosperity. But it will fail dismally if under it efficiency in administration becomes a discarded ideal. We have little more to say. In a chapter on "the emergence of Mr. Gandhi," our author speaks of the Rowlatt Bill legislation. We would add to this passage the statement that, as we have shown elsewhere, *before legislation was initiated*, the question of Government action on the Rowlatt Committee Report was fully debated in the Imperial Legislative Council, and that a proposal to hold consideration of the Report "in abeyance" was negatived by a very large majority, only two non-officials supporting it. We may also note that about the same

time an article appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer*, a widely respected Indian periodical, remarking that the question of the moment was "what should be done *immediately* to check a sinister movement which seeks its tasks chiefly from immature boys attending secondary schools." In taking action on the Rowlatt Report the Government of India were acting with ample authority and ample cause.

In the same chapter we have strong indictments of General Dyer's action in the Jallianwala Bagh, of martial law administration in the Punjab, of the action—or rather inaction—of the Viceroy and Secretary of State after the riots of April, 1919. We have also an account of a conversation with Mr. Gandhi and an estimate of that individual's psychology. The indictments substantially repeat an article by our author in *The Times* of May 17, 1921. It was promptly answered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and we have neither time nor place wherein to continue the discussion. We doubt if Sir Valentine Chirol has weighed all the facts and complexities of the situations on which he comments. But in one respect his judgment can in no way be questioned. He shows clearly that the responsibility for the administration of martial law in the Punjab is shared by much higher authorities than the officers whose orders and sentences he impugns. Yet we understand from a passage on page 50 of the Government Report on "India in 1920," that these scapegoats are still under the official harrow. In all the circumstances of their case, in view of the generous measure of immunity enjoyed by the authors of the movement which produced the riots, we trust that this passage is *ad captandum verbiage*.

We confess that we are weary of analyses of Mr. Gandhi's psychology and motives. We think that the tree should be judged by its fruits. By these he stands condemned at once. If we judge him not by his occasional expositions of his motives and objects, but by his actual proceedings, we must recognize that, obsessed with fanaticism and a curious self-importance, he has deliberately caused, or taken part in causing, a vast amount of bloodshed and misery. The poison of asps has been under his tongue. We are assured on the authority of the Government Report already referred to that by his asceticism and appeal to Hindu tradition he makes an appeal to Indians of all classes. Nevertheless, we think that the following passage from a letter written by a patriotic Indian correctly voices a very general sentiment: "Gandhi has done enormous harm to the country. I had my doubts about his sincerity from the first, though at one time some of his worst enemies perhaps hesitated in denying him that quality. He has never been sincere, unless the term is used in any particular sense. He never believed what he said and preached. He was by no means such a fool as to fail to know perfectly well that the non-violent non-co-operation which he so glibly preaches was absolutely impracticable, and the only inference is that he was actually leading to violence, rebellion, and trouble."

But we have written enough. "India: Old and New," is full of wide information, and contains some fine descriptive passages. There are valuable chapters on such varied subjects as "The Enduring Power of

Hinduism," "Economic Factors," "The Indian Problem a World Problem." We agree with our author that "We should ask ourselves whether our own lack of vigilance and forethought did not contribute to the luxuriant growth of tares in a soil naturally congenial to them." But the answer to that question need not depress us. We could not foresee extraordinary events; we made some mistakes, we suffered from mortal frailties, but generally we did our best according to the light that was in us. When the day of supreme trial came, our best bore fruit. The anchor held. Had things been otherwise, there would have been no mission of the Secretary of State and no Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. And even now what does Britain stand for in India? She stands for ordered freedom. It is British control that secures such freedom, that alone holds the balance between the various communities of the great subcontinent. This basic fact is prominent in India to-day.

SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA: A Political Biography. By H. P. Mody, M.A. (Bombay: *The Times Press*.)

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

This is a very interesting record of the life of an Indian politician of the old school. The Aga Khan has contributed a preface in which he states that for forty-five out of his seventy years of life Sir Pherozeshah was "for the average Anglo-Indian the personification of a dangerous demagogue." We were not aware of this. Indeed we never remember having ourselves heard any disparaging comment on the public life of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. He was, so far as we know, generally regarded as a progressive Indian of high character and strong individuality. It is certain that the man who at the age of twenty-six could at a large public meeting address the following homily to his audience was made of stout stuff:

"The self-constituted leaders of movements have a twofold duty to perform. It is not sufficient for them to stand forth boldly, to give loud utterance to confused and incoherent popular cries. It is not sufficient for them to reiterate and proclaim the popular indiscriminate wailings and inconclusive analyses of the public grievances. There is another and a higher duty cast upon them: the duty of guiding the movement in its proper part, of extricating it from the confusion of words and thoughts under which it usually labours, of analyzing the genuine and substantial causes of it, discussing and proposing measures well adapted to meet the end in view."

Mr. Mody observes: "In this age of cant and cheap notoriety, when political reputations often depend upon the persistence and vehemence with which the catch phrases and the popular cries of the moment are reiterated, how many of our national leaders, one wonders, would be able to stand this somewhat exacting test of true leadership, and to say that they upheld the principles and convictions which animated their public career in more peaceful days?"

Truly we may wonder with the author of this book, "What would the position of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta have been, if he had been alive in the

bewildering times through which we are passing? Would he have lived to see his power and authority shaken, if not destroyed, and his name dragged through the mud like that of many an honoured colleague, or would his personality have succeeded in keeping at bay, at least in his own stronghold, the onrushing forces which threaten to drive the country to the brink of a precipice?"

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was, above all things, a great citizen of Bombay. He was devoted to the interests of his own city. He gave it many years of valuable and faithful service. He contributed largely to its improvement and good name. He earnestly sought its advancement. In politics he was a determined Progressive, but also a determined Constitutionalist in the strictest sense of the word. His views were definite, fearless, and clear-cut. He absolutely refused to compromise or palter with Extremism. "For God's sake," he wrote, after the Congress split of 1907, "let us have done with all inane and slobbery whines about unity where there really is none. Let each constituent body of views and principles have its own Congress in an honest and straightforward way, and let God—*i.e.*, Truth and Wisdom—judge between us all!" Had his advice been consistently followed the Moderates would never have been driven out of their own institution. But he died just before the critical period in the history of the Congress. May his memory and influence remain fresh! Both are needed in India. We have much enjoyed reading Mr. Mody's book.

THE LIFE OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJ, FOUNDER OF THE MARATHA EMPIRE.

By N. S. Takakhav, M.A., Professor at the Wilson College, Bombay.
(Bombay: *Manoranjan Press.*) 1921. 10s. or Rs. 7.

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

Mr. Takakhav states upon his title-page that his book is an adaptation from a Marathi Life of Shivaji by Mr. K. A. Keluskar of the Wilson High School at Bombay, which was first published in 1907; and he adds in his Preface that his translation was taken in hand about seven years ago. But he also makes it clear that in the form in which it now reaches the public the present English version may be regarded as a new and independent work of an up-to-date character.

Like all biographers of the great Maratha, Mr. Takakhav claims that recent predecessors in the field have failed to do justice to the character and achievements of Shivaji, and he discusses the attempts of his competitors with the utmost frankness. The earliest of these English works in point of time is the late Mr. Justice Ranade's book on "The Rise of the Maratha Power," which was published at Bombay in 1900. Mr. Takakhav dismisses this highly interesting volume with scant notice, and appears in particular to resent the "halting defence" which is made therein of the killing of Afzul Khan. The book is, unhappily, not easily procurable in this country, but those who are so fortunate as to obtain a copy can be assured of a perusal accompanied by pleasure as well as by profit. Fifteen years later Mr. H. G. Rawlinson brought out his "Shivaji the Maratha"

(Oxford, 1915). The impression left upon the mind of Mr. Takakhav by Mr. Rawlinson is that Shivaji's main achievement was the inauguration of a type of bureaucracy which was new in certain respects, but was otherwise in conformity with the form of government which has existed in India from the time of Asoka and Chandra Gupta. There is, however, more than that in Mr. Rawlinson's monograph, although it is admittedly only a sketch and many details have not been filled in. The next in chronological order is the fragment devoted to Shivaji in the first volume of the "History of the Maratha People," by Mr. C. A. Kincaid and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis (Oxford, 1919). Mr. Takakhav rightly describes this book as romantic in conception and uncritical in method, but nevertheless he is constantly relying upon it. Of a very different type is Professor Jadunath Sarkar's study of "Shivaji and His Times" (Calcutta, 1919; Second Edition, 1920), but it does not meet with commendation from Mr. Takakhav, who condemns it as hypercritical in treatment and sceptical in its intellectual outlook. The fact is that the Bengali scholar's icy impartiality and ruthless rejection of tradition render him unacceptable to those ardent spirits who have engrafted the cult of Shivaji upon the modern Nationalist movement in Western India.

How does Mr. Takakhav escape the pitfalls into which he conceives his rivals to have fallen? The estimate of Shivaji which he offers for consideration is avowedly based to a very substantial extent upon the indigenous *bakhars*, or Marathi chronicles. His justification is that Shivaji has suffered the same fate as Hannibal. The character of the great Carthaginian has been painted in the darkest colours by his Roman enemies, and no other portraits of him survive. Similarly the only contemporary records of Shivaji's time are in English and Persian, and are naturally biased in varying degrees. Every official document and every State paper has been destroyed. This is undoubtedly true. There remain the *bakhars*, but what is their historical value? Professor Sarkar, who has submitted them to an exhaustive examination, has shown that every one of them derives its inspiration from the "Shiva-chhatrapati-chen Charitra," a small book of barely one hundred pages, written by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad at Jinji in 1694, under the orders of Raja Ram, the younger son of Shivaji and the ancestor of the present Maharaja of Kolhapur. Shivaji, it should be mentioned, died in 1680. The comment of Professor Sarkar upon this chronicle is as follows: "The events are not arranged in chronological order; some of the statements are incorrect; weak in topography, no dates; language very condensed and sometimes obscure." Nevertheless, it is upon this foundation that all the later *bakhars* have been constructed, with the addition of "loose traditions," Sanskrit quotations, stories of miracles, and details provided from the probabilities of the case or from pure imagination. In some instances the inaccuracies are of the most ludicrous character. Thus, in the "Shivadigvijaya," popularly supposed to have been written in 1718 by Khando Ballal, the son of Shivaji's secretary, Balaji Avji, but really fabricated at a much later date, the assertion is solemnly made that an "English general" was present at the

coronation of Shivaji, and that goods from "Calcutta" were used in decorating his hall in 1674.

Such are the authorities upon which Mr. Takakhav depends. Mr. Kincaid is an even greater offender, and Mr. Rawlinson is not altogether guiltless. But Mr. Takakhav has gone so far as to reproduce, without comment, on the first three pages of his opening chapter, the pedigree which seeks to trace Shivaji's descent from the sun, and to establish the connection of his family with the Sesodia clan of Rajputs, of which the Maharana of Udaipur is the chief. He does not tell his readers that the founder of the house, Bhosavant Bhonsle, was in reality a *patel*, or village officer, and, like the great mass of the Maratha people, was by caste a *kunbi*, or cultivator. If we turn to the pages of Sarkar and Ranade, we shall learn that the genealogy was prepared, for a consideration, by a Brahman pandit from Benares, in order to overcome the Brahman prejudice against the coronation of a Sudra king. The omission by Mr. Takakhav to state all the facts may have been accidental, but it is unfortunate.

Sir William Hunter was ill-advised, no doubt, to deny Shivaji a place in his "Rulers of India" series, for the empire which he founded endured for a century, and extended, before its overthrow by the British in 1818, from the Indus on the north almost to the southern extremity of the peninsula. We may agree also that it was unjust on the part of that eminent man to affirm that the great Maratha won his supremacy by "treachery, assassination, and hard fighting." The first two are relative terms, and regard must be had to the period in which Shivaji lived. As for the "hard fighting," Mr. Rawlinson has pointed out, perfectly correctly, that Shivaji was seldom called upon to face a really skilful adversary in the field, and promptly surrendered when a capable leader such as Raja Jai Singh was sent against him. On the other hand, it is no less unhistorical and partial to elevate Shivaji, as Mr. Kincaid and his friends do, to the position of "the greatest man who ever lived." Nor can common sense acquiesce in the line of argument adopted by the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, who maintained that Shivaji must not be judged by the standard applied to ordinary men. *In medio tutissimus ibis.*

An Englishman will probably be pronounced unfit to arrive at a correct appreciation of the personality and the career of this extraordinary personage. But surely the merit of Shivaji lies in the fact that he awakened the national spirit of the Marathas and taught them that it was possible to unite in a common enterprise against the Muhammadan intruder. He succeeded in so far as he overturned the rickety throne of the Moguls; and if his labours ultimately ended in failure, it was because caste jealousies supervened, as they invariably will in any Hindu movement. There was much in his civil organization that commands admiration, and as a guerrilla chief he had few equals. The memorial at Poona, of which the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone on November 19, worthily commemorates the name and fame of one of the most fascinating and, it must be confessed, elusive figures in Indian history.

THE ANGAMI NAGAS: WITH SOME NOTES ON NEIGHBOURING TRIBES.
By J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A., of the Indian Civil Service. Published
by direction of the Assam Administration. (*Macmillan and Co.*)
1921. 40s. net.

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

At the close of September last, Sir Richard Temple took advantage of the meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh to make a strong appeal for the establishment of an Imperial School of Applied Anthropology. Traders, administrators, and missionaries in the outposts of the Empire should (he maintained) be equipped with sufficient knowledge to enable them to deal on a basis of sympathetic insight and understanding with the alien and often backward races with whom they are brought in contact. The need for such a course of preliminary study demands no demonstration. Happily, much valuable work is already being done; and Mr. Hutton's volume on the Angami Nagas furnishes yet another reminder of the debt of gratitude which we owe to the members of the Indian Civil Service in this connection.

The province of Assam, at the far north-eastern corner of India, is a museum of nationalities. The fertile valley of the Brahmaputra, which intersects it, has been raided for many centuries from Burma on the one side, and from India on the other; and the raiders have left behind a remarkable store of curiosities in languages, races, and religions. The Assam hill-tracts contain still more ancient collections of humanity, since they have been the lairs to which older nations have retreated before the pressure which a more abundant and a more resourceful population has concentrated upon the productive lands which fringe the river. Until quite recently this museum has remained uncatalogued or, at any rate, undescribed in a systematic catalogue. But in 1903 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, who was then Chief Commissioner of Assam, proposed, and the Government of India sanctioned, the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of the province. As a result, valuable studies have already been published of the Garos, the Khasis, the Kacharis, the Naga tribes of Manipur, and the Lushai Kuki clans. The present volume follows the same scheme of treatment and forms a worthy addition to the series. Mr. Hutton's official association with Assam dates only from 1912, and he informs us in his preface that his book was ready for publication in 1915; but the knowledge of his subject which he displays is so comprehensive that it is difficult not to believe it to be the outcome of the labours of a lifetime. He has, of course, profited largely by the researches of such men as the Butlers, father and son, Colonel Woodthorpe, Peal, Davis, and McCabe, but there is evidence upon almost every page of an intense personal interest, and it is pleasant to note that he acknowledges his obligations to the many Nagas who assisted him in the collection of his information.

The Naga tribes, of whom the Angamis form the most important section, inhabit the strip of irregular hills which run southward from the eastern ends of the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal, and divide Assam

from Burma. Next to the Angamis come the Rengmas (of whom a portion is known as "the naked Rengmas"), then the Lhotas. North and east of the Lhotas are the Aos, and east of the Aos are the Semas. Various origins have been ascribed to the race. It must suffice to say that, on the basis of language, Sir George Grierson assigns them to the second wave of emigration, that of the Tibeto-Burmans, which took its rise in the traditional cradle of the Indo-Chinese family in North-Western China, between the upper waters of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Ho-ang-ho. Of their early history little is known; but Tavernier, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, refers to people living in Assam who wore pigs' tusks on their caps and very few clothes, and had great holes for ear-rings through the lobes of their ears—fashions which survive among the Nagas to the present day. The first Europeans to enter the hills were Captains Jenkins and Pemberton who marched through them in 1832. Between 1839 and 1851 it became necessary to despatch ten military expeditions against the tribesmen, mostly to punish raids. In 1851 the British forces were withdrawn, and raiding recommenced to such an extent that in 1866 a political officer was stationed at Samaguting. More bloodshed followed at intervals, and a number of British officers lost their lives. The district was not pacified until in 1880 it came under the wise and firm rule of the late Mr. R. B. McCabe, who met his death in the great Shillong earthquake of 1897. There are now two sub-divisions—the one at Kohima in the Angami country, where the Deputy Commissioner resides, and the other in the Ao country at Mokokchang.

The social unit among the Angamis is not the village, but the *kelhu*, or exogamous clan, of which there are several in each village. Great rivalry exists between the *kelhus*, which led, prior to the British occupation, to bitter feuds. This is the more remarkable as a man is compelled to take his wife from some *kelhu* other than his own. There is little trace among them or other Nagas of the system of matriarchy which prevails among the Khasis and the Garos, and the family is organized on a patriarchal basis. The custom which has attracted the most attention and which differentiates the Nagas from the other sub-Himalayan tribes, is their craving for human heads. Nowadays, of course, the tiresome prejudices of the British have put a stop to the real thing; and the distinctive marks of a successful warrior have perforce to be assumed on the fictitious grounds of having thrust a spear into a corpse or even of having gone as a coolie upon an expedition on which killing took place. Nevertheless, says Mr. Hutton, though the flesh is withheld, the spirit is willing; and he tells a delightful story of a Naga clerk of the Deputy Commissioner's staff, educated in speech and civilized in dress, who, having failed to provide himself with a spear on the occasion of the taking of a village in unadministered territory, was seen dancing in vociferous triumph over the corpse of an enemy, and with horrid yells plunging his umbrella again and again into the wounds.

In point of religion, the Nagas are purely animistic. For stones they entertain a peculiar reverence, and certain villages boast a pair of stones,

male and female, which (like the town councillor's gondolas) breed and produce offspring yearly. The whole of the fourth part of the book is devoted to an exhaustive account of the prevailing cults and beliefs, and the curious reader may there learn the difference between *genna*, *penna*, and *kenna*, which are all forms of *tabu*. Under the head of legends, note may be taken of the story that a village exists somewhere in the north-east peopled entirely by women. This is a widespread myth, of which Mr. Hutton gives numerous examples, ranging from Marco Polo and Hiuen Tsiang to Sir George Scott's "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States."

A word needs to be said, in conclusion, in commendation of the maps and illustrations with which the volume is liberally provided. Both are excellent. The frontispiece is a reproduction in colours of a sketch by Colonel Woodthorpe (now in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford) of an Angami warrior.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE. By E. J. Thompson, B.A., M.C. The Heritage of India Series. Pp. xiii + 112. (*Oxford University Press.*) 2s. 6d.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS, F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S.)

It is some years since Mr. Ernest Rhys wrote his biographical study of Rabindranath Tagore for Western readers, which at the time was the only book on the subject. Mr. E. J. Thompson, Principal of the Wesleyan College, Bankura, has just published an appreciative summary on the life and work of one of the greatest men of modern India. He surveys the poet's early life and literary apprenticeship, and gives an account of the many-sided activities of his maturer years as a poet, creative artist, reformer and seer. His book is an admirable conspectus of the poet's life and work, based on sound judgment and first-hand knowledge. Mr. Thompson has been for years a friend of Tagore, and is therefore in a position to write authoritatively on the subject. He has alluded to certain facts in his book which Mr. Rhys omitted, although the latter's book merits commendation.

We quite agree with Mr. Thompson that Tagore has always been a first-rate letter-writer, whether in public or private correspondence. That among contemporary poets Tagore stands foremost in Bengal is undisputed, but we side with the "headmaster" who said to Mr. Thompson that "there can be no comparison between Michael Dutt and Rabindranath."

We also endorse the headmaster's opinion that "the elder poet (Dutt) is immeasurably the greater, especially in point of style, his style being faultless and superb." Michael Dutt was a genius, and attained a standard of scholarship which was far superior to that of Tagore. He mastered English, French, Bengali, and knew Latin and Greek well enough to dive deep into the beauties of the classical literature of Europe. Mr. Thompson has justly described his "Meghnadbadh," a poem in blank verse in the Homeric manner, as "the darling work of Bengal." Like Milton, Michael Dutt was extremely learned and well-read in the great epics of the world (and in this respect he surpasses Tagore), the beauties of which

can alone be discovered through classical learning. As a student Tagore has never taken pains to distinguish himself; in fact he hardly crossed the threshold of a university; whereas Michael Dutt was a *prince* among scholars both at Hindu College and at Bishop's College, Calcutta, where he had the inestimable advantage of learning classical languages under most eminent English professors. Both were born of wealthy parents.

We are told that Tagore always prepares his lectures as definite arguments and reads them verbatim before his audience. We never heard him deliver an extempore lecture in English either in England, America, or in India. Of course he is a poet and not a trained speaker, but Michael Dutt could deliver an extempore lecture in English, and had such a wonderful command over the language that he won the admiration of the most fastidious English critics of the day. We quite agree with Mr. Thompson that an examination of "Rabindranath's English soon shows that it is by no means perfect grammatically. It contains sentences which no educated Englishman would have written, sentences marked by little subtle errors." But people who live in glass houses should at least be careful. Surely Mr. Thompson would not allow any of his pupils to perpetrate a metaphor such as we find in p. 35—he "ploughed his way through such a cloud of detraction." Some critics hold the opinion that Tagore writes English with as much grace as Bengali. But this is almost impossible for foreigners, even for scholars like the late Messrs. R. C. Dutt, Lalmohun Ghose, N. N. Ghose, and Mr. Sarat Kumar Ghose who, though, brought up in England, could not attain an Englishman's mastery of English. Some allowance should therefore be made for Tagore. Mr. Thompson has justly pointed out in his book that Mr. W. B. Yeats's famous Introduction to "Gitanjali" "is most eloquent and movingly written. But a vein of misconception runs through it, from time to time outcropping to the surface definite misstatements. Mr. Yeats's name carries so much authority that the wrong perspective of his essay has done as much as anything, even Mr. Rhys's book, towards the misunderstanding of Rabindranath in the West," which is the most valuable criticism we have come across since the publication of "Gitanjali."

It is a pity that Tagore is engaged nowadays merely in translating his works and not in writing anything new in Bengali. As Mr. Thompson remarks, Rabindranath has enemies as well as admirers in Bengal, and it is very difficult to ascertain from them his right place in the great roll of the poets. But without hesitation we greet him in the words of Dr. K. M. Bannerjea, "Hail, Valmiki Nightingale." Surely there could not be a better interpreter of the spirit of the East to the West than Dr. Tagore. We do not agree with those opinions of our *littérateurs* of Bengal, as there prevails among them the same jealousy and rivalry as among the literary men of any other country.

It may interest our readers to learn that there were two other contemporaries of Tagore who died a few years ago—Mr. D. L. Roy and Mr. Rajanikanta Sen of Rajshai. They were equally gifted as Tagore, if not superior. Some of Rajanikanta's work suggests a new departure—in

Bengalee poetry. He had a haunting melody combined with depth of feeling which Dr. Tagore sometimes lacked. The popular national anthem which we sing in Bengal is from the pen of Mr. D. L. Roy.

Mr. Thompson is one of the few missionary scholars in India who can appreciate and study sympathetically our Bengalee life and literature, and hence what he has written on Tagore is well worthy of perusal.

INDIAN TALES: MYSTERY, MIRAGE, AND MIRACLE. By Alain Raffin.
(London: *William Ains and Co.*, 86, Richmond Road, Earl's Court.)
6s. net.

(Reviewed by CAPTAIN SEROCOLD SKEELS.)

A collection of stories dealing, *inter alia*, with fakirs and pre-knowledge as to birth of children, a dream of buried treasure which turned out to be charcoal, the inexplicable transportation of a baby from a bed to a locked cupboard, and the usual hauntings, including a head which took away a purse in its mouth.

The author claims that all these events have actually occurred, but changes most of the names of the persons and places concerned. This robs the book of value to the psychical researcher, though it may be found very entertaining to the voracious seeker after wonders.

To a student of the occult the most interesting of the stories is that of a man who, on board ship, received a vivid "impression that when he got to Singapore he would receive a letter from Hunt saying that Castle was dead." Some weeks later *Castle* met the boat, and told the narrator of the story that *Hunt* was dead.

This reversal of rôles is quite intelligible to the psychic student, and, to our mind, the author rightly ascribes the explanation to the fact that a telepathic impression, before reaching the mind, has to pass through a subconscious mind, and then gets coloured or distorted. Incidentally we wonder if this can be the origin of the proverb that "dreams go by contraries."

The volume, well illustrated, is bound in cloth, absolutely water, insect, and mildew proof; an important consideration for those who take books to the tropics.

BOOKS FROM INDIA

SRI KRISHNA: THE SAVIOUR OF HUMANITY. By Professor T. L. Vaswani.
(Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*) Re. 1.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

Professor Vaswani is evidently in love with his subject. He is deeply imbued with devotion for the personal God rather than the Abstraction of Attributes which sometimes takes his place, for the personal God who plays sweet music on the flute, charms the adoring milkmaids, strengthens the wavering soul of Arjuna on the battle-field, and calls the world "to a love of the infinite Ideal." Here he has, or ought to have, the entire sympathy of the reader, for he holds up for the worship of India that

great Avatar of Vishnu who is to the devout Hindu what Christ is to the devout Christian. European readers may quarrel with the transcendental style of the book; to them, perhaps, a more obvious rationalism would make a stronger appeal than the prose-poetry of the Professor's rhapsody. But if it appeals to the more emotional temperament of the Indian to whom it is addressed, there is no need to criticize on these lines, and so long as the book confines itself, as outwardly at least it does throughout, to the purifying of Indian lives, to the call for self-sacrifice, devotion, and love which will drive out malice, and greed, and ambition, the essays are as unexceptionable as the language is powerful. Many of the illustrations with which the Professor illuminates his prophesyings are of great tenderness. We may, perhaps, choose especially the story of the lad in the woods who could not summon Krishna to his friend because that friend had not love in his heart; or the tale of the girl who, watching for the King, took in a starving woman, and then, going out to see the King and not finding him, returned to find that the woman was herself the King.

While Professor Viswani has our sympathy in his controversy with the missionary over "Krishna and Christ" inasmuch as he takes the broader and more human rather than the narrow, dogmatic view, the interpretation which he gives to the story of Krishna and the naked milkmaids seems strained and artificial. It may be a beautiful conception of the naked soul coming to God, having put off the vain things of this earth and surrendering itself in utter abasement; it looks more like those unworthy stories which one would rather regard as later excrescences on the purer character of the early Krishna.

Unfortunately, Professor Vaswani seems unable to conceal that all the while he is really preaching politics. To purify the soul that it may be fit to meet its God, to purge human life of the vices which degrade humanity so that the life of the individual and the life of the nation may be exalted—this is to preach a very high ideal; to purify the soul so that the individual, and through the individual the nation, may obtain Swaraj is to fall headlong to a vastly lower plane. Professor Vaswani is a disciple of Mr. Gandhi, and he has this merit that his writing is far more consistent than that of his teacher. Nevertheless, one is obsessed throughout by the feeling that the motive power is not really the high ideal but the lower objective. The feeling may be mistaken; and in that hope we wish Professor Vaswani well so long as he keeps to pure philosophy.

NEAR EAST

BARBARY, THE ROMANCE OF THE NEAREST EAST. By A. Maccallum Scott, M.P. (*Butterworth's*) 12s. 6d. net.

Archæology and Literature, History and important political aspects, are brought before the reader, happily blended in the twenty-three chapters which commend themselves for their brevity in Mr. Maccallum Scott's interesting book. Problems concerning the founders of the Bronze Age, of whom traces are found at the back of the Phœnician

culture in Barbary, are treated in a facile yet erudite manner; and the Stonehenge, that grandest megalithic monument in Britain, is brought into relation with the discoveries of Archaeologists in the land that lies between the Mediterranean and the desert, once the cradle of high civilization.

Among the numerous illustrations there are two which cannot fail to excite the interest of the reader. One, on p. 179, represents a Phœnician priestess found on the lid of a sarcophagus in a tomb of the fourth century B.C., on the site of old Carthage. It rivals the first productions in Greek and Roman art. The author, in his admiration of this type of noble womanhood which has come down to us across the ages, after describing the horrors of the Baal worship with its human sacrifices, against which the Israelites, to their great credit, were always opposed, emphasizes the fact that a cult which could produce so fair a flower could not have been entirely sordid and degrading. The other, the so-called Venus of Cherchel (on p. 34), now one of the glories of the Algiers Museum, was discovered on the site of that ancient town of Cæsarea, where Selene reigned as queen, the daughter of Cleopatra, and Anthony with her consort King Juba II., a descendant of Masinissa, King of Numidia. This highly cultured pair, both adopted children of the noble-minded Octavia, sister of Augustus, caused the town of Cæsarea to grow into a second Carthage, known during their reign as the Athens of the West. But already their son Ptolemy stood in the path of Rome, and consequently this kingdom was incorporated in the Empire, whilst he was starved to death in a dungeon in Rome. The chapters where Mr. Maccallum Scott recalls Robert Hichens' powerful novel "*The Garden of Allah*," which has made the town of Biskra almost a place of pilgrimage to every traveller in Barbary, are very suggestive in their criticism, as also is his view on Flaubert's "*Salambo*." And in this connection I would say that his own book will prove to be a most valuable companion to all those who can leave the north in the grim winter and go where sunshine pervades—to the land of Barbary.

A word in conclusion on the political aspects endorsed by the author. We agree with him when he says that the French have worked miracles in Algiers and Tunis and other cities since they have taken up the task of the Romans to Europeanize again a country which has been sterilized since the Arab and Moslem invasion. But he seems to be in doubt whether the French who play now so well the rôle of the assimilators will not end by being themselves assimilated. He fears the adamant attribute of Islam. But times are changing. We can observe this especially in the Near East, in Turkey, where the Osmanlis understand and take part in world evolutions. France is certainly trying a new experiment in her treatment of the Arabs; and she may be the first European nation to solve a difficult problem. But let us wait and see.

L. M. R.

FRENCH BOOK

SUPRÊMES VISIONS D'ORIENT. By Pierre Loti et son Fils Samuel Viaud. Twenty-first Edition. (*Calmann-Lévy.*) 1921.

(Reviewed by E. N. BENNETT)

This volume, perhaps the last of the series which commenced with the delightful "Aziyadé," contains a number of more or less connected reminiscences during the years 1910-13, together with four brief chapters which deal with the Greeks and their invasion of Anatolia. In September, 1913, Pierre Loti left his beloved Stamboul "pour jamais sans doute"; but if it does come to pass that the writer's weight of years—he is seventy-two—renders this parting a final one, there is, at any rate, little to show in the concluding pages of this charming volume that old age has yet diminished his spiritual enthusiasm or his power of literary expression.

An undercurrent of almost unrelieved sadness runs through these pages. The writer, prostrated for weeks during his last sojourn in Constantinople by a serious and baffling fever, endured the added suffering of a complete failure in his characteristic search for the grave of a girl he had loved in the far-off days of his early manhood. And, worst perhaps of all, this devoted and sincere lover of Turkey and her people had lived to see Constantinople occupied by Western enemies, and the gallant remnants of the Ottoman forces struggling against terrific odds for the independence of what was left them of their territory.

The book has already reached its twenty-first edition, and, had England possessed a Pierre Loti of her own, the dense clouds of ignorance and prejudice which usually conceal the true facts of the Middle East from the eyes of the British Public might have been from time to time dispersed. At the close of this the last effort of his life on behalf of his Turkish friends, Pierre Loti makes a final appeal to the English people, recognized by him as the "implacable rivals" of his own nation, but still endowed with a measure of dignity and *noblesse*.

"Let England arise," he cries, "and free herself from the blighting control of the profiteers and financiers who have maddened the dwellers in Ireland, India, and Egypt, and now, at the bidding of oil magnates, *et hoc genus omne*, seek the extermination of the Turkish race. Europe is dull and apathetic," says the author, "and willing to accept the stupid *mot d'ordre* of Lloyd George that no testimony or information coming from a Moslem source need ever be considered."

BOOKS FROM AMERICA

VENIZELLOS. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. (Boston, Mass.: *Houghton, Mifflin and Co.*) \$4.50.

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD.)

The inauguration of a series of biographies of statesmen who have played a leading rôle in the Great War and after by that of the ex-Greek Premier was a happy thought. Strange that so unique a personality as

that of the Cretan leader should have, up to the present failed to bring to light his Boswell. Nevertheless Mr. Gibbons's special qualifications have enabled him to discharge his onerous task with judgment and impartiality, and his "Venizelos" is decidedly the best achievement of its kind.

Especial attention should be given to the chapter "A Revolutionary by Profession," as it enables the psychologist to grasp what most writers of the time have failed to understand—viz., that the downfall of M. Venizelos was inevitable when he persisted in the course upon which he had embarked some two years before the catastrophe that closed his political career.

From 1899 to 1909 his fellow-Cretans, we are told, regarded their leader as "erratic" and "unreasonable." His greatest admirers deemed him a "gambler," the Chancelleries of Europe held him to be a "dangerous mischief-maker," while the High Commissioner and officials detested him.

The clue to his perplexing conduct, hidden from all, perhaps at first even from himself, is given by Mr. Gibbons. From the outset he regarded all settlements of the Cretan question, other than that of union with Greece, as purely transitional.

"Why do you not put yourselves in our hands? You know we have already freed Crete, all except in name, and if you work with the Powers your day will come more quickly than by forcing our hand and compelling us to oppose you."

To this remonstrance of a British naval officer during the Cretan rising of 1897, M. Venizelos replied in terms that Mr. Gibbons regards "as the history of the last hundred years in the Near East." Said Mr. Venizelos:

"European policy is invariably the maintenance of the *status quo*, and you will do nothing for the subject races unless we, by taking the initiative, make you realize that helping us against the Turks is the lesser of two evils."

"D—— it all, the beggar is right!" wrote the British officer, "and I hope we shan't have to shoot him."

Mr. Gibbons in his final chapter, and indeed throughout, criticizes the actions of the Powers with a frank severity that throws valuable light upon the attitude of the New World to the time-honoured traditions of Old-World diplomacy; and one awaits with interest his comments on Greece's rejection of its former leader, which he anticipated as little as did the persons chiefly concerned.

THE MAKING OF AMERICA. By Lilian Dalton. Illustrations by John Napper. (Stead's Shilling Series.) *Stead's Publishing House, Kingsway, W.C. 2.*

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD.)

English-reading children all over the world will rejoice in these thrilling stories of the making of that New World which is exercising an ever-growing influence upon the destiny of humanity.

"An egg, floating seaward; a rusty chain and a New World. What have these to do with each other?" Thus opens the story of Christopher Columbus.

John Smith's adventures are less well-known, but they form a tale of breathless interest. There are many John Smiths to-day quite as daring and unselfish. "He would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay . . . he loved actions more than words, and hated falsehood worse than death."

Miss Dalton is a gifted writer for the young of all ages, and it is to be hoped that she will be induced to turn her attention to the heroic events connected with the making of that "Community of Nations known as the British Empire."

The two-shilling edition, bound in cloth, is well adapted for a school prize or birthday present.

SHORTER NOTICES

THE CIVILIAN'S SOUTH INDIA. By "Civilian." (*The Bodley Head.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The author is anxious, as is pointed out in the preface, to show "that there are other parts of India besides the Punjab." Recent political events have brought this fact home to the general reader. It is written in an easy style, and is suitable for light reading.

LETTERS FROM CHINA AND JAPAN. By John Dewey and Alice C. Dewey. (*Dent.*) 9s. net.

The author, who is Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, and his wife here record to their children, in the form of letters, their experiences and impressions on a pleasure trip. The chapters dealing with the political events in China during the year 1919 are of special interest.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEA ON THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF JAPAN. By Vice-Admiral G. A. Ballard, C.B. (*Murray.*) 18s. net.

This book traces the rise of Japan as a sea-power from the Korean War of the sixteenth century to the present day. The Russo-Japanese War is carefully studied, and the last chapter deals with those problems which are being considered by the Washington Conference. The author pleads for a spirit of mutual concessions, and points out that racial differences cannot be abolished by the League of Nations.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIAN POLICY (1818-1858). By G. Anderson, C.I.E., M.A., and M. Subedar, B.A., B.SC. (*Bell.*) 5s. net.

The above is the second of three volumes on the theme of "The Last Days of the Company," and is designed to be a source book for students of this period of Indian History. The general arrangement of the book is admirable, and encourages the reader to exercise his own judgment upon the authorities cited.

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE HUMAN RACE. By A. Churchward. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 45s. net.

The conclusions of the author of this excellently illustrated book are that man originated in Africa, and that the evolution of the human face

can still be traced from the lowest type of original man. This work forms an important companion volume to Professor Arthur Keith's "Antiquity of Man."

COLLOQUIAL ARABIC. By G. J. Letham, M.A., LL.B. (*Crown Agents for the Colonies.*) 15s. net.

The above is an admirable textbook for students of the Shuwa dialect, of Bornu, Nigeria, and the region of Lake Chad. It is a variety of Sudanese Arabic. The book is divided into three parts: (1) Grammar; (2) selections of short sayings, proverbs, rhymes, etc.; (3) vocabulary. Arabic characters are not given, but a system of transliteration has been adopted, to show not only the colloquial pronunciation, but also to indicate the correct Arabic spelling, in the Arabic character, when known of any word given.

THE HISTORY OF PERSIA. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes. Second Edition. (*Macmillan.*)

It is a remarkable event that a learned work such as the above has attained a second edition in so short a time. The fact is that the two volumes are so replete with learning and scholarship that a new edition has been a long-felt want. Moreover the author has wisely brought this monumental work up to date by a series of chapters ending with the present situation. General Dunsterville's mission is fully described, and the work ends with an appeal to the upper classes in Persia. But this is only part of the author's new work. All the other chapters have been brought up to date in the light of fresh information.

Messrs. Probsthain have just issued a large Sanskrit Catalogue, which, we understand, is the largest yet published in England with the whole of Sanskrit Literature. Here are to be found the rare edition of the "White Yajur Veda," edited by A. Weber; Boehtlingh and Roth's "Standard Sanskrit Dictionary"; Max-Müller's edition of the "Rig Veda."

There are also sections on Art, Religion and Philosophy, Sikh and Parsi Literature. The Catalogue is systematically arranged, and can serve as a general guide to Sanskrit Literature.

Messrs. Probsthain deserve all praise for the clear arrangement of this difficult work.

We have received by courtesy of the Netherlands Consul-General in London a copy of "The Year-Book of the Netherlands East Indies" (1920). This annual publication of nearly 300 pages, embellished with maps and beautiful photographs, seems to us indispensable for all those who take an interest in the Dutch colonies in Asia. The historical portion which appeared in early editions has been dispensed with, and the introductory matter entitled "Geographical Description" now only occupies twenty pages. We think that the section devoted to the press might be lengthened, and some description added of the scope and subjects of the various periodicals that are mentioned, as well as their price.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS: *East India Association—School of Oriental Studies—India Society—Central Asian Society—Royal Colonial Institute—Near and Middle Eastern Association—Caucasian Dinner—Sociological Society—Persia Society—Japan Society*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp. 52 *seq.* of this issue. The next meeting will be held on Monday, January 23, when Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., will read his paper on "Castes and Customs of Malabar." The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., has kindly promised to take the chair at 3.30 p.m. at the Caxton Hall.

The following lectures at the School of Oriental Studies should prove of special interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW :

INDIA AND ITS PROBLEMS

Ten Lectures, with lantern-slide illustrations, are being delivered by Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A., F.R.G.S., former Member, Executive Council of Bengal, at the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2, on Mondays at 6 p.m., beginning October 10 (omitting October 31). Fee 4s. (out-country teachers, 10s.).

Syllabus.—I. A General Territorial and Political Survey. II. Social and Racial Differences. III. Agricultural and Economic Development. IV. Trade and Industry. V. Educational Policy. VI. Law and Order. VII. Village Home Life. VIII. Religions and Sects. IX. India as seen through the Eyes of Western Travellers and Writers. X. Administration: Past, Present, and Future.

CHINA

Ten lectures by Dr. Hopkyn Rees, University Reader in Chinese School of Oriental Studies, at the School, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2, on Mondays at 6 p.m., beginning January 23. Fee 4s. (out-country teachers, 10s.).

Syllabus.—I. China and the West. II. The Transformation of China. III. Religion in China. IV. Government in China. V. The Chinese People. VI. Chinese Folk-lore. VII. Chinese Superstitions. VIII. Chinese Fiction.

The *India Society* is publishing immediately "The Sind Mystic, Shah Abdul Latif," being a short account of his life and work by M. M. Gidvani, M.A. (Lecturer in English, Elphinstone College, Bombay). Professor Strykowski has been invited to lecture before the Society, on January 2, on "Indo-Persian Painting." At the Annual Meeting, held on November 18, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids was re-elected President of the Society, and Sir J. H. Marshall, K.C.I.E., Sir Rabindranath Tagore, LITT.D., and Robert Bridges, LITT.D., its Vice-Presidents.

There was a meeting of the *Central Asian Society* on December 8, when Colonel E. B. Howell, C.S.I., C.I.E., read a paper on the "Turkish Land

Laws and their Land Revenue System as applied to Iraq." Lord Carnock was in the chair. The lecturer drew an interesting parallel between the Roman and Turkish land systems. He compared the Imperial Land Office at Constantinople with the Tabellarium Cæsaris. The practice of farming the taxes was also common to both systems. Comparing Iraq with India, he declared that the former had suffered from the absence of the genius manifested by Akbar.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer testified to the ability of Akbar. An equitable system of land tenure and land assessment was imperative in any country if she is to survive. The lack of it had caused the French and Russian revolutions. The Turks also had shown incompetence. They had sought to impose from above, while the British in India had reversed the process and always began the inquiry on the spot, working upwards. Hence it was not only equitable, but also a miracle of accuracy.

At a meeting of the *Royal Colonial Institute* on November 8, a paper on "India and Some Problems," by Viscount Chelmsford, was read by Viscountess Chelmsford. The chair was taken by the Marquess of Crewe. The paper was in the form of a time-table of the daily duties of the Viceroy of India. Special points were: (i.) The smallness of the staff of the Government of India compared to Home Departments; (ii.) their high quality; (iii.) the initiation of the reforms has coincided with the rise in prices and the fall in the purchasing power of money. In the subsequent discussion, Lord Meston pointed out that the Viceroy had gained enormously by having had previous experience in the administration of democratic countries like the Dominions. The lecture, with discussion, appears in the December issue of *United Empire*, which is, as usual, replete with interesting information.

A new society has been formed with the name *The Near and Middle East Association*. Among its objects are:

"To maintain a sympathetic attitude towards Moslem sentiment in the British Empire and the Moslem world at large by advocating—

"(a) That no settlement between Turkey, Greece, and the Powers can be satisfactory that does not restore Constantinople, Eastern Thrace, and Anatolia, including Smyrna, to the Ottoman Empire, in accordance with Mr. Lloyd George's pledge that we were not fighting 'to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race.'

"(b) That for commercial, strategic, and political reasons it is to our interest that friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire should be renewed and promoted in every possible way."

All correspondence and enquiries should be sent to the Acting Hon. Secretary, Captain E. N. Bennett, J.P., 12, Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.

On December 10 a conversazione was held at the London Muslim House, 111, Campden Hill Road, W. 8, to meet the Khwaya Kamal-ud-din, recently returned from India.

A Caucasian Dinner was held at the Lyceum Club on December 5. In the subsequent discussion Madame Zarchi took the chair, and among the guests were the three representatives of the Caucasian states—viz., Prince Sombatoff (Georgia), General Bagratoum (Armenia), Mir Jagoub Mehtiev (Azerbaijan). Madame Manna Karine rendered Armenian folk-songs, and the distinguished company included Lord Clifford, Mr. and Mrs. Lo Chong, Mr. Fetradjian, Mr. Brayley Hodgetts and Miss Robinson.

The Sociological Society is giving increasing attention to political questions. In the summer Mr. Sastri gave an address, and on November 22 Mr. R. W. Seton Watson gave a lecture on "The Successors of Austria-Hungary: Some of their Problems." The *Sociological Review* is being made available to the general public at 5s. per issue. This review contains the proceedings of the Society, a series of articles, and a literary supplement. On December 20 Mr. Christopher Dawson spoke on a new theory of history.

The *Persia Society* held a meeting on November 15. Lord Lamington took the chair, and a paper was read by Mr. Gugushvili (Secretary of the Georgian Legation) on "The Bolsheviki and the Middle East." The lecturer insisted that the ambitions of Bolshevism were identical with those of Imperial Russia where the Middle East was concerned. He also gave an interesting description of the Bolshevik army. Mr. W. E. D. Allen in a short speech drew attention to the civilizing influence of Russia in Asia during the Tsarist régime.

The Independence Day of Czecho-Slovakia was celebrated on October 28 at the Portman Rooms. Mr. F. P. Marchant compared the new state to Sparta and to Athens. Its President was combining the virtues of Pericles and Epaminondas. On the following Sunday the annual thanksgiving service was held at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, in the presence of the Czecho-Slovak Minister. A moving address was delivered by that great friend of small nationalities in Eastern Europe, the Rev. T. Hunter Boyd. A copy of the Czech Bible was presented to the Rev. Dr. Poole by Mr. A. C. Shlehover.

The *Japan Society* has held two meetings this autumn. Mr. Gerald Mere lectured on "Japanese Women, Ancient and Modern." The Japanese Ambassador took the chair, and in the course of a humorous speech recalled that a Japanese woman named "Jingo" (*sic*) had led in the past a great expedition of conquest. A vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Mr. Arthur Diosy.

On December 9 Mr. W. L. Schwartz, M.A., Professor of Stanford University, U.S.A., read a paper on "The Potters and Pottery of Satsume." The lecture was illustrated by some admirable slides. On January 13 Mr. Malden will speak on Japan, and show a series of lantern slides from his own photographs.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

RUSSIA'S RECOVERY

4, BRUNSWICK PLACE, LONDON, N.W. 1.

December 1, 1921.

SIR,—Not every proverb is a good guide. Some are even misleading; take for instance: "One soldier does not constitute a regiment." In the first place, there could be no regiment at all unless there had once been a single soldier. Secondly, anyone who works hard must have the conviction that his work, being good, should succeed, and that, through his moral influence, he may gain power sooner or later, at all events, over his fellows. No defender of truth must allow his energy to be paralyzed merely because he does not immediately find outside support. He must look for inspiration to his own heart and soul. The task I recommend is undoubtedly not an easy one. Yet characters of this kind can be found—as, for instance, the American Ambassador in London at the time of the outbreak of the Great War. His letters to President Wilson, published in the November issue of *World's Work*, offer a noble example, which has received the unstinted praise of Viscount Grey, who said: "Mr. Page is one of the finest illustrations I have ever known of the value of character in a public man." But appreciations of this kind, even when obtained, are only secured after much effort. Here is Mr. Page's own statement regarding his difficulties at the commencement of the war:

"Those two first days there was, of course, great confusion. Crazy men and weeping women were imploring and cursing and demanding—God knows, it was bedlam turned loose. I have been called a man of the greatest genius for an emergency by some, by others an absolute fool, by others every epithet between these extremes.

"Men shook English banknotes in my face and demanded United States money, and swore our Government and its agents ought to be shot. Women expected me to hand them steamship tickets home. When some found out that they could not get tickets on the transports (which they assumed would sail the next day), they accused me of favouritism. These absurd experiences will give you a hint of the panic."

But there is a saying which I sincerely like: "To lose money is to lose nothing; to lose courage is to lose everything" (including, I would add, Christian Faith). Let the single upholder of truth cling to his courage as a soldier follows a banner.

Such a soldier should command a hearing, even when defending a cause which has gone out of fashion. The Russian Monarchical Party in

Berlin, the President of which is M. Markoff, have published a pamphlet* by V. Rudneff with a preface by M. Garanin, the contents of which are undoubtedly a revelation. M. Rudneff was Vice-Procurator of the Legal Council of Ekaterinoslav. During the disgraceful Kerensky Government, he received a special commission to study all the documents relating to the rulers in Russia, both the Imperial family and those in official circles. But, to the surprise and great indignation of those who had appointed him, M. Rudneff, being an honest man, wrote nothing but the truth, and described facts as he actually found them, with integrity and courage. By that act M. Rudneff became one of those single soldiers; already he has become one of a regiment—the Russian Monarchical Party—and undoubtedly his efforts will bear increasing fruit.

Now the two positions of the late Mr. Page and of M. Rudneff may be very different, but their devotion to truth made them akin.

Ah, yes, thank God, there are still good examples in this degenerate, atheistic world which we ought to find and follow courageously. Then help—unexpected, unforeseen, and unknown help—is sure to come sooner or later. The spread of monarchical views contains the germ of salvation. Do not laugh at my dogmatic tone; I base my assertions on concrete facts.

OLGA NOVIKOFF (née KIRIEFF).

ARTICLES TO NOTE

The November issue of *Colonies et Marine* contains an interesting article by Pierre Cancelade on French influence in Shanghai and Tokyo. The French Athenæum in the latter city was founded in September, 1913, but since the war it has made rapid progress in propagating knowledge of French art and literature. The Académie Française is offering an annual prize for proficiency in these subjects. The same issue makes long quotations from this year's articles of the ASIATIC REVIEW on Japan, and particularly on India.

We have just received the first issue of a new Indian magazine entitled *The Journal of Indian History*. The editor is Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., University Professor of Modern Indian History at Allahabad. Perhaps the most interesting article is one by the editor himself on the sources for the history of British India in the seventeenth century contained in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries.

Those who are interested in the Angora Treaty Question will find some interesting details published in the November issue of *L'Asie Française*. The same issue contains the correspondence that led to the Sino-German Accord of May 20, 1921.

* "The Truth about the Russian Imperial Family."

THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

AN article written by me, and published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for January, 1921, contained a statement showing the value of the rupee measured in gold and silver—(1) in 1913; (2) on January 31, 1920, immediately before the Secretary of State announced that he would aim at giving the rupee a fixed value in exchange of 11·3 grains of fine gold; and (3) on October 27, 1920, after the removal of the restrictions on the import and export of gold and silver had taken effect. The changes which have taken place during the past twelve months will be seen from the table on p. 166, which adds to the information previously given the state of things on October 26, 1921, as shown by the quotations of that date, among which were the following: In London, price of gold, 104·2s. per fine ounce; price of silver per ounce 92s; fine 39·6d.; rate of exchange of the rupee, 16·4d.; in New York, price of foreign silver, 69·6 cents per fine ounce; in Calcutta, price of mint bar gold, 28·8 rupees per tola of 180 grains; price of fine silver, 98·1 rupees per 100 tolas.

According to these quotations on October 26, 1921, the value of the pound sterling was 92 grains of fine gold, while the sovereign contains 113 grains; so that the value of the pound sterling was on that date 82 per cent. of the gold in a sovereign, as compared with 72 per cent. a year before. The value of the rupee in pence sterling had fallen from 19·4 to 16·4, but as the value of the pound sterling in gold had risen, the value of the rupee in pence measured in gold had only fallen from 14 to 13·4; or, in other words, the value of the rupee measured in gold had fallen from

VALUE OF THE RUPEE MEASURED IN GOLD AND SILVER.

	In 1913.	On Jan. 31, 1920.	On Oct. 27, 1920.	On Oct. 26, 1921.
Value of the pound sterling in grains of gold ...	113	82	82	92
Value of the pound sterling as a percentage of the sovereign	100	72	72	82
Value of the sovereign (113 grains of gold) in rupees:				
In London ...	15	11·9	17	17·9
In India ...	15	17	17	18·1
Value of the rupee in grains of gold:				
In London ...	7·5	9·6	6·6	6·3
In India ...	7·5	6·7	6·7	6·2
Value of the rupee in pence sterling in London ...	16	23	19·4	16·4
Value of the rupee in pence measured in gold in London	16	20	14	13·4
Value of the rupee in grains of silver:				
In London ...	258	149	165	184
In India ...	258	157	157	183
Ratio of gold to silver:				
In New York ...	34	15·5	25·7	29·7
In London ...	34	15·7	25·1	29·2
In India ...	34	23·5	23·5	29·4

6·6 grains to 6·3 in London, and from 6·7 grains to 6·2 in Calcutta. As the Secretary of State's object was to keep the rupee stable at the rate of 11·3 grains of gold, and it is now worth only about 6·3 grains, it is evident that no progress has yet been made towards the attainment of that object. Indeed the rupee is now worth less gold than the 7·5 grains it was worth when it equalled in value one-fifteenth of a sovereign. Although the rupee is now worth about the same number of pence sterling as it was worth before the war—that is, 16 pence—it is, when measured in gold, now worth only 13·4 pence instead of the pre-war gold value of 16 pence and the 24 pence gold value desired by the Secretary of State. Before the war the sovereign was stabilized at a value of 15 rupees. On January 31, 1920, owing to India's having been starved of gold by the restrictions on import, a sovereign was worth in India

17 rupees, although in London the 113 grains of gold contained in a sovereign could be bought for the equivalent of 12 rupees. On October 27, 1920, after the removal of the restrictions on the import of gold, the sovereign was worth in India 17 rupees, and it is now worth in the Indian bazaars about 18 rupees instead of the 10 rupees aimed at by the Secretary of State.

One of the reasons for this failure of the Secretary of State's currency policy has been the great fall in the gold value of silver throughout the world, which took place soon after the restrictions on the movement of gold from one country to another were abolished ; so that countries such as India, China, and South America, which had been prevented by those restrictions from obtaining the gold they wanted, were able to satisfy their requirements, and thus increase the world's effective demand for gold, while at the same time reducing its effective demand for silver. In 1913 an ounce of gold exchanged for about 34 ounces of silver all the world over. On January 31, 1920, both in New York and London, an ounce of gold exchanged for only 15·5 ounces of silver, while on the same date in India, owing to the restrictions on the import of gold and to the enormous import of silver, an ounce of gold commanded 23·5 ounces of silver. On October 27, 1920, after the restrictions had been removed, an ounce of gold exchanged for about 25 ounces of silver, alike in New York, in London, and in India ; and on October 26, 1921, the ratio in all three countries was about 29 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, or not very different from the ratio of 34 to 1 which prevailed in 1913. For some time after the removal of the restrictions, the value of the rupee corresponded pretty closely with the value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it—that is, the rupee had again become linked with silver as it was before the closing of the Indian Mints ; but more recently it has become again unlinked from silver, and on October 26, 1921, the rupee, which contains only 165 grains of fine silver, could purchase both

in London and in India about 184 grains. The best measure of the gold value of silver is to be got from the New York quotations, according to which in 1913 an ounce of fine silver was worth in New York about 60 cents in dollar gold ; on January 31, 1920, its price had risen to 133 cents ; it has now fallen to 70 cents on October 26, 1921, and to 67 cents on November 14—that is to say, it is not very much above its gold price in 1913. Although the gold value of the rupee no longer closely follows that of silver, it is to a considerable extent affected by changes in the world price of silver, and goes up and down when the gold value of silver rises or falls.

Before the war, owing to the measures taken by the Government of India, the rupee was closely linked to the sovereign, and its gold value remained stable at one-fifteenth of a sovereign. Now it shows no signs of becoming linked with gold, nor is it closely linked either with the gold value of silver or with the paper pound sterling. In fact, it is now a mere token coin, the value of which varies according to the law of supply and demand. The supply of rupee coins has been vastly increased by the feverish issue of enormous numbers of new rupees from the mints in India, when India's urgent demand for silver, in place of the gold it was prevented from obtaining, compelled the Government at all costs to supply that demand by the issue of rupees to maintain the convertibility of its paper currency. At the same time the circulation of India's paper currency greatly increased, and added to the supply of currency. The demand for currency increased with the rise of prices in India, and at the same time there was an increase in the demand for rupee coins for the purpose of hoarding ; but that demand has now fallen off, partly owing to the serious drought by which India was affected last year, and a very large number of rupee coins has been returned to the Government treasuries, and lies uselessly accumulated there. The quantity of silver coin and bullion in the Indian paper currency reserve on

October 31, 1921, was returned as 800 million rupees, and, as there must now be in existence something like 4,000 million rupee coins, it appears that about one-fifth of all the rupee coins in existence is lying in the reserve treasuries.

The change that has taken place in the note circulation during the last twelve months will be seen from the following statement :

INDIAN CURRENCY RESERVE (MILLIONS OF RUPEES).

	October 31, 1920.	October 31, 1921.
Note Circulation	1,596	1,797
Reserve—		
Silver coin and bullion in India	594	800
Gold coin and bullion in India	238	243
Government of India securities	681	671
British Government securities	83	83
Total	1,596	1,797

During these twelve months the note circulation has increased by 201 million rupees, and the reserve of silver coin and bullion has increased by 206 million rupees, while the other forms of the reserve have remained practically unaltered. The gold in the reserve is valued at the statutory rate of 10 rupees to the sovereign or 11·3 grains of gold to the rupee, whereas the present price of gold in India is the equivalent of 18 rupees to the sovereign or 6·2 grains to the rupee; so that, if the gold in the currency reserve were to be sold in the open market, the 24·3 million sovereigns' worth would fetch something like 437 million rupees instead of the 243 million rupees at which it is valued in the currency return. It should be taken credit for at its real market value, and the 194 million rupees by which that real value exceeds the present nominal value should be utilized either to reduce the very large amount

of Government of India securities held in reserve, or, better still, to recall an equivalent amount of notes from circulation without any change in the actual composition of the reserve, and thus reduce the total quantity of currency (rupees and notes) in circulation, and thereby increase the value of the rupee, whether measured in gold or in commodities, improve the value of the rupee in exchange, and reduce the present high prices of commodities, measured in rupees, which press so hardly on the masses of the population.

The advantages of a large circulation of currency notes are often greatly exaggerated. It is true that by getting the people of India to accept currency notes to the value of 1,797 million rupees, the Government of India has practically borrowed that amount from the holders of these notes free of interest; but, on the other hand, it has at great cost to store and guard 800 million rupee coins and gold to the value of 24·3 million sovereigns, and has to have recourse to the very doubtful financial expedient of putting into the reserve its own paper to the nominal value of 671 million rupees, and to find from the revenue of the year the interest payable on that large quantity of Government securities. If a full account were worked out of the net financial advantage to the Treasury of this large issue of paper currency it would be found not to amount to any large sum. On the other hand, this great issue of notes adds to the quantity of currency in circulation, and therefore tends to reduce the value in exchange of the rupee coin, and to keep up the rupee prices of commodities. It also proves seriously embarrassing in times of crisis. The cost to the Government of India of maintaining the convertibility of its paper currency two years ago must have been enormous.

It would, therefore, be to the advantage of the people and trade of India, and also ultimately to that of its Treasury, to make a still greater reduction in the quantity of notes in circulation. In order to do so, it would be necessary to

find the money to pay the holders of the currency notes to be withdrawn. This could be done in several ways. In the first place, the gold coin and bullion now uselessly held in the reserve to the market value of 437 million rupees could be sold, and the proceeds utilized to redeem and cancel that amount of currency notes. In the second place, a portion of the securities held in the reserve could be sold and the proceeds similarly used. In the third place, a portion of the Indian gold standard reserve, which on September 30, 1921, consisted of British Government securities to the value of 40 million pounds—that is, about 600 million rupees at the present rate of exchange—might be sold and the proceeds used to redeem currency notes. And in the fourth place, a part of the 800 million rupees' worth of silver coin and bullion, now in the currency reserve, might be utilized for this purpose; but this course is not to be recommended, because it would tend to increase the quantity of rupee coins in circulation, although no doubt a portion of the rupees so released would find their way into hoards. The Treasury is thus in possession of ample means to reduce the amount of notes in circulation from 1,797 million rupees to the more manageable amount of, say, 1,000 million rupees, and thus increase the value of the rupee coin, both in exchange for the pound sterling and in exchange for gold or commodities. This procedure might result in the demand for currency notes exceeding the supply, and in the currency note selling at a small premium over rupee coins in the bazaar; but there would be no great harm in that. If a man having a credit of 1,000 rupees prefers a 1,000-rupee note to a bag of 1,000-rupee coins, why should he not pay a small premium for the convenience of obtaining a note, just as he pays a commission on a postal order?

The Secretary of State's *brutum fulmen* not only raised expectations which proved vain, and thereby caused great loss to many people, both in India and in this country, but it led the Indian Legislative Council to place itself in a

ridiculous position by declaring the sovereign to be legal tender in India for 10 rupees, while as a matter of fact any one having a sovereign can get about 18 rupees for it in the bazaar. It also led the Indian Finance Minister to adopt in his budget the rate of 1s. 8d. per rupee, and to estimate for a loss on exchange of 55 million rupees, in consequence of the difference between this figure and the 2s. per rupee aimed at by the Secretary of State. As the rate of exchange is now little over 1s. 4d., and as the average rate for the year is certain to be much below 1s. 8d., the nominal loss on exchange will certainly turn out to be very much larger than this estimate. The Indian budget framed on this basis is entirely misleading and far away from the facts, and it would give a much better idea of the real position of India's finances if the budget were recast in accordance with the facts, all income and expenditure in sterling being turned into rupees as nearly as possible at the actual average rate of exchange, and the item of loss on exchange thus eliminated.

In an article published in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, Mr. A. F. Cox, formerly Comptroller-General of India, has given an interesting account of the currency crises of 1900 and 1907, the moral of which is that it is highly dangerous to have too large an amount of notes in circulation. He practically admits the failure so far of the Secretary of State's policy, but apparently thinks it possible that in time exchange may be gradually raised to whatever rate is finally decided on, even if that rate be 2s. gold to the rupee, although the present rate measured in gold is only 13¼ pence to the rupee, notwithstanding the fact that during the last few months the balance of trade has turned in favour of India. Like him, I hope to see an improvement in the present low value of the rupee, but I am less sanguine than he seems to be, and shall be content if it can be restored to its pre-war value of 16 pence measured in gold—that is, of 15 rupees to the sovereign. In order to

attain this object, I recommend the following practical measures :

1. The Government of India should obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State to cancel the announcement of February 2, 1920, should announce that it will aim at giving the rupee a fixed value in exchange of one rupee for 7·53 grains of fine gold—that is, one-fifteenth of the gold content of the sovereign—and should make the sovereign a legal tender in India at the old ratio of 15 rupees.

2. Steps should be taken to make a gradual reduction in the amount of currency notes in circulation to 1,000 million rupees by—(a) selling in the open market the 24·3 million sovereigns' worth of gold now in the Indian currency reserve ; (b) selling a sufficient quantity of the Government securities in the currency and gold standard reserves.

3. If this process resulted in an unmanageable accumulation of rupee coins in the currency reserve, a proportion of them should be melted and sold as bullion in the open market.

4. Not a single new rupee should be minted, nor should a single new currency note be issued, until the rate of exchange of the rupee has risen to 16 pence measured in gold—that is, to one-fifteenth of the gold content of the sovereign.

I also recommend that the Indian accounts and budget should be recast, all gold being estimated at its present market value in rupees, and all sterling being turned into rupees at the probable average rate of exchange of the year, say 1s. 5d. per pound sterling, with no large item for "loss on exchange."

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATION IN THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

BY M. SAVAYANAGI

(President of the Japanese Educational Association)

DESPITE the heading, "Education in the Japanese Empire," space precludes comprehensive observations on education as at present conducted throughout Japanese territory. I have, therefore, been compelled to leave out of consideration Korea, Formosa, and Saghalien Island. It is not entirely devoid of academic interest, and, moreover, is a tempting subject for a descriptive treatise, to trace Japan's educational system to its starting-point and consider the historical features of its development. Amongst the characteristic differences between Japan and the rest of the world stands out the fact that the uninterrupted history of her civilization goes back to over 2,600 years, thus covering the period of her national existence to the present day, if we exclude the still more ancient and mythical period. But I have no space to treat these points here.

The educational system formulated simultaneously with the restoration of "New Japan," which completely removed the heavy yoke of feudalism some fifty years ago, is an outcome of a comparative study of similar systems prevailing in the Western World, in the adoption of which much discretion was used, while our former educational systems, hitherto sacred to tradition, were boldly discarded. To a casual observer there might appear neither cognate relationship nor a consistent connection between our new and old educational systems. Nevertheless, there is ground to believe that the new educational system has duly attained maturity and produced great and wholesome effects, because

preparations for the new system have been made during a very long time.

Indeed, Japan's educational system may be regarded as the superstructure erected by unsparing effort upon a foundation already fully tested. There is a striking contrast between the system of Japan and those of European countries, as the latter have grown up spontaneously in the course of several centuries. The whole arrangement of the European educational systems, in respect of school organizations, inter-relationship of schools and so forth, have been brought about without any attempt at a thorough preliminary investigation. The reverse is the case with Japan, her system being the result of a thorough investigation and not of a natural growth, so that it can even bear the test of a scrupulous synthetic analysis, and is, therefore, I venture to say, the nearest to the ideal, if viewed from the standpoint of systematic superiority alone. It need scarcely be said that I do not consider our educational system necessarily to possess every practical advantage, though I dare assert that our system, from the abstract point of view, is as good as it should be.

Soon after the birth of "New Japan" in the year 1868, the Department of Education came into existence, and the present educational system was formulated after minute studies and elaborate investigations. The first education regulations issued were comprehensive, including elementary, secondary, higher, technical education, and also the normal schools.

The connection between elementary and secondary education is maintained most closely. This close relationship, I fear, baffle English readers, but equally beyond comprehension to us Japanese is the almost complete absence of connection between elementary and secondary education in England. For instance, boys and girls of Japanese secondary institutions are without a single exception ex-pupils of the elementary schools. All University students come from secondary schools, previous to which,

without exception, they attended primary schools. In Japan preparatory and public schools of any description are conspicuous by their absence, which illustrates the close connection between the three grades of education—elementary, secondary, and higher.

Japanese elementary education is divided into two courses, the ordinary and the advanced, providing for a six years' and a two or three years' term respectively. The ordinary course is obligatory from the age of six to the age of twelve, and public opinion is at present in favour of its extension to the age of fourteen. This is now thought very likely to have Governmental approval in the near future, and in that case ordinary as well as advanced courses will have to be completed in eight years. At present the advanced course still remains optional.

The majority of those who have completed the advanced course enter a business career of some kind or other, while others take the advanced or intermediate courses. The statistics of 1918 show that the number of children completing the ordinary course was 908,862, out of which 442,660 continued with the advanced course, whereas secondary schools received 38,544 boys and 31,312 girls. Of course, there were a great number of entrants to continuation schools directly after the completion of the ordinary course. At the present day Japan is well supplied with continuation schools, of which there are 10,777 with 476,349 pupils. In some of these continuation schools subjects of a more advanced character are taught to much older pupils.

I should like to make it quite clear here that in practice a close inter-relationship between diverse schools is not always obtained. Not every child who has finished the ordinary course of a primary school, and who is entitled for entrance to a secondary school, obtains admission, owing to deficiency in accommodation. To-day about one-half of the total number of such applicants are admitted, and they are first subjected to a competitive examination of a

pretty severe standard, thus inflicting considerable hardship on the youthful applicants and on their parents. The case is worse with regard to prospective students in higher education, who, having spent the stipulated time in a secondary school, are legally entitled to have their application granted. They also are obliged to submit to a most severe entrance examination, on account of a similar deficiency in accommodation in the higher institutions. In round numbers only one-third of these students are admitted eventually, so deplorable is the situation in Japan at this moment.

The accommodation of secondary schools is, nevertheless, by no means limited, the number of secondary schools of various kinds totalling 1,230 in the year 1918. Japanese schools are generally large; the total sitting accommodation being 371,750, or an average of some 310 scholars per school. Of secondary school pupils there are 66 per 10,000 of population. Failing the exact figure in England for secondary school pupils, we may, perhaps, estimate their quota at 297,000 on the assumption that England's population is 45,000,000, so that the proportion of pupils is almost the same as in my country. Pupils between twelve to eighteen years of age should be included. In Japanese secondary schools none are admitted under twelve years, until which age the boy or girl are expected to remain in primary school. In this respect there would appear to be nothing corresponding to the educational systems of European countries. Omitting intentionally the exact statistics, it must be noted that higher educational institutions in no small numbers are scattered all over the Japanese Empire.

To sum up, a well-planned and systematic connection between different schools in Japan has not been put into satisfactory execution on account of the shortage in school accommodation; a remedy lies in the simple expedient of erecting more and more secondary and higher grade schools. Secondary school accommodation is being in-

creased by something like two score annually, and a few annual additions are being made to the number of higher-grade schools.

The Japanese are inclined to take education too seriously in so far as they are earnestly anxious for higher education, to obtain which they will submit to the greatest personal hardships. There is perhaps no nation as crazy for education as my compatriots. Instances are not infrequent in Japan where parents send their children to school even if their hereditary landed property must be disposed of, or heavy debts contracted for that purpose. One is sometimes agreeably surprised to find in the lower classes of Japan men who have completed secondary, even higher, education, and this peculiarity explains the numerical excess of aspirants for secondary and higher education.

Besides the particular phases, characteristic of Japan's educational system, which have just been outlined, a democratic feature in the system is in a great measure noticeable. Irrespective of social classes and conditions, the children from rich and poor parents are brought up in primary schools in the self-same manner for six years. Of late several primary schools have been newly opened to cater chiefly for the children of the rich, charging higher fees, but their number is still so small as to be almost negligible. A large percentage of secondary and higher school students belong to the lower classes. An Englishman might be nonplussed and unable to understand this circumstance, and I believe that nowhere else in the world, save in Japan, can one find a parallel to this phenomenon.

Japan has five State Universities, more than a dozen colleges, and eight Universities in private hands, all vested with the authority necessary for conferring diplomas. Female University students are very few in number compared with those in the Universities of foreign countries. There are two other Universities exclusively for female students. In the State Universities the number of female undergraduates are very, very few, and including non-

collegiate members do not exceed one hundred. The two Imperial Universities, one in Tokyo and the other in Kyoto, could compete, probably without much difficulty, with any of the best of the world-famous Universities abroad. Inscribed on the faculty of the Tokyo Imperial University are approximately 180 professors, 70 assistant professors, and 170 lecturers. Its yearly expenditure reaches a grand total of Yen 3,600,000.

For training competent teachers a separate system of an excellent kind is arranged, and for the future teachers of primary schools provision is made in numerous normal schools in different localities throughout the country, and for those of secondary schools there are four higher normal schools. University graduates are eligible for a teachership in secondary schools under the regulations framed specifically for that end.

The Japanese school curriculum includes almost all subjects which are taught in English schools, the only exceptions being lessons in Latin and Greek, the place of these being taken by the Chinese classics, and the study of Ethics is substituted for that of Scripture. That Japanese education has no bearing whatever on religion constitutes one of its outstanding features.

In Japan there are, of course, private institutions of every grade, but these are so few that the entire elementary educational system may be said to be established and maintained solely at public expense. With regard to secondary education only some 10 per cent. of the establishments are in private endowment. Private Universities, though larger in number, cannot be compared with their national sister institutions as regards membership and equipment, not to speak of scholarship.

Japanese education is progressive in the extreme, and there is no hesitation in following the better example of other countries. While upholding the inborn spirit of Japan, cherished ever since the early days of our national foundation, Japanese educationalists are likewise very desirous to intro-

duce new ideas and knowledge from the Western world. We have learned much and are glad to learn more from England as to her educational system. In recent years the Adult Education System in England has attracted our careful attention, and, again, the People's High School System in Denmark is thought full of value by many Japanese authorities. Thus Japanese educationalists are ever taking pains to get still nearer to the most perfect type of education.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1922

THE SITUATION IN INDIA

BY LORD MESTON, K.C.S.I.

IN giving to it the attention which the Indian situation demands to-day, the British public are doubly handicapped. On the one hand, they are distracted by the exciting events which are now chasing each other through domestic politics; on the other, they are very inadequately served with information of what is really happening in India. The morning newspaper is obsessed by only three topics: The antics of Mr. Gandhi, the outrages for which he and his teachings are directly accountable, and the efforts of an irresponsible majority in the Legislative Assembly to wrest all power from the Central Government at Delhi. This, however, is by no means the whole picture. We hear nothing of the feeling in the public services; the treatment of Europeans, especially in isolated areas;* or even the part played by the new Indian Ministers, to whom we naturally look for the leadership of Indian public opinion. Meanwhile private letters, from both Englishmen and friendly Indians, continue to bring the most perturbing news, and experts are not lacking to tell us that we are on the eve of losing India. We stand badly in need of a dispassionate review of the position from inside knowledge. Such a review was promised in the form of a despatch from Lord Reading early in February, but it has not yet seen the light.

* Lord Northcliffe's outspoken narrative was an exception to the general silence on those topics.

In its absence the following does not seem to be an over-statement :

In the first place, outbreaks of mob violence are now at any time and almost anywhere possible. Mr. Gandhi's doctrines and the license enjoyed by his party have thoroughly unsettled the credulous masses, and brought to the surface the element of ruthless criminality which, though always present in Indian society, is kept well under in normal times. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi himself has been taken with outward calm ; but any incident in the "martyrdom" he has so long courted may cast a spark into the inflammable material which has now accumulated. Sporadic in all probability and badly organized the disturbances will be if they come, but none the less widespread and destructive, and their chief fury will be reserved for Europeans and for Indians who have refused to countenance the non-co-operation movement. Apprehensions on this score are general, and Lord Rawlinson's recent warning shows that they are not mere alarmism.

In the second place, there is surging through the country a wave of racial animosity, which is breaking down the old kindly relations between the English officials and the people among whom they worked. Large numbers of civil servants, including many who had thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the reforms, despair of any further usefulness to India, and are only waiting the earliest moment for release. In some provinces the trouble in this respect goes deeper than in others, where the people cannot forget their natural courtesy ; but the *mot d'ordre* has gone forth from the extremist camp that Europeans are to be boycotted and insulted as a step in the programme of their final ejection.

In the third place, the new Constitution is already creaking and labouring heavily. What was inaugurated two years ago was an instalment of self-government in the provinces and greater facilities to the elected representatives of the people for influencing the policy of the Central Administration. As a check on any attempts by the new

Legislatures to exceed their powers, the Governors in the one case, and the Governor-General in the other, were invested with wide authority to take measures necessary for the discharge of the responsibilities reserved to them respectively. This, in brief, was the scheme approved by Parliament, and acclaimed in India for its generosity. The extremists, it is true, have been consistent, then as now, in rejecting it as inadequate, and in demanding full self-government at once. But the more temperate politicians who undertook to work the scheme are straining the machinery in many directions, encroaching on the "reserved" fields of business, and demanding to dictate policy for the consequences of which they have no responsibility. The Central Government has conceded much in the hope of arriving at a working understanding; but with a section of the Assembly reason is clearly being subordinated to the fear of extremist pressure, and each concession is only a sign for further claims. It is difficult to conceive how, if this continues, a stable government is going to be carried on.

In the fourth place, India is only now experiencing the economic aftermath of the war, and beginning to face the anxieties with which we in this country are far too familiar. High prices and the low exchange are breaking the hearts of men on fixed pay; the empty provincial exchequers are shattering the hopes of eager reformers in education and the like; while heavy military expenditure and largely increased taxation are enormously enhancing the difficulties of the Central Administration. India had dreams of the millennium, and woke up to bankruptcy. Discontent and discouragement are the sequels.

This is the position, as I see it, in the broadest outline. By its gravity some observers are driven into advancing desperate remedies. A tropical administrator of the highest eminence advises the conversion, wherever possible, of British India into Indian States, which would be a pitiful confession of the failure of our own system. More super-

ficial critics are clamouring for a Treaty, after the fashion of our pacts with Ireland and Egypt, whereby the advent of full Dominion status for India would be accelerated, and a date would be fixed for our withdrawal from the country. But what conceivable analogy is there between India on the one hand and Ireland or Egypt on the other? Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom, has practised responsible government for over a century. Egypt has never been in the British Empire, and we are concluding what has always been avowedly a temporary occupation for a special purpose. India is a part of the British Empire, and has never known responsible government in any form; we have undertaken to give her free institutions as and when she adapts herself to their use. In drawing constitutional parallels a little commonsense is advisable.

The true remedy for the present ferment lies not in drastic change, but in patience and a consistent policy on the part both of His Majesty's Government and of the Viceroy and his councillors on the spot. Their first and most urgent duty is the prevention of disorders; and for this task the local authorities must have adequate force available. Its disposition may be safely left to them; all that we can do from this end is to resist any weakening of the British garrison on grounds of economy or otherwise. Sixpence off the income-tax would be a poor compensation for civil war in India. But next to armed force, which no one wishes to see employed, the chief insurance against disturbance of the peace is a steady enforcement of the ordinary law. If seditious meetings and the activities of Mr. Gandhi's "volunteers" are prohibited, the prohibition should be absolute and effective. Once the Government is seen to be in earnest, the sober-minded will soon rally to its support, and the pleasurable excitement of defying the law will steadily wane.

Then will come the harder task, the slow reconstruction of the position which Mr. Gandhi has endeavoured to destroy. His assaults were delivered not only at our scheme

of political progress, but through it at our whole mission in India. "India for the Indians" is no new war-cry; there was a well-known revolutionary orator of Lord Minto's time who used to tour Bengal with a banner which bore the sole device "EXPULSION." But simple patriotism has never been its inner meaning; and if we believe that we have anything of value to leave with India when we finally depart, we must now mobilize and strengthen that section of Indian thought which accepts our ideals of civilization and does not find the words of all wisdom in the Vedas. To this end we must resolutely pursue our policy of training India in the use of free institutions, and obliterating all colour distinctions which lower the self-respect of Indians. In this way only can the spirit of co-operation replace the fever of racial bitterness.

If there is to be co-operation, however, Englishmen and Indians must each have their allotted share in the work. This was the keynote of the Act of 1919, and the sooner we get back to it the better. Irksome though the system of dyarchy may be to the impatient or the ambitious, it preserves the balance of duties during the march towards full self-government. Short cuts, or what Sir Valentine Chirol* describes as "skipping dyarchy," may easily set a province on the slippery path which ends in the Ministers enjoying power without responsibility and the Governor-in-Council being saddled with responsibility without power. It was precisely this *dénouement* which certain Indian politicians strove to secure, and the Government of India strenuously resisted, when the Act was on the anvil. Lord Selborne's Committee could not have been more definite than they were in pronouncing against any short cuts in dyarchy:

"They (the Committee) regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves of his Government, and, indeed, that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest. . . . But while

* "India, Old and New," p. 238.

the Committee anticipate much advantage from amicable and, as far as possible, spontaneous association for purposes of deliberation, they would not allow it to confuse the duties or obscure the separate responsibility which will rest on the two parts of the Administration. Each side of the Government will advise and assist the other; neither will control or impede the other" (*Joint Select Committee's Report, printed November 17, 1919, para. 5*).

Further on in the same Report they lay down the principle that the Budget is not to be "used as a means for enabling Ministers or a majority of the Legislative Council to direct the policy of reserved subjects;" and in more than one passage they insist that, if the Legislature attempts to manipulate the Budget in such a manner, the power of both the Viceroy and Governors to overrule it is real and meant to be used whenever necessary, and not to be regarded as unusual or arbitrary. This is how the Committee saw dyarchy working, and how Parliament intended it to work. Yet, before the Act was a year old, we had Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu writing to *The Times*,* in a letter worded as an appeal to the extremists:

"We may dispute about the sufficiency of the measure, we may fret against its multitudinous safeguards, checks and counterchecks as not affording free scope to Indian talent, but these are only matters of detail, which time will soon rectify and adjust. I speak on this subject with knowledge, and I tell my countrymen that the Act gives them a machinery which, if they will only properly handle it, will make them irresistible, and the Executive with their reserved subjects will be as much subject to their control as the Ministers with the transferred subjects."

Coming from so well-informed an authority as a member of the Secretary of State's Council, while still in office, this hint needed little emphasis. Instead of confining themselves to the great administrative and social reforms which lie within their own jurisdiction, the Councils have in several instances been tempted to show themselves—in

* *The Times* of December 23, 1920.

Mr. Basu's phrase—irresistible, and to assert control over matters outside their sphere. Nothing but confusion and friction can result. Among the merits of the new Constitution, elasticity is not the least, and it would be foolish to imagine that improvements in machinery and procedure will not be devised long before the first decennial stage is complete. But the main principles are the only rails on which the new Constitution can run : abandon them, and a smash is inevitable. If this is recognized when India returns to her senses and the bogey of non-co-operation is laid, harmonious progress will become possible. Conflicts over jurisdiction where the law is clear can end only in the break-down of the Constitution, and a break-down means victory for reaction. Now reaction has two barrels : one is the creed that democratic institutions are unsuited to India, and that she must return to paternal government ; the other is the belief that Western civilization is unsuited to India, and that she must get back to her own archaic past. A shot from either barrel is death to all that Englishmen have been trying to do for India in the last 150 years.

BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN INDIA

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B., M.P.

IT is a matter of grave regret that in recent years the Parliamentary debates upon India have become perfunctory and ineffective. The contrast is strange when we look back upon more than a century ago. India was then a remote and comparatively unknown country, with scanty means of intercourse, and her history was obscured in a mist of romance and legend. Yet how large a place did India then occupy, not only in the speeches of our Parliamentary orators, but in the everyday talk and thoughts of the nation, as compared with the desultory references to the subject in Parliamentary debates and the listless apathy with which its most vital interests are now regarded? The abolition of the East India Company and that of the Board of Control were thought to be master-strokes of statesmanship. The arguments for such changes were no doubt logically persuasive, and the intentions of those who contrived them were probably good; but as a fact they have led to a gradually dwindling interest in the vast territories of the Indian Continent for which we are responsible. Only a handful of the electors have the faintest idea of the changes which we have lately carried out there, or have given a moment's thought to the dangers which they involve.

Whatever may have been the origin of our Indian Empire, and whatever may be thought of the means by which it was extended and buttressed, there can be no doubt whatever that her rulers came more and more to realize their moral responsibility, and to carry out their vast administrative work in a spirit worthy of the highest traditions of our country, and with all the instinctive genius

for dealing with subject races which is inherent in the best type of our countrymen. Whatever may have been the irregularities of the earlier generations of "Nabobs"—and we now know quite enough to discount the fables which served the purposes of Sheridan, Fox, and Burke, and gave colour to their unscrupulous and ill-informed tirades—yet it is indisputable that long generations of Indian administrators have since carried on a thankless and laborious task in a spirit of unselfish desire to do the best for their charge, and in the discharge of that task had adhered rigidly to the loftiest standard of official rectitude. The taint of selfishness and of self-seeking, if it ever existed, had been wiped out. They gave themselves body and soul to their work. Health, family ties, home ambitions—all these had often to be sacrificed. But they found their consolation in the intense interest of their work, in the call it made upon their sense of responsibility, and in the respect and cordiality which they earned in the hearts of those for whose welfare they were labouring. He has known but little, or has formed a very superficial estimate of the Indian administrator, who cannot recall a long line of men who shaped their lives on these ideals. They, by their joint efforts, built up a monument of administration of which the world has never seen the equal.

But it was only natural that those who had the good of India at heart should pass on to new schemes for her advance along the road of self-government. We had to give them some measure of freedom and independence, and, provided due safeguards were taken, those who cared most for the various races of India were not only tolerant of, but zealous in, any such attempt. Unfortunately, our national defects of imagination betrayed us then, as they have often betrayed us, into singular errors. We could conceive of no advancement except on Western models; the fetish of representative government was something which, to our minds, formed the very foundation of all political philosophy, and the essential condition of freedom, contentment,

or even intelligence. We indulged in vast schemes of "educating" the bewildering variety of races, creeds, and classes entrusted to our charge; and without any hesitation we decided that the only possible method was the adoption, wholesale, of Western methods of the earlier Victorian School, and that the only true gospel for those dwelling in the "ever-silent spaces" of the East was the political economy of Bentham and the philosophy of John Stuart Mill. The responsibility for most of that stupendous and ghastly error must always rest with Lord Macaulay, and it was not the least of his mistakes. It was a misfortune for India, as well as for ourselves, that the schemes adopted from time to time for her advancement were not those elaborated out of long and intimate knowledge by those who had spent their lives there, but have always been those devised by those transitory and ill-informed interlopers who strut their hour upon the stage of her administration as Secretaries of State and Viceroy, and whose opportunity of making a mark as reformers is too brief to allow them the leisure for prolonged study or mature experience.

But such efforts to promote the sense of political responsibility in India, however imperfect the knowledge upon which they were based, and however distorted was the vision of Eastern life in the eyes of their complacent propounders, were no doubt prompted by a sincere desire to impart to those who were sunk "in a pathetic contentment" some of that divine discontent, and that high intellectual standard which can be acquired only under the ennobling influence of representative institutions, and through the potent teaching of the electioneering caucus. One of the unfortunate incidents was that the tenure of these successive reformers was short, and their schemes of reform were seldom consistent. It is not so many years ago since Lord Morley thought that the best means of developing the political instinct, which was to be the salvation of three hundred millions of divided creeds,

diverse races, and antagonistic nations, was by associating them in the debating assemblies, and cultivating in them a critical power dissociated from responsibility. Lord Morley derided the idea of representative institutions on our own Parliamentary model, and even his reforming zeal did not judge that certain departments of executive authority could safely be handed over to those representatives of Indian opinion, who must be chosen on the ground that they are opposed to the leading principles of Anglo-Indian administration. In less than a decade all Lord Morley's schemes were set aside for projects which were almost ludicrous in their method of conception, to which the nation was held to be committed by tactics which were scarcely creditable, and which were hurried through Parliament with unwarranted haste and lack of consideration.

The story of their origin is soon told. In the summer of 1917 Mr. Montagu, then in Opposition, delivered a speech on Indian affairs which appeared to most of those who heard it a pronouncement of culpable rashness, even on the part of one who had no official responsibility. Within a week or two we were astonished to find that the spokesman of opinions so reckless had been chosen as Mr. Austen Chamberlain's successor in the India Office. The appointment was made the subject of formal and combined remonstrance by a large body of Conservative members at a personal interview with the then Conservative Leader; but the remonstrance produced as little effect as all remonstrances of the kind under the existing arrangements. Within a week of his appointment Mr. Montagu, in reply to an arranged question, made a statement of policy on behalf of the Government, which corresponded generally with his rash utterances from the Opposition bench of a few days before. The forms of the House permitted no discussion; Parliament was almost immediately prorogued. And yet, with no sufficient warrant, this undiscussed pronouncement has been paraded as the solemn pledge of Government, and thereby—by a new assumption—of

Parliament, from which there can be no withdrawal except by a breach of faith. Never in the course of our political and constitutional history has there been a more flagrant and profligate instance of a reckless Ministerial statement being made the instrument of pledging the faith of Parliament to views to which even a House, absorbed in war, and hypnotized by bureaucratic pressure, would have hesitated to subscribe.

But the House was held to be committed, although its consent had not been asked, and the necessary steps were at once taken to put into effect the rash project. The Secretary of State, by a new and far from useful innovation, announced that, in his official capacity, he was to perform the part of Paget M.P., but a Paget M.P. invested, this time, with powers of revolutionary change. The "caste" of his travelling company was contrived with considerable skill, and it included a respected Conservative peer, Lord Donoughmore, to whom participation in a scheme of very drastic reform, proved more attractive than his friends would have liked to anticipate. The field was thrown open to amateur constructors of abstract constitutions: the resources of a highly intellectual group of political theorists proved equal to the task. By the ingenuity of one of their number, a fantastic scheme was propounded, which adopted the singular name of "diarchy," and which became eventually the cardinal feature in Mr. Montagu's scheme. It would have touched the heart of the Abbé Sieyès; and, as we might expect, it had every practical defect that is likely to appear where pedantic self-complacency takes the place of experience and patient labour. It was gravely proposed that, instead of being associated in deliberate assemblies, and invited to discuss and criticize the proposals of the Executive, the Indian representatives should be assigned certain watertight compartments of the Government, and should act as the nominal colleagues of those from whom they were fundamentally divided in opinion and in aim; and, indeed, their absolute

severance from whom must necessarily be the condition of their election as the representatives of revolutionary opinion. Government is hereafter not to be united, but composed of parts necessarily and essentially hostile and continually at variance with one another. No contrivance could possibly have been devised more effectively to intensify and exacerbate division, and to produce a maximum of friction in the Government machine. Certain nominal safeguards were introduced to lessen the dangers which were obvious even to the propounders of the scheme. Limited powers of intervention were reserved to the Governor, to enable him to deal with deliberate attempts to dislocate administration. Already these powers have proved inadequate, or their exercise has led to friction and discontent—the very fuel by which the flames of revolution are best fed.

The next step of the process was as amusing as its predecessors. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy boldly laid aside all hampering precedents, and the close of Mr. Montagu's trip was signalized by a joint Essay on Indian Reform, to which the names of himself and Lord Chelmsford were indissolubly attached. That responsible Ministers—one the representative of the Sovereign, the other acting in the name of Parliament—should enter into such a literary co-partnership of reforming propaganda is a new departure. It has its comic side, and presents a new phase of statesmanship.

Then a Bill, embodying the result of the Montagu-Chelmsford essay in constitutional reconstruction, and giving statutory force to the whimsical conception of diarchy, germinated in the pedantic brain of an inexperienced theorist, was laid before Parliament. Never was a portentous project confirmed with such utter absence of consideration. Scant time was allotted to the second reading of a Bill which we were assured only proposed to enact what a Minister had pledged Parliament to give; what the mature consideration of himself and a docile Viceroy had embodied in an edifying treatise; and what they had found a few

complacent civil servants, who were about to retire, and whose future was assured at home, prepared to bless with their approval. After the perfunctory formality of a second reading, the Bill was referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons, somewhat strangely composed. Not only were the Secretary of State and his Under-Secretary both given places on the Committee, but of the seven members from the House of Commons all but one had expressed unstinted approval of the Bill. In legislative records it would be difficult to adduce any instance of equally flagrant abuse of Parliamentary usage. And a Bill so conceived, so drafted, enlisting support from sources so open to doubt, was finally approved by the House of Lords, under the guidance of a Leader, with all whose expressed views on Indian administration it was in absolute contradiction.

The whole scheme is the work of pedantic theorists, who are as lacking in imagination as they are in practical experience, or in that patient and laborious effort which experience would prescribe. They have invented one of those specious paradoxes which delight the shallow brain—that efficient government may be an evil, and that freedom (or what poses as such) is well purchased even at the cost of inefficiency. Sayings like that are schoolboy tags, unworthy of thinking men. The scheme could not work; and if the truth were fairly allowed to be known, it is already proved to be bankrupt of all practical statesmanship. The so-called safeguards are parting like ropes of sand. You have launched a feeble bark, constructed by pedantry, and smiled upon by those “who gape and rub the elbow at the news of hurly-burly innovation,” and it has already experienced many forebodings of shipwreck. We have a representative system which, in its utmost extension, could only comprise less than 5 per cent. of the population, and which is a game of hazard even amongst that petty handful out of the millions for whose welfare we are responsible. The frail vessel has to pursue its way amidst all the storms of racial and religious hatreds, and amongst the hidden rocks

of anarchy and disorder of which the uncharted sea is full. That disorder has been held in check by the inherent respect which the Eastern mind retains for a Government that is at once just and strong. Once that instinctive respect has been uprooted, and a vision of weak and vacillating administration has taken its place, where is your safeguard against red-handed Bolshevism?

We have wantonly scrapped that edifice of intelligent, zealous, and impartial administration which it was one of the greatest of our national achievements to build up. With something of callous indifference, some of the retiring members of the Indian Civil Service, who had themselves enjoyed lucrative posts, are fond of preaching of the high duties and responsibilities and the great opportunities which will belong to the Service of the future. It is easy to gloze over the drawbacks of a situation which they themselves will not be called upon to occupy. As a fact, the Service has been stripped of all that made it a career for a man who desired a position in which there was room for initiative, for independent responsibility, for the realization of high ideals. No one who is called upon to advise would urge any young man to trust himself to a service, the heads of which have proved to the world that they are not in a position to defend the rights and to reward the services of their subordinates. The Indian Civil Service must reckon with a campaign, cunningly and acutely engineered, of unscrupulous slander against Anglo-Indian officials; and the Government of India have as yet given no decisive sign of reprobating that campaign.

The dangers of this experiment, so rashly undertaken, so insufficiently considered, and so carelessly put into operation, are undoubted. To retrace our steps in a course of that sort is beyond human power. We must only look forward and trust that those in whose hands the government of India now rests will awake to the responsibility which rests upon this nation for the peace of India. We may be thankful that some of them have recently adopted

a tone which shows that, partially at least, they realize the danger. Even Lord Meston recognizes that all is not so absolutely well as he once tried to make us believe, and that the forebodings which he discounted in 1919 show signs of being realized in the near future. Above all, let us hope that the wise words of warning which the Prime Minister felt compelled to utter during the debate on the Address may carry weight with those who were invited to ponder them. Let us trust that India's present rulers may rise to the level of their own words, will show themselves stern and unbending in repressing anarchy. If not, it is not they only who will have to bear the full force of national indignation, but they will have exposed our country to the everlasting shame of having failed in the mighty task which it was her chief pride to have discharged so nobly in the past.

THE PRINCE IN INDIA

BY EVERARD COTES

THE long-looked-for and much-debated tour of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in India is over.

He did not go there inexperienced. India was kept, perhaps wisely, for the later date in his itinerary of Empire that its problems and complexities demand. The Indian tour was totally different from any of the previous journeyings the Prince had made. In France and Italy, during the war, he was in an atmosphere entirely military, where he was only one of the soldiers of England fighting like those around him for the country and the homes they loved. His presence was noted by his comrades, who were proud to see their future King doing his bit unostentatiously and strenuously, like themselves. Here he learnt much, but he remained himself in the background. In Canada, Australia, and New Zealand another experience was his. He was there the heralded ambassador of Empire to peoples of his own race and blood. In the bigger European centres in India, in places like Calcutta, Rawalpindi, and Lucknow, the circumstances were in some ways comparable to those he had been amongst in the great Dominions. He was with his fellow-countrymen again. The welcome he received was overwhelming. The demonstrations of affection and emotion his presence evoked were touching in their depth and seriousness. Englishmen in India, holding the bounds of Empire from Kabul River to Adam's Bridge, felt his visit as the coming to them in their exile of all that stood for what they loved and valued in the land of their birth. They could hardly let him out of their sight while he was with them. They received him demonstratively in

their pride and joy when he arrived. They allowed him to depart with reluctance when the few hours he could spend with them were over. European India, however, supremely important as it may be from the point of view alike of the prosperity, the safety, and the good government of the country, was not primarily what he had come to India to visit.

So much may be taken for granted. But the Prince's mission was to India and to her peoples and races—to that great mass of humanity to which India stands for home. Here he had to make his way from the beginning, and the success he has achieved testifies not only to the personal qualities the Prince has brought to bear upon the problem, but to the community of India's interests, and to the unity of her sentiments and ideals, with those that animate the rest of the Empire. The Prince has been received by the three hundred millions of his father's subjects and feudatory friends with all the pageant of Oriental ceremony and splendour that this great land so incomparably offers. The reigning Indian princes and chiefs, the heads of all the administrations, everyone in the land who is distinguished by position, by achievement, by birth, by influence, by learning, or other repute, have waited upon him to do him honour. He has been welcomed and sped upon his way by cheering multitudes. He has been entertained and fêted from one end of the continent to the other. There is not a province that he has not visited, not a city of importance that he has not seen. The industries, trades, occupations, and employments of all the divergent Indian races have been marshalled in his sight.

The main, simple, and direct object of his visit was to meet and become acquainted with the people. "I want," he said, in one of the first speeches he made in Bombay after he had landed, "to appreciate at first hand what India is, and what she has done and can do. I want to grasp your difficulties and understand your aspirations. I want you to know me, and I want to know you." The spirit in

which he approached this immense task was characteristically diffident and conscientious. He described himself as coming to India to learn "as a young man and a stranger," as one also who was "fortified by the thought that sympathy begets knowledge." In this spirit he has proceeded throughout, and, in spite of a widespread political movement to boycott his visit, he has succeeded phenomenally.

There is no more representative centre in the province where first he landed than the Poona racecourse in the autumn meeting. There, owners and managers of the Bombay cotton industry, merchant princes from palaces on Malabar Hill, and landed zemindars from country seats in the Deccan, rub shoulders with bunnia traders from the bazaars, and with coolie operatives from the crowded tenements that surround the mills. Nowhere are larger Indian crowds to be found, nowhere are they more independent or less disposed to accord lip-service under any circumstances whatever.

It was here, in wide open country sheltered by a semicircle of sentinel hills, that the Prince first got away from official surroundings, and found himself in simple human relationship with the people he had travelled so far to see. He walked unattended into the heart of the crowd, and had an experience, often subsequently repeated in more or less varied form in other Indian centres he visited, but one which none of his wide travels in other parts of the British Empire had previously brought to him. On all sides the people bowed low in grave *salaams*. On all sides hands were stretched out. The air resounded with clapping, and with shrill cries of "*Jubraj ki jai*" ("Victory to the King's son").

Again when he had left the gilded chair of state, on the red carpet of authority, at the Shivaji memorial ceremony, occurred another entirely Eastern display of respect. Men pressed in from every side, and when they got near, touched their foreheads with straightened fingers in silent *poojah* (reverence) to the seat he had occupied. Their

imagination had been caught by the bearing and attitude of the Prince. They found themselves attracted by him personally. They wished to show him honour.

It was not only amongst agricultural, trading, and other non-military classes that the Prince had these experiences. He was, if possible, even more popular with Indian soldiers, with whom he made a special point of getting into touch. Speaking at Bombay at the outset of his tour he referred to the thousands of Indian soldiers who had gone to fight the battles of the Empire in the great war. He often asked after those who had returned, and, wherever possible, he shook hands with them, or, in Indian fashion, touched their proffered sword-hilts with his fingers. He also visited, when this could be arranged, those of them who were still in hospital in any place he might be at. He wanted them to feel that they were not forgotten—that the Empire, for which he stands, would always remember what they had done.

From Bombay his journey took him into the feudatory states. At Udaipur, that mountain-city reflected in the crystal lake, he was afforded a notable example of the old-world courtliness of Rajasthan. The Maharajah, premier of the great feudatory chiefs, was old and bed-ridden. Yet, feeble as he was, he insisted upon being got up and put into his formal durbar robes and carried across the city to welcome his royal guest himself. In Gwalior, Bhopal, Bikanir, Jodhpur, and Baroda—jewelled names—the Prince saw something besides of the administration of well-run feudatory territories. He was shown the last word alike in military training and in schools and sports. Here also he found the storied past personified in living bodyguards of mail-clad warriors and fighting elephants caparisoned to-day as they may have been in the chronicles of the Mahabharata.

From Rajputana the Prince went to one British province after another. He visited the marble palaces of Imperial Delhi, and saw the newly-formed legislative bodies—

parliaments of a future in which India will take her place with the self-governing Dominions of the Empire. He motored through the dark defiles of the Khyber Pass, and rode along desolate frontier marches, where the army of India is ever on guard against transborder raiders, and where civilization ends with the last British post. In Bombay he had seen cotton-mills and hydro-electric installations owned and run by Indians. In Calcutta, in Cawnpore, and in Assam he made acquaintance with other industries in which hundreds of thousands of Indians are employed. At Hyderabad he stood within the ancient stronghold of Tippoo Saheb. In Nepal he shaded his eyes in the dazzling glare of the snows of the highest mountains in the world. He shot tigers in the Terai, and rode after pig in the plains of the Punjab. In Rangoon he mingled with silk-garmented crowds beneath the gilded spire of the Shwedagon pagoda. In Mandalay he heard the many voices of the temple bells, and was welcomed by the yellow-robed of every degree of sanctity from simple *poongyi* to papal *Thathanabain*.

In the course of his journeyings he saw in operation the whole wonderful machine of the administration of the country, from the village *chowkidar*—watchman—at the bottom to his father's viceroy at the top. He sat in high courts of justice, that for dignity, acumen, and fair-mindedness set an example to the world. He was shown universities and colleges that can hold up their heads amongst corresponding institutions anywhere. He saw that keystone of the governmental structure, the British district officer, dispensing justice beneath the peepul-tree and collecting the revenues of the state. Above all, the Prince came into personal touch with the Indian people. He went about amongst them, not as an official or as a ruler, but as a comrade and friend. He shared in their pleasures. He took a hand in their occupations. He endeavoured to understand their difficulties, and to realize their point of view.

The message given to India by the King-Emperor, when he visited that country sixteen years ago, was one of hope. Times have changed since then, and the hope which His Majesty spoke of is now in fair way to fulfilment. India has acquired new status and new responsibilities. She has advanced some way towards the ideal of equality with the other nations of the Empire. The mission of the Prince was to hold out the hand of friendship to her, in her latest incarnation as a rising member of the British family of self-governing states which owe equal fealty to the Royal House. He went, in the words of the King, "to ripen goodwill into yet fuller understanding," and that he has surpassingly done. At a time of unrest and political uncertainty he has travelled, serene in his confidence in the loyalty of the people, to all parts of the country. He has pitted his personal charm, frank courtesy, good-fellowship, and affection against the armed forces of disorder. He has won his way to an extent that seemed entirely impossible at the start. There remains behind him an impression that will endure. After this visit, so courageously undertaken and so meticulously carried through, nothing in the hearts and minds of India can be quite as before. His opportunity has been the greater because, unlike most other visitors to India, he has had no axe of his own to grind. He has been the Imperial symbol towards whom every Indian, whatever his political views and aspirations, could make the gesture of amity with self-respect. The East values courage and steadfastness, and responds warm-heartedly to proffered affection. The Prince will be remembered as no fair-weather friend, but as one who was the more and not the less anxious to be with the people of India, because they were undergoing a period of trouble and of stress. He has won many friends. He has established touch with the country. He has acquired knowledge of her problems and her needs, which will be of service to the Empire, not only now but in the years that are to come, when it falls to him, as soon or late,

in the course of nature, fall it should, to inherit the British Crown.

The visit has also been valuable to India. It has helped to break down the isolation in which her remoteness has placed her. It has removed much mistrust and doubt. It has turned the eyes of the Empire upon her. It has brought her circumstances, her aspirations, and her achievements prominently to the attention of the Anglo-Saxon nations. It has stirred feelings of loyalty and devotion to a common ideal, feelings which lie as deep in the hearts of the East as in those of the West. It has helped India to feel her solidarity with the people of England. It has brought her a friend who is also her future King.

THE NEAR EASTERN SETTLEMENT: ATTITUDE OF MUSLIM INDIA

BY SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.

THE failure of the clandestine schemes to set up an Arab Khalif pliant to the will of Christendom, the fall of M. Venizelos to whose designs the complications in the Near Eastern situation are largely due, the triumphant return of the pro-German King of Greece from his enforced exile despite the vehement protests of Great Britain, the heroic struggle of the resourceless Turkish nationalists in the defence of their homelands and their right to national freedom, and the outraged feeling of the Muslim world, have opened the eyes of the British nation to the trend of the forces which must be taken into account in bringing about an equitable settlement in the Near and Middle East.

The recent manifesto of the Viceroy of India, issued after prolonged deliberation and consultation with all the Provincial Governments, has evidently disconcerted the British Foreign Office, which is generally believed to have set its mind upon the success of its pro-Greek policy designed unjustly to aggrandize Greece at the expense of Turkey. The Phil-Hellenes and the Phil-Armenians see only the injustice of acquiescing in Ottoman rule over Christian *minorities*, and insist either upon their complete severance from the Turkish Empire or upon protected minority zones. At the same time their efforts are directed towards placing Muslim *majorities* under Christian rule, in spite of the passionate and pathetic protests of the latter. This myopic view of what should be conceded to Christian minorities and withheld from Muslim majorities has outraged the moral sense of all justice-loving men who are not blinded by racial or religious prejudices.

The advocates of privileged minority zones decline to recognize that such enclaves must result in perpetual friction and hostility between neighbouring communities, and cannot be expected to evoke that spirit of a common patriotism which is essential to national safety and prosperity. Christian, Hebrew, and other minorities have lived side by side with Muhammadan majorities under Muslim rule in amity and mutual goodwill when their friendliness has not been disturbed by foreign interference. The Copts of Egypt and the Orthodox Jews of Palestine furnish apt instances. The common patriotism of the Copts and Muslim Egyptians has resulted in a national solidarity which has secured the independence of their country with a Muslim sovereign and a Copt as his prime minister.

In regard to the treatment of minorities and the right of majorities to a constitution based on the consent of the governed, the Muslim demand is in complete accord with the moral standards which Christendom seeks to reserve for Christian communities only. The denial of precisely the same right to the Muslims has naturally aroused their bitter resentment, and accounts for the wave of just indignation which is now sweeping over the world of Islam.

To have a clear conception of what is regarded as the "betrayal of Islam" by Great Britain, "the greatest Muhammadan Power in the world," with more Muslim than Christian subjects, notwithstanding the more favourable attitude towards Islam of France and Italy, it is necessary to take a retrospect of the various stages which have now culminated in the intensity of feeling to which the Viceroy of India refers in his manifesto. At the outset of the war with Turkey, Lord Hardinge was authorized to issue in the name of the British nation a proclamation declaring that the war was purely secular and that there would be no interference whatever with the Holy Places of Islam. At the same time a vigorous and extensive propaganda was started by the Allied Powers in all Muslim countries to persuade the Muhammadan races to side with the Allies. Special

emphasis was laid on the non-religious character of the war and on the vindication of the right of peoples, whether Muslim or Christian, to self-determination.

After these declarations came the famous pledge of the Prime Minister in January, 1918, that "the rich and renowned" homelands of the Turks in Anatolia and Thrace, which he emphatically declared were "predominantly Turkish in race," with Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire, would remain under Turkish sovereignty. He made it quite clear that this pledge was given on behalf of the British nation, with the concurrence of France and Italy. The pledge was reaffirmed with greater emphasis in February, 1920, in a memorable speech, in the course of which he said :

"Without their (Indian Muslims') aid we should not have conquered Turkey at all. Were we to have broken faith with them in the hour of victory? We might go to them and say : 'The circumstances have changed' . . . but I will tell you what they might have said. Whenever the British word was given again in the East they would have said : 'Yes, you mean to keep faith ; but you will always, somehow or other, find an unanswerable reason when the time comes for breaking it.' There is nothing which would damage British power in Asia more than the feeling that you could not trust the British word."

"In the hour of victory," achieved mainly with Muslim aid, the non-religious character of the war was forgotten. The British Prime Minister described the attack on Palestine as the last and the greatest of the "Crusades," and pictures of the twentieth-century Crusaders clad in chain armour appeared in British magazines. The overwhelming majority of the Arabs of Palestine were placed against their will under a non-Muslim yoke.

The promise of non-interference with the Holy Places of Islam was set aside by the complete removal of the Khalif's wardenship, which, as Mr. Ameer Ali has pointed out, is

essential under "the Muslim ecclesiastical law for the valid performance of the rites associated with the Haj."

The Prime Minister's prediction as to finding an "unanswerable reason" for "breaking the British word" was literally fulfilled when M. Venizelos was allowed to take an effective part in framing the iniquitous provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres, and invited to take possession of the 'rich and renowned' lands of the Turks in Asia Minor and Thrace specifically covered by the British pledge. Only the Greeks were allowed to manipulate the statistics of population, in spite of the authoritative assertions to the contrary of even British officials and the reasonable Muslim demand that in disputed cases an impartial inquiry should be held or a plebiscite taken to ascertain the wishes of the people concerned as to their political destiny was ignored. The report of a Commission which exposed the atrocities committed by the Greeks was suppressed by the British Foreign Office, whereas no opportunity was missed to give the widest publicity to all allegations against the Turks.

In view of these facts, which have never been challenged, is it surprising that the late Secretary of State for India characterized the pro-Greek policy of the Prime Minister as *calamitous*, and that the Viceroy of India has come to the conclusion that the Muslim claims are "just and equitable."

In his manifesto the Viceroy "particularly" urges three main points, which the British Cabinet has already pre-judged as extravagant before the Paris Conference has had an opportunity of discussing them with an unbiassed mind. The Muslim claims, however, have a wider range within the limits of the declarations of the Allies and may briefly be summarized as under :

1. The restoration of Asia Minor to Turkish sovereignty.
2. The restoration of the whole of Thrace to Ottoman rule, unless an uninfluenced plebiscite shows that the majority of the population prefer some other form of government.

3. The evacuation of Constantinople, unfettered by any conditions calculated to render the military and naval defence of the capital of the Ottoman Empire ineffective against hostile aggression.

4. The recognition and restoration of the Khalif's wardenship of the Holy Places of Islam.

5. The recognition of the right of the Muslim majorities in those regions which were under Ottoman sovereignty before the war to self-determination or such form of government as they may choose.

The Muslim view is that these demands do not go beyond the obvious implications of the British word or exceed what is considered just and equitable in the case of Christian races. As the Viceroy has pointed out, the Muslim cause has received the support of all Indians. The allegation that the Muslims of India are "dictating" to the British Government any policy is unwarranted. In the words of Mr. Montagu, as "Turkey was beaten in the main by Indian soldiers, India is entitled to a predominant voice" in the consideration of the Muslim demands which affect only the dismembered territories of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by Muhammadan races, and not any questions involving the higher interests of the British Empire.

THE EMPIRE OF ANNAM AND FRANCE

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

(Translated by Louis Landr )

INDO-CHINA is unquestionably the most precious gem of the French Colonial Empire. The variety and importance of its resources, which have not been as yet entirely turned to account, its situation in the centre of the peoples of the Far East, Australasia, and India, its proximity to the large market of China on which so many other nations are casting envious eyes, the great density of its population, are sure warrants of its future prosperity, and make of French Indo-China one of the potential elements in the economic recovery of France.

Now if we study its central and provincial administration, we notice that France has respected, whenever she could, the authority of its sovereign and mandarins.

The mandarins, who are all recruited by competitive examinations according to the old democratic traditions of the Far East, are at the head of the districts and counties. The mandarins have also been kept in the provinces, where they give advice to the French Resident whenever he takes a decision.

Next to the Emperor are his four ministers, who are called in a picturesque way the "Four Pillars of the Empire;" they have a very great authority, and their meetings, presided over by the Emperor, bear the name of Comat, or Secret Council; it is here that the important affairs of the Empire are discussed. The Emperor of Annam has more than a nominal authority and really governs his Empire; he is more independent than the protected sovereigns of India, and the creation by M. Long of a Consultative Chamber of Natives in 1920 will only contribute to strengthen his authority.

The environment in which the Emperor lives is the same as that of the last century; the court of Annam is perhaps the only court in the world where traditions have been kept in their purest form. The Emperor's palace is situated in the citadel of Hué. This citadel, built by French engineers in Vanhan's style, commands the town with its high walls and gives an impression of majesty and sobriety. It covers a considerable area on which is built the Emperor's palace, which overlooks the houses of the ministers, the regents, the mandarins, the pagodas, the offices, the workshops, the gardens.

The palace, surrounded by ditches, gives from outside the impression of a small Asiatic citadel. In order to see the Emperor, one has to cross a great dark room, supported by wooden pillars, which leads to the throne-room. Very distinguished visitors, such as the Governor-General, Residents Superior, or Ambassadors, are received with an extraordinary pomp. On the threshold of the throne-room stands the Emperor surrounded by his ministers. On the left, a retinue of cultivated mandarins in splendid costumes of ceremony; on the right, near the gardens, are military mandarins with the gigantic Imperial elephants in full war equipment, their tusks adorned with gold rings, their feet with gold bracelets, their backs covered by silk carpets with golden fringes. In the midst of the high dignitaries with their splendid robes—green, violet, blue or red—the Emperor wears the antique stiff headgear of the Annam mandarins, which falls over the eyes and ends in a point, very high top-boots, and a long yellow Imperial mantle spangled with gold and made tight at the waist by a belt of precious stones. The sight is among the most beautiful imaginable, and gives the impression of a very old Empire which desires to keep intact its traditions and solemnity. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the Emperor leads an effeminate life in the luxurious idleness of his palace. The present Emperor, H.M. Khai Dinh, is one of the hardest working Emperors ever known in Annam.

Son of Dong-Khanh, he ascended the throne only in 1916. At that time the Emperor, Duy-Thân, incited by Germanophil agents, tried to rouse Annam against France. But, abandoned by his people, he was compelled to join at Réunion his father Thanh-Thái, whose acts of cruelty are still remembered by the natives.

H.M. Khai-Dinh, born in 1881, then came into power; the moment was critical, and it must be acknowledged that the new Emperor adopted from the very first day a perfectly loyal attitude towards France and that he collaborated with her in the most open-hearted way. H.M. Khai-Dinh is a modern Emperor, although he has retained in his court the antique pomp of his predecessors. He is extremely active, and makes a point of receiving personally all the office-holders—whatever be their rank—who ask for an audience. His receptions often last a whole morning. He loves letters, is very keenly interested in public instruction, and visits the schools established in the citadel.

He is also fond of sport; in his gardens green lawns have been converted into tennis courts and football grounds, and the Emperor very often comes to watch the games. He himself is a sportsman, and is more especially interested in hunting and motor-driving. He is often seen driving his own magnificent limousine, as he likes to do on the admirable roads established by the protectorate (those roads which excited the astonishment of Lord Northcliffe), among the poetical scenes for which the surroundings of Hué are so justly famous. H.M. Khai-Dinh will attend the Colonial Exhibition of Marseilles, which is to be opened on April 16. The aim of this exhibition is to advertise in France and in the world the invaluable riches of the French colonies which are still insufficiently developed. Indo-China more especially is making a very great effort; she has built at Marseilles a reproduction of the central group of Angkor-Vat, the wonder of the Khmer architecture, the towers of which have reached a height of

about two hundred and thirty feet ; the expenses for Indo-China alone will be about thirty million francs.

The Emperor, comprehending the great interest of this manifestation for the economical development of his country, has decided to honour it by his presence. Moreover, he is very desirous of visiting the battlefields where five thousand Annamites are sleeping their last sleep. He will be accompanied in his journey by the Resident Superior in Annam, M. Pasquier, two of his ministers, perhaps one of the Empresses, and by the Heir-Apparent. The Prince Royal will remain in France and stay in a lycée in order to attend a course of European studies. This is the most magnificent mark of confidence which may be given to a protecting nation by a sovereign living in the midst of an antique splendour and secular traditions.

The indefectible loyalty of the Annamites and the political quietness which reigns in Indo-China, the confidence of the natives, who have just subscribed with enthusiasm to the local loan issued last month, are a source of general gratification. For twenty million Indo-Chinese there is not at the present moment any other unity than that created by the French administration ; the inhabitants of Cambodia, Laos, Annam, belong to different races and religions ; besides, religions do not develop the same fanaticism as in India, and are far from having the same strict code. The Mussulmans, a cause of discord in all countries, are not very numerous. Indo-China is isolated from continental influences, especially from Bolshevik propaganda. Putting aside all idea of comparison with English colonization in India, one must recognize that France has been very successful in Indo-China. "France in Indo-China," says Lord Northcliffe, "seems to be receiving the benefit of three hundred years' colonial experience. . . . The Frenchman of the Far East has been able to discover and touch the heart of the native. He colonizes tactfully, and follows the policy of friendship." But is not the policy of friendship the very policy which is followed by England?

In his famous speech at Birmingham in 1903 Mr. Chamberlain said that the link by which the English colonies were to be bound in the future to Great Britain would be the "quasi-feudal, very thin but powerful link of faithfulness and loyalty" which unites colonies to the metropolis. The strength of this link shows itself in Indo-China; it is "the French Miracle in Asia," a title given by a Frenchman, M. Regismanset, to his excellent work recently published on Indo-China.

We hope that the few facts we have just placed before our readers will help them to understand a little more easily this "miracle." We have tried to explain the success of French colonization in Indo-China by the policy followed in this country and more especially by the specific qualities of the race, the soul of France.

PEACE IN THE EAST

BY SIR GRAHAM BOWER, K.C.M.G.

IT is not too much to say that the peace of Asia, the integrity of the British Empire, and the lives of millions of people, are now hanging in the balance. To men of the older generation—men who have seen and appreciated the position once held by England in the Near East and throughout Asia—the position gives grounds for sorrow and anxiety. Sorrow for mistakes made, anxiety lest a mistaken policy should be continued and lead to the inevitable disaster to the Empire and humanity. The East begins at the Adriatic, and between the Adriatic and the Black Sea we find peoples who have inherited all the hatreds and many of the faults of two distinct civilizations. But there was a time when the influence of England was all-powerful for peace and good-will from the Adriatic to China, when the word of an Englishman was accepted as his bond, and when the name of England was synonymous with truth, justice, and fair-dealing as between race and race, religion and religion.

The prestige of England in the East never stood higher than immediately after the Crimean War. England had championed the cause of the Khalif and the fact was known in every bazaar from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. Then came the greased cartridges and the Indian Mutiny. The story is an old one now, but it has been forgotten that the story of the greased cartridges was true.

The tragedy of the Mutiny is a warning against the awful consequences of want of sympathy and want of understanding. We must not issue any more greased cartridges either political or religious. At every step we

must consider the possible effect on racial and religious feeling.

Until the Mutiny India was administered by the East India Company in the name of the last survivor of the Mogul Empire. Coins were struck in his name and forms were observed. Forms count for much in the East.

In 1859 the Queen of England took over the direct government of India, and the Mogul Empire vanished in India as had the Holy Roman Empire in Europe. But this was ostensibly the substitution of a Christian for a Muslim sovereign, and the question of the religious consequences of the change at once presented itself to devout Muslims. Did the change convert India from Dar ul Islam, a country of peace, to Dar ul Harb, a country of war? To explain the meaning of these two phrases I cannot do better than quote Sir Edward Creasy's admirable definition as given in his "*History of the Ottoman Turks*." He says: "The Koran teaches indeed that war is in itself an evil and pronounces that 'Man is the work of God. Cursed be he who dares to destroy God's workmanship'; but it teaches also that when there is a war between the true believers and the enemies of Islam it is the duty of every Mussulman to devote to such war his property, his person, and his life. The Koran divides the world into two portions: the house of Islam, Dar ul Islam, and the house of war, Dar ul Harb. The craving of the Muhammadans as such for Christian blood is purely a myth. Their Prophet was certainly a stern iconoclast, and taught the duty of unremitting warfare against idolaters. In the Koran he bids his disciples fight on till there be no temptation to idolatry, and the religion becomes God's alone. But the Prophet also taught them with regard to Jews and Christians: 'Dispute not except with gentleness, but say unto them; we believe in the revelation which has been sent down to us, and also in that which has been sent down to you, and our God and your God are one.'"

That is so. Under the Byzantine Empire Christian

refugees from sectarian persecution sought refuge and protection from the Muslims and received it. Moreover, after the conquest of Constantinople, Mahomet the Second granted special privileges to the Greek Christians, and conferred both political and judicial powers on the Greek Patriarch, who became an *imperium in imperio*, having jurisdiction in marriage, divorce, and inheritance. It is the absolute truth that no man has ever been persecuted by Muslims on account of his religion.

But amongst Muslims, especially amongst the Wahabees (the Muslim Puritans), there was doubt about the religious status of India created by the change of sovereignty, and the question was referred to three of the most learned of the law doctors of Mecca. They gave separate answers but identical in substance. Space permits me to quote only one of these answers: "All praises are due to the Almighty who is the Lord of all creation. Oh Almighty increase my knowledge. As long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islam prevail in it, it is Dar ul Islam. The Almighty is omniscient, pure, and high. This is the order passed by one who hopes for the secret favour of the Almighty, who praises God and prays for blessing and peace on his prophet. Signed, Jamal Ibn I Abdullah Shaik Umar ul Hanafi, the Mufti of Mecca, the honoured. May God favour him and his father."

The three opinions were considered by the Indian Muslims, and the following resolution was adopted by the Calcutta Muhammadan Society in 1870: "The second question is whether it is lawful in this country to make Jihad or not. This has been solved together with the first. For Jihad can by no means be lawfully made in Dar ul Islam. This is so evident that it requires no argument or authority to support it. Now, if any misguided wretch, owing to his perverse fortune, were to wage war against the ruling powers of this country, British India, such war would be rightly pronounced rebellion, and rebellion is strictly forbidden by the Muhammadan law. Therefore,

such war will likewise be unlawful, and in case anyone would wage such war Muhammadan subjects would be bound to assist their rulers, and in conjunction with their rulers to fight such rebels. The above has been clearly laid down in the *Fatawa Alamjiri*."

In support of this resolution the venerable Shaik Amad Effendi Anasri, a descendant of one of the companions of the Prophet, said: "He was in a position to support and verify all that had been said by the several speakers with reference to the particular subject before the meeting, especially the statement of the Secretary as to the friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of England and His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey. In truth there was a closer intimacy between the British nation and the Sultan than between the Sultan and any other nation in the world."

The Indian Muslims on the faith of the position of the English as the friends and protectors of Islam and its Khalif have given their property, their persons, and their lives in the service of the Queen Empress or the King Emperor. Thousands have died for England's cause.

And they were justified—up to the Berlin Congress of 1878. England was the friend of Islam. It was only after the Berlin Congress that Lord Salisbury discovered, or thought he had discovered, that he had been backing the wrong horse. He shifted his money to Russia. He sacrificed the unique position of England in Asia in the hope of gaining Russian friendship. Where is Russia to-day? and what would Lord Salisbury say to the horse for which he sacrificed the devoted loyalty of 70,000,000 of our Indian fellow-subjects.

The Cyprus Convention had in substance conceded a British protectorate of Asia Minor, and it would have been open to the English Government to "Egyptianize" Asia Minor with British officers and a disciplined gendarmerie. But Lord Salisbury for some reason had decided to abandon the position of the friend of Islam for the friendship of the enemies of Islam, and not only of Islam, but of

peace, order, and good government in the East. For it is of no use to shirk the truth. Our new friend did not wish for peace in the Balkans, or in Asia Minor, or in any part of the Turkish Empire. From the point of view of St. Petersburg Turkey was a sick man, and Russia was the heir of the sick man. Doctors were not wanted, remedial measures were not wanted; on the contrary all that would increase the sickness and hasten the demise of the sick man was to be encouraged. It was not a noble policy; it was not a humane policy.

As early as 1867, Lord Strangford, an unimpeachable witness, wrote as follows: "Some three weeks ago we undertook to bring clearly before our readers the exact method by which spurious insurrections were hatched and forced into existence in Turkey with the deliberate object of establishing a sufficient show of anarchy, bloodshed, and massacres, calculated to precipitate a diplomatic or an armed intervention on the part of the greater powers of Europe for the purpose of numbing and paralyzing all Turkish Government. That was being done by a band of brigands, recruited, subsidized, organized, and directed from without principally by a committee at Bucharest."

Lord Strangford's evidence is the same as that of Consul Calvert, when he wrote on the Bulgarian atrocities. And it was not merely from Roumania that revolt and brigandage was organized. Russians, Greeks, Roumanians, and ultimately Bulgarians and Serbians, took a hand in the game. We know something of the work of American agitators in Ireland. But in the case of Turkey there were five powers fomenting revolution and brigandage and murder in Macedonia, in Armenia, and Bulgaria. And the agitators were successful. Religious fanaticism, ecclesiastical hatred, humanitarian impulses, political jealousies, national ambitions—all these were enlisted on the side of revolt, bloodshed, and civil war. The horrors of the Balkan wars have been told by the Commission appointed by the Carnegie Endowment, and they go beyond the

possibility of reproduction. The following extract must suffice: "Wherever the peasants ventured to await the arrival of the Greek troops in their villages they had the same experience. The village was sacked and the women were violated, before it was burned, and non-combatants were wantonly butchered" (p. 102).

Turkey deserted by England, attacked by Italy, by Greece, by Bulgaria, and by Serbia, turned to Germany for protection, and her protector tricked her into war with England.

That the Turks were clean fighters—the cleanest of them all, is the universal testimony of British officers, and when they surrendered they were willing to submit to British tutelage, but naturally enough showed the strongest aversion to Greek ambitions, Greek methods—or Greek interference. The Allied victory had been won by England with the assistance of Indian soldiers. India had sent a million and a quarter of men to the war and was entitled to a voice in the settlement. We know what that voice was. It is calling to us now.

On January 5, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George expressed himself as follows:

"Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of her capital, nor of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race. . . .

We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish people, with the capital Constantinople."

Every one of these pledges was repudiated in the Treaty of Sèvres.

The Greek Army was landed at Smyrna under the protection of the British fleet. "Loans" were granted to the Greek Government. The Greeks on landing simply ran amok and it is estimated that about 700 innocent Muslims were murdered.

The following extract from the *Revue Internationale de*

la Croix Rouge will give some indication of the subsequent proceedings of the Greek Army :

"The Mission has come to the conclusion that the elements of the Greek army of occupation had carried on since two months the extermination of the Mussulman population of the Peninsula. The particulars that were established—burning of villages, massacres of the inhabitants, coincidences in the evidence regarding the places and dates—all leave no doubt on the point." (Translated.)

A high ecclesiastic stated to the Red Cross Commissioner that "the Greek Army has been much too lenient in its repression. I, who am not a military man, but an ecclesiastic, would have liked the absolute extermination of the Turks without leaving a single survivor." Is it any wonder that the Turks in their despair have sought support from Russian Bolsheviki? or that we have lost the trust and loyalty of Indian Muslims? Can we save our honour and recover the lost trust? Yes, we can. But only by the loyal fulfilment of every promise made by the Prime Minister of England as quoted above. By the loyal fulfilment of our promises to the Arabs, and by the resumption of our position as the friends of Islam, the religion of about 80,000,000 British subjects and of about 240,000,000 of the followers of Mahomet scattered over the world. Peace is the reward of good-will and toleration. War is the fruit of race hatred and religious intolerance.

The key to the position is the attitude towards Islam taken up by England. It effects India, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia. It even effects China. If the conservative force of religion is enlisted on the side of England she has nothing to fear. For in the East it is only religion that counts. The key to India is in the Khalifat, the key to Egypt in the Mosque of El Azhar. The key to peace is loyalty and justice to all. To Muslim as well as Christian, to Gentile as well as to Jew. So will England bring peace to the East and gain in exchange loyalty to herself.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CASTES AND CUSTOMS IN MALABAR

By H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.

THE "delectable coast of Malabar," as Sir George Birdwood has termed it, stretches for 150 miles on the west of the Indian peninsula along the Arabian Sea. It extends, in common parlance, from Kanara on the north to Cape Comorin on the south, but, strictly speaking, it ends a little beyond the State of Cochin, and includes barely the northern fringe of Travancore. On the east it is shut off from the rest of India by the mountain barrier of the Western Ghats, which is interrupted only at the Palghat gap, sixteen miles wide. Alike in the picturesqueness of the scenery and in the wealth of its historical associations, this district of 2,000 square miles exercises a fascination which is peculiarly its own. The Ghats are thickly clothed with vegetation in most parts, and abound in pictures of unrivalled beauty. From the main range long wooded spurs with deep ravines jut out, and are succeeded by gentler slopes covered with low jungle and by bare downs, with gradually widening valleys of luxuriant cultivation. Nearer the coast the laterite downs merge suddenly into rice plains and lagoons fringed with cocoa-palms. Skirting the sea is a level strip seldom more than two or three miles in extent. The green of the palms and the jack-trees, the red of the laterite roads, the white of the sands and the sea-foam, and the background of the blue ocean, offer a combination of colour which it would be hard to surpass. Although the country is thickly populated, there is no crowding of human habitations. As long ago as the fourteenth century Ibn Batuta noted that "everyone has his garden and his house planted in the middle of it." Each hut stands in its own compound surrounded by a stout thorn fence, and full of giant broad-leaved plantains and the many coloured flowers

of the hibiscus. The tanks display a profusion of water hyacinths, known, less politely, as "blue devils," because in the backwaters they can, and do, obstruct even the passage of a steamer. The rice can be seen growing in terraces, and avenues of spreading banyans protect the wayfarer from the scorching sun, for there are no extremes of heat and cold in Malabar, the average temperature ranging from 91 degrees to 70 degrees. On the other hand, the rainfall is heavy and unfailing. The people all carry tarred umbrellas; grass grows on the housetops and the pandals of the shops, and the walls are green with mould. It is the one flaw that mars the vision of an earthly paradise.

The district of Malabar under British administration is divided into ten taluks. These, commencing from the north, are Chirakkal, Kóttayam, Wynaad, Kurumbranad, Calicut, Ernad, Ponnáni, Walluvanad, Palghat, and, finally, British Cochin. The principal towns are: Cannanore, in Chirakkal; Tellicherry, in Kóttayam; Manantoddy, on the Wynaad plateau; Quilandi, in Kurumbranad (once a flourishing port); Calicut, the district headquarters; Malapuram and Tirurangadi, in Ernad, and Ponnáni, the principal Mohammedan or Moplah centres; Perintalmanna, in Walluvanad, another Moplah stronghold; Palghat, the avenue of communication with Coimbatore and the Tamil country beyond; and Cochin. Lastly, Anjengo (which since 1906 has been a separate district under the control of the Resident at Travancore) demands her place in the list as the birthplace of Robert Orme and Sterne's "Eliza." South of the British district lie the States of Cochin and Travancore, which are technically outside Malabar, but which, in point of fact, are identical in population and language and customs. The prevailing form of speech is Malayalam, which is said by experts to be closely akin to Tamil, and is certainly Dravidian in origin. At the same time, as the late Dr. Burnell has noted, there is perhaps no part of India where Sanskrit literature was more studied by people of many castes during the eighteenth century; and many Sanskrit words are to be found in colloquial use,

while the Malayalam poetic diction has been described as "pure Sanskrit, connected or concluded with a few Malayalam words."

Owing to its geographical situation, Malabar has been from time immemorial an emporium of trade with the West. There are those who daringly identify Beypore, a decaying port about six miles distant from Calicut railway station, with the Ophir from which King Solomon obtained his gold. Certain it is that he could have procured from Malabar the ivory, apes, and peacocks which the navy of Tharshish brought to him once in three years. Pliny the Elder discusses the various routes to the west coast of India, and Ptolemy describes more or less correctly the geography of South India. Arab traders were constant visitors from the earliest times, the great mercantile centre being Cranganore, now a small village in the vicinity of the British town of Cochin, and celebrated only for its cock festival. Passing over the centuries, we come to Marco Polo, who touched in 1292-93 at the bold bluff eminence of Mount Deli, a few miles north of Cannanore, and has left a description of the surrounding country under the name of the kingdom of Eli. The same Mount Deli was the first landfall made in 1498 by Vasco da Gama and his four weather-beaten vessels, after a voyage of ten months and two days from Lisbon which is immortalized in the "Lusiad" of Camoens. But it was at Calicut that the actual contact with Indian soil was first made on May 11, 1498; and it was at Cochin, where the Portuguese eventually settled, that Vasco da Gama died on Christmas Day, 1524. In 1615 a small English factory was established at Cranganore by Captain Keeling, but it was not sympathetically received; and it was not until 1667 that trade began to be carried on steadily there and at Ponnani, further to the north. The immediate successors to the Portuguese, however, were the Dutch, whose commercial reign lasted from 1663 until 1721.

The temptation is great to continue the history of

European associations with Malabar. The vicissitudes of the English factors at Tellicherry and Anjengo and of the French at Mahé; the doings of the pirates who once infested the coast from Mangalore to Cape Comorin;¹ the invasions of Haidar Ali and Tippoo Sultan; the rebellion of the Pychy Raja, which lasted from 1800 until 1805—a volume might be written upon these and many other incidents of the past. But that is not the purpose of this paper, which is to attempt some description of the people and of their unusual social organizations and their complicated customs and observances. There is no portion of India which offers so rich a quarry to the investigator. And yet the globe trotter does not set foot in Malabar. Murray's "Guide to India" gives him no clue to the treasures which lie just below the surface; nor is he likely to obtain much assistance elsewhere of the type which is calculated to appeal to him. Singularly little of a popular character has been written about the Malayális. Pierre Loti has devoted a quarter of "L'Inde sans les Anglais" to them, and there are the articles which Sir John Rees has still to be persuaded to assemble from their scattered homes in the *Fortnightly* and the *Nineteenth Century*. Mr. Henry Bruce's "Letters from Malabar," and Francis Day's "Land of the Perumals," deal exclusively with the States of Travancore and Cochin, and the former touches the mere fringe of the subject; while Mr. K. M. Panikkar's excellent essay on "Some Aspects of Náyar Life" is not easily accessible in its present loca-

¹ This was (not unnaturally) the aspect which attracted R. L. Stevenson. The mention of Malabar sets him thinking of a storm-bound coast "with a ship beating to windward and a scowling figure of Herculean proportions striding along the beach (he, to be sure, was a pirate)." As a matter of fact, the port of Calicut was ravaged in 1695 by Captain Kidd. Of the doings of this freebooter in the Indian seas, and of some of his fellow-rascals—Hindus, Mohammedans, Portuguese, and half-castes—Mr. S. C. Hill gives some interesting details in his "Episodes of Piracy in the Eastern Seas, 1519 to 1851" (*Indian Antiquary*, vols. xlviii. and xlix., 1919 and 1920). See also "The Pirates of Malabar," by Colonel John Biddulph (London, 1907).

tion in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1919. The book on Malabar has still to be written. There are many men who could write such a book; but while they are in Malabar they are too busy, and when they depart they appear to carry away with them that strange forgetfulness which goes by the name of "Malabar head." Fortunately, there is no lack of official literature, and in quality this is altogether admirable. Nothing could be better than Mr. Logan's monumental Manual or the "Malabar Gazetteer," which is largely founded upon his labours, or Mr. J. A Thorne's notes to the second volume of "The Book of Duarte Barbosa," published last year by the Hakluyt Society. An enormous mass of information is also contained in Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India." Of each and all of these the freest use has been made.

By far the majority of the inhabitants are Hindus by religion. The primal race distinctions can readily be traced in the broad divisions of Brahman, Náyar, Tiyan, artizans, and the supposed aboriginal tribes. Of Brahmans there are three main classes: but of these the Pattars and the Embrándiris, though domiciled since prehistoric times in Malabar, are regarded as inferiors and foreigners. The Pattars, who have their headquarters at Palghat, exhibit no peculiarities distinguishing them from the ordinary East Coast Brahmans, and engage like them in trade and commerce, besides forming a large proportion of the official, legal, and scholastic classes. The Embrándiris, who are of Kanarese or Tulu origin, are almost entirely absorbed in priestly occupations, and are stated to be extremely backward as a community. The real Malabar Brahman is the Nambudri, and if any race can properly be described as the lords of creation, it is his. He is, in the words of Mr. Thurston, the truest Aryan in Southern India. Not content with spiritual ascendancy of the most absolute kind, the Nambudris claim to be the divinely appointed proprietors of the soil of Malabar, and as a

matter of fact do own most of the land, being known as *janmis*. They are extraordinarily exclusive and conservative, and have as a class kept themselves aloof from Western education and Western influences. The touch of all castes below them conveys pollution, and even the approach (at varying distances) of all castes lower than Náyars. A man of low caste is supposed to uncover to the waist as a mark of respect when approaching within the prescribed distance of a Nambudri, and to use special terms of depreciation when speaking of any property belonging to himself. There are various sub-divisions among the Nambudris, of which the first is usually said to be the Tamburákkals, but this is, more properly, a title. Only one family now remains with this appellation—that of the Azhuvanchéri Tamburákkal of Athavanád in Ponnáni taluk. Such is the sanctity attaching to this dignity that it is incumbent upon the Maharájá of Travancore to invite him once in six years to visit his Court, and there to do obeisance to him by touching the ground with six parts of his body. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, in his record of a "Journey through Malabar" in 1800, mentions an interview which he procured with some difficulty with the "Alvangeri Tamburacul" of his day. The great man, he writes, "having been seated on a chair, which he took care to be higher than mine, I soon discovered that he was an idiot, who grinned with a feeble laugh when the most serious questions were proposed to him." Properly speaking, the Tamburákkal is only the first of the Adhyans who form the highest class among Nambudris and are known as Nambudripáds. The Nambudripád is, therefore, the most elect of the most elect of the races upon earth.² Immediately

² Nevertheless, among the first batch of insurgents captured during the Moplah rising of last year and lodged, after conviction, in the Coimbatore jail on September 3, was Mozhikunnad Munakkat Brahmavattan Nambudripád, a young Nambudri of twenty-five years of age, said to be worth five lakhs of rupees, and described as a prominent Khalifat agitator. To parallel such an incident, even faintly, one must imagine the Chief Rabbi engaged in a propaganda in favour of the infallibility of the Pope.

below the Nambudripáds come the Visishta or "remarkable" Nambudris, who are sub-divided into Agnihotris and Bhattatiris. Of these the former perform the great *yágams* or sacrifices, while the business of the latter is to study philosophy and logic and to expound the caste law. The Nambudri proletariat are known as *sámánya*, or "ordinary" Nambudris; they study the vedas and discharge priestly duties. Mention can only be made of two other sub-castes: the eight families of Ashtavaidyams, or hereditary physicians, who are considered as degraded because they may have to shed blood; and the Ambalavásis, or temple servants, who hover on the border-line between Brahmans and such quasi-Brahmans as the Elayads of South Malabar, who act as priests to certain castes.

An exhaustive survey of the infinite variety of castes in Malabar is impossible, and we must therefore pass on to the group of castes forming the Malayáli aristocracy. A few of the princely families, including the ruling house of Travancore, claim to be Kshattriyas, but the great majority are Sámantans. Chief among them is the Zamorin Rájá of Calicut,³ who is to-day a mere Zamindar, but who represents the historic dynasty which was reigning in Malabar when the Portuguese first landed on the coast. Other petty chieftains of this caste are the Karnamulpád of Manjeri and the Tirumalpád of Nilambur in Ernad taluk—names which have unhappily become familiar in connection with the Moplah rising. In certain Kshattriya families—as, for example, that of the Raja of Kollengod in Palghat taluk—the head is styled Nambidi; but the title is also used by the Karugas, a Nambudri sub-caste in North Malabar, who

³ The term Zamorin (Çamidre or Zomodri) is a Portuguese rendering of the Malayálam word "Samudri," which has been supposed to mean "Lord of the Sea." Mr. Thorne, in his notes to the second volume of "The Book of Duarte Barbosa" (Hakluyt Society, 1921), has shown, however, that the true etymology is to be found in the Sanskrit words *Svami* and *ś'ri*, the latter becoming *tiri* or *diri* in Malayálam usage. The termination *tiri* or *diri* is common in the names of high castes: Nambudiri, Embrándiri, Bhattatiri. Samudri therefore means "great chief."

perform funeral and other ceremonies for Sudras. The customs of Kshattriyas and Sámantans are almost identical, but the former wear the sacred thread (*pinnil*) and the latter do not. The marriage rules are also different.⁴

Both the Kshattriyas and the Sámantans may be referred racially to the great caste of Náyers which constitutes the most characteristic, if not the most numerous, of the Hindu communities of Malabar. Primarily they formed the great military class, and still own much land, but in modern times they have exchanged the sword for the pen and have achieved a practical monopoly of the professions and of Government service.⁵ Sir C. Sankaran Nair, the most distinguished member of the caste, has expressed his belief, in conversation with the writer, that the Náyers came originally from the north, and has mentioned in support of this view that the dialect spoken at Delhi contains many words which bear a close resemblance to Malayálam. The general opinion is that they were probably a race of Dravidian immigrants who were among the first invaders of Malabar, and, as conquerors, assumed the position of the governing and landowning class. That they are not the aboriginal inhabitants is evident from the fact that all over Malabar Nayar families own agricultural serfs who are distinctly of a negroid type. Whatever their origin, their culture has only been superficially influenced by the Aryan immigration, of which the Nambudris are the representatives. Their religious beliefs exhibit an extraordinary admixture of Hindu and Dravidian cults. Mr. Panikkar,

⁴ Kshattriya men can marry Kshattriya or Sámantan women. Sámantan men can only marry women of subordinate Sámantan or Nayar families. Kshattriya and "royal" Sámantan women marry only Nambudris or Kshattriyas; ordinary Sámantan women, in addition, may marry Sámantans.

⁵ Mr. K. P. Sivasankara Menon, who passed at the head of the list of candidates for the Indian Civil Service at the Open Competition held in August, 1921, is a Nayar by caste. The career will be fresh in the public mind of Sir Sankaran Nair, who has been successively Advocate-General of Madras, Judge of the Madras High Court, Education Minister in the Government of India, and member of the Secretary of State's Council.

himself a Náyar, observes in this connection that nothing shows so much the extreme persistence of primitive culture as the wide and almost universal acceptance of spirit-worship and the almost entire absence of religious life among the Náyars after at least twenty centuries of contact with Hinduism.

While the Nambudris are the spiritual kings of Malabar, the Náyars are the feudal and military aristocrats of the country. Burke, in one of his speeches on the French Revolution, classed them with the Mamalukes of Egypt, and they have been famous since the days of Marco Polo. Traces of the martial spirit which attracted the notice of Gaspar Correa and Duarte Barbosa, and many other early travellers, survive in the *Kalaris*, a sort of combined private chapel and gymnasium, or fencing school, which are still attached to high-class Náyar houses. There is an instructor-in-arms to the Zamorin's family, who is known as the Dharmoth Panikkar, and whose ancestors were the hereditary commanders-in-chief.

High-class Náyars may be divided into three classes. In South Malabar the first in order of precedence are the Kiriyaṃ or Kiriyaṭṭil Náyars, to which most of the land-owners belong. The next grade is known as Chárna or Chárnavar Náyars. One section of them, the Agattu Chárnavar or "inside retainers," are the body-servants and house-servants of the various chieftains. The Purattu Chárnavar or "outside retainers," who are superior in the social scale, represent the armed retainers. The last class of high-caste Náyars are known as Súdra Náyars, and are *par excellence* the attendants of the Nambudris, as the Chárnavar are of the non-Brahman chieftains. Both Chárnavar and Súdra Náyars use the title of Menon, which should, strictly speaking, be conferred by the Zamorin or some other feudal lord. In North Malabar the high-caste Náyars are divided into exogamous subdivisions or *kulam's*, and these in their turn are grouped to form sub-castes, which are usually endogamous. Each

division presents its own complications and peculiarities. Thus, in Payyanad, which is a portion of Kurumbranad taluk, there are seven groups of *kulams*. In the highest group of twelve *kulams*, two affix the title Adiyodi to their names, and three are known as Nambiyars. Many Nambiyars claim to be Sámantans, and the title, as well as that of Adiyodi, is borne by certain classes of North Malabar Sámantans. The northern subdivisions rank higher than the southern; and a Náyar woman from the north may not enter into matrimonial relations with a man from the south. Midway in the social scale come certain castes of traders, which are probably of foreign origin, such as the Múttans and Taragans, and the Váyabari or Ravari Náyars, who figure in Barbosa as Biabares. Below them are a number of classes of a non-military character with traditional occupations—potters, palakeen-bearers, masons, copper-tappers (who roof the *srikovil* or inner shrine of the temple with that metal), oil-millers, and cowkeepers; and below them, again, are washermen, barbers, writing-masters, and weavers.

The next great caste is known as Izhuvans (Illuvans) in the Palghat taluk, and elsewhere in Malabar as Tiyans. These form the most numerous Hindu community on the coast, and their traditional occupation is planting and tapping of the cocoa-nut tree. As a class they are most progressive, and, according to the "Malabar Gazetteer," not a few Tiyan families in North Malabar admit to a considerable admixture of European blood. They are free men in theory, but still show traces of serfdom in their relations with the Náyars, living as their tenants and doing their work for them. Inasmuch as the use of the caste temples is denied to them, they have taken to building temples of their own. They are said to be of Cingalese origin.

Descending still further down the social ladder, we reach the Mukkavans or fishermen, and the artizan, menial, musician, and devil-dancing castes. The term Kammálan

is used loosely of any artizan, but there are four principal castes, each forming an endogamous community—namely, the goldsmiths (*tattáns*), the blacksmiths (*perinkollans*), the braziers (*músáris*), and the carpenters (*asáris*). Closely allied with these are the *kolla kurups*, who combine the practice of massage with the manufacture of the characteristic leather shields of the west coast—occupations which are not as incongruous as they seem, on account of their association with the military training given at the *Náyar kalari*. Malabar is famous for its carpenters and its shampooers. As for devil-dancing, this is quite a feature of religious life in Malabar. If anyone is possessed of a devil—and it is usually a woman—an expensive and elaborate dance, known as *Kolan thullal*, is performed with hideous masks, and continues until the unfortunate person possessed falls into a sort of hysteria, when the devil is supposed to have been cast out.⁶ Again, the services of the *Kanisans* or astrologers are indispensable on every important occasion.

Lastly, we arrive at the depressed "aboriginal" classes, of which the principal representatives are the *Cherumans* ("slaves") or *Pulayans* ("polluters"),⁷ and the *Náyadis* or "dog-eaters." These live in conditions of the most abject degradation, and to all intents and purposes are still the *agrestic serfs* which they formerly were. Between the *Cherumans* and the *Náyadis* are the *Paraiyans*, who act as scavengers, and are much dreaded for their knowledge of black magic.

The foregoing rough enumeration of the principal castes

⁶ There are a few *Nambudris* who are celebrated *mantravadis* or magicians, but they are looked upon as degraded and strictly outcaste. They are known as *chela Nambudris*—that is, the offspring of *Nambudris* who were forcibly converted to Islam by *Tippoo*—and (as some occupation must be found for them) are supposed to have full control over the malignant demon *Kuttichattan*. But on the whole it is among the lower castes that a living is made out of exorcism and magic.

⁷ *Cherumans* and *Pulayans* are akin, but Mr. Thorne has pointed out that there is a distinction. In North Malabar *Pulayans* are numerous, but they are never called *Cherumans*.

has of necessity taken no account of the peculiar features which characterize the social organization of West Coast Hindus. Caste exclusiveness in Malabar manifests itself principally in two respects. Firstly, the touch or approach of a person of a lower class conveys pollution ; and secondly, women may contract alliances only with men of an equal or superior caste, whereas men, though for the most part restricted to their caste or class, may in some cases form connections with women of an inferior class. A third test is, of course, interdining, as elsewhere among Hindus ; but there is this difference. A high-class Nambudri male may eat the food cooked by a Sámánya or " ordinary " Nambudri, and even by a Sámantan, but an Anterjanam or Nambudri woman cannot. Similarly, Náyar males can partake of meals prepared by any Náyar without distinction of sub-caste ; but a Náyar woman of the higher castes cannot eat the food prepared by anyone belonging to a lower. The distinction is observed also among the lower castes.

Pollution, as already mentioned, is conveyed either by touch or by approach, and the rules are of the most precise and complicated character. Every man considers himself polluted by the touch of anyone below him in the social scale. But in addition to this, at a certain point in the caste system, the taint is supposed to become so pronounced as actually to affect the atmosphere and carry pollution to persons, houses, and the like within a radius of several yards from the person who is the centre of infection. The radius increases with the fall in the social status. There is in fact a prescribed scale of distances which is required to be rigidly observed,⁵ and in ordinary conversation such expressions as a *Tiya-pád* or a *Cheruma-pád*—the distance at which a *Tiyan* or *Cheruman* must keep—are commonly

⁵ Ideas of a similar character appear to have prevailed in Germany before the French Revolution. (See Fischel and Boehn's " Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," 1790-1817, English edition, vol. i., p. 5.) For instance, a woman of the middle class in Berlin was forced, if she chanced to meet a countess in any public place, to seat herself at least six chairs away from her.

used. Kammálans (artizans) and Illuvans, or Tiyan (toddy drawers), cause atmospheric pollution to the higher castes within a radius of about 19 English feet in the State of Cochin. In Malabar itself, according to Mr. Thurston, a Náyar may not approach nearer than 6 paces to a Nambudri, a man of the barber caste (Marayan) nearer than 12 paces, a Tiyan 36, a sorcerer or exorcist (Pánan) 64, and a Pulayan or Cheruman (slave) 96. The "Malabar Gazetteer" gives the distance in the case of a Kammálan (artizan) as about 24 feet, and in the case of an aboriginal Náyadi as 74. Náyars are as punctilious as Nambudris. The mere approach anywhere near a Náyar or a Cheruman or Pulayan or any inferior being, even a Tiyan, as he walks home from the temple, cleansed in body and mind, his marks newly set on his forehead with sandalwood paste, is pollution, and he must turn and bathe again before he can enter his house and eat. In the older days (according to Buchanan Hamilton) a Náyar thought nothing of cutting down on the spot any low-caste man who approached within polluting distance of his person. At the present day the higher caste man, as he walks along the road, utters a warning grunt or hoot. In the words of van Linschoten, who made a "Voyage in the East Indies" at the close of the sixteenth century, "as these Nayres go in the streets, they cry, 'Po, Po,' which is to say, 'Take heed, I come, stand out of the way.'" Three centuries later, Swami Vivekananda came, in the course of his wanderings, to Malabar. There, he says, he met Brahmans and Náyars strutting through the streets like peacocks, making a deafening sound, "Hoi, hoi." What is the meaning of this word? he asks. It means "clear out of the road," and he is provoked to exclaim that Malabar is the lunatic asylum of the world. Certainly it comes as a shock to see the Náyadis—*infima et pessima gens*—who are professional beggars, depositing a cloth in the middle of the road and squatting in the fields outside the prescribed radius, whence, from time to time, they shout dismally to

attract the attention of passers-by who may, if they wish, drop a coin on the cloth. Even among the Cherumans, who are equally beyond the pale, the lowest group, known as Kundóns, is considered to convey pollution by touch to members of all other groups by reason of the fact that the Kundóttis, or women of the sub-caste, act as midwives. If pollution is caused, whether physical or atmospheric, it can be removed only by complete immersion in water, either in a tank or a river. Strangely enough, atmospheric pollution is not conveyed by Jews, Christians, or Mohammedans; and this applies even to converts to the two latter religions from the very lowest castes. As Mr. R. S. Whiteway puts it, in his book on "The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," a Pulayan (whom he calls a "Poler") who could not approach within 100 yards of a Nambudri, and has to howl like a wild beast as he walks to warn all others of his polluted vicinity, has everything to gain, therefore, by adopting a faith which admits at once to social equality.

There is another form of pollution which may be termed ceremonial pollution. A birth or death in a family causes such pollution to all members of the family in all its branches, and a similar pollution is entailed upon women at certain times and after childbirth. The duration of the period varies according to caste status. In the case of Brahmans it is ten days; Sámantans, who may not eat with Brahmans, observe fifteen days; and also Náyers. The duration in the case of women is three days uniformly; but certain purificatory ceremonies besides immersion are necessary, as also in the case of death pollution. Similar ceremonies are also required if a Brahman is touched by a lower caste man when under birth or death pollution.

Remarkable as this doctrine of pollution is, it is eclipsed by the system of inheritance and of family organization known as *marumakattáyam* (literally, "descent through sister's children"), bound up with which is the institution known as *sambandham*, the loose form of marital association obtaining among the castes following *marumakattáyam*,

which entails no responsibility or legal obligation whatever on the part of the father towards his wife and children. According to this system, which prevails among the Kshatriyas, the Sámantans, the Ambalavásis (temple servants), and the Náyers proper, and partially among some other castes, children belong to the same caste or sub-caste and family as their mothers.⁹ The custom affects the caste system, because the rule of hypergamy (*anulomam*, or "going with the hair"), which allows a woman, but not a man, to marry into a superior caste or sub-caste, is widely observed in Malabar; and its violation (*prathilomam*, or "going against the hair") is said to have given rise to some of the mixed castes. With the exception of seventeen *illams* or houses of the Payyanur *grámam*, or village in the Chirakkal taluk in North Malabar, which follow *marumakattáyam*, the Nambudris are governed by *makattáyam*, under which a child belongs to his father's family, and there is nothing surprising in this circumstance. The eldest male of a Nambudri family marries within his own caste, and the ceremony is accompanied by all the ordinary legal and religious sanctions and incidents. But this rule does not apply to the cadets who escape from the life-long bachelorhood (*brahmacháram*) to which they are supposed to devote themselves, by entering into *sambandham* union with women of the Kshatriya, Sámantan, and Náyer castes. They cannot touch the children which result from such connections without incurring pollution; but the convenience of the arrangement to the Nambudri is obvious. He avoids the burden and responsibility of family life, and owing to the combination of the practice with the rule of

⁹ The other great centre of "mother right" in India must be sought among the Khasis and the Garos in the Assam hills (see the monographs of Colonel Gurdon and Colonel Playfair). In the Malay States the exogamic system of tribes or clans descending in the female line exists in Negri Sembilan, and is said to be derived from Minangkabau immigrants from the uplands of Central Sumatra (*J.R.A.S.*, October, 1921, p. 641). The Rev. J. Ovington, in his "Voyage to Suratt in the Year 1689," when alluding to the Malabar custom, makes mention of a similar practice near the mouth of the Congo: "The sister's sons, as in Africa, and not the king's, are heirs to the Crown, because the blood royal runs certainly in their veins."

hypergamy, ensures the higher race against contamination with the blood of the lower ; for, firstly, the offspring of the union belong to the caste of the mother, and, secondly, the males of the Kshattriya, Sámantan, and Náyar castes are restricted in the matter of *sambandham* to women of their own or a lower caste. But it may be doubted if ever the custom was deliberately introduced by the Nambudris. It is more prevalent in North Malabar, where Nambudri influence has always been less than in the South, and has there been adopted by Tiyans and other castes which pollute Brahmans, and even by the Mohammedan Moplahs. Possibly the origin may be found in the military organization of the Náyar community. "Marriage," writes Montaigne, "is interdicted, and all recreations except warre to the nobility of Calicut." Some authorities regard the practice as a survival of a universal primitive culture, but this theory is inconsistent with the fact that a regular system of marriage exists among the jungle tribes and the lowest castes who are generally considered to represent the aborigines. The fraternal polyandry practised by the Kammálans and Kanisans and some sections of the South Malabar Tiyans, is distinct from the *sambandham* system. Travellers in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries allude, it is true, to the prevalence of polyandry among the Náyars. But Mr. Panikkar points out that these "observers" were not allowed to come within sixty yards of a Náyar's house, and he asserts that the extensive Malayalam literature of that period, which is entirely the work of Nambudris and Náyars, contains not a single reference to polyandry, and that not one authenticated case has occurred during the last fifty years. The idea of polyandry, he says, was repugnant to the Náyar community as a whole, although individuals may here and there have indulged in it.¹⁰

¹⁰ Mr. Thorne, on the other hand, holds that, however much present day Náyars may dislike the fact, there is ample evidence that polyandry, as described by Conti (1444), Barbosa (1510), Cæsar Fredericke (1563), and

The *sambandham* customs are of the simplest nature. If the suitor is a Náyar, he is generally the girl's father's sister's son. Whether he is a Náyar or a Brahman he informs the head of the girl's family of his desire. An auspicious date is selected with the help of the astrologer, and the village elders are informed. The suitor brings some *pudakas* (or clothes which a wife wears) and hands them over to the girl in the presence of her relations and the neighbours. It is then duly announced that they are "married." The union is, however, dissoluble at will and either party can break off relations, whereupon the other can without further formality seek a fresh mate.¹¹

The Náyar family, or *tarwád*, under the system of *marmakattáyam*, consists of all the descendants from the same ancestress, counting relationship exclusively from the side of the mother. An ordinary *tarwád* will be composed of relations four or five degrees removed, and it naturally varies in numerical strength. In old and aristocratic families fifty or eighty persons will constitute a *tarwád*, but there are some *tarwáds* which have 150 or 200 members. Relationship by marriage is not recognized, and children belong to their mother's *tarwád*. The husband and wife are regarded as casual visitors in the home of the other. Property is owned in common, and in theory belongs only to the females. In Malabar the senior male member is, as a rule, recognized as the manager, or *kárnavan*; but in the highest family following the law of *marumakattáyam*, which is that of the Zamorin of Calicut, the senior lady is invariably the head. The *kárnavan* exercises full control over the family property, arranges *sambandhams* for the young men as well as for the girls, and punishes offenders by

many others, was once common among Náyars. It is now extinct as a recognized custom except (he believes) among some Náyars of Travancore.

¹¹ In a paper read by Sir Sankaran Nair at the London School of Economics, on June 24, 1914, the whole system was elaborately examined. Numerous additional details are given in Mr. Panikkar's admirable essay (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xlviii., pp. 267-272).

cutting off their allowance or prohibiting them from entering the house. His wife has, of course, no standing in the *tarwád*, and is therefore regarded with suspicion and universally considered to be a sort of sinister stepmother. Rigid rules for social intercourse are observed. A Náyar young man or woman may not talk to any relations of the opposite sex in the same family if they are of almost the same age. That is to say, a young man may talk to a sister considerably older than himself, but under no conditions may he talk to a younger sister.¹² When the *tarwád* grows unwieldy, or certain members show insubordination, partition is resorted to, and the property is divided in equal shares along each female line. Property acquired by any member through his or her exertions while living in the *tarwád* home has come to be regarded as absolutely owned with right of devise, and to descend on death to the maternal relatives.

One result of this system is that the Náyar regards his sister's children with far more affection than his own. The father is not necessarily of the same caste as his son; and in any case it is the nephews who are the heirs of a man and who will carry on the traditions of the family. Another result is seen in the fair complexions and the handsome features of the higher castes of Náyars. The women in particular have the most delicately refined features, and their beauty (for they are not *gosha*, or confined behind the purdah, as elsewhere in South India) has long been a theme for comment. Pierre Loti's outburst of admiration is unrestrained: "On dirait un peuple de dieux, tant sont beaux les visages, tant sont nobles les attitudes, profonds et insondables les regards. Cette foule est une mêlée de torsos et de bras taillés dans le bronze, d'une perfection et d'une grace de bas-relief antique."

¹² This peculiarity, which is mentioned by Mr. Panikkar, writing in 1919, was noted also by Duarte Barbosa, who completed his "Book" in 1518. "The Nayres," he says, "never enter the same room as their younger sisters, nor even a house where they are alone, nor do they touch them nor speak to them."

Among the more influential families, and especially those of the Rájás or Tamburans, it is customary to set aside certain portions of the *tarwád* property for the life enjoyment of the senior members only. The separate estates thus created are called *stánams*, or "dignities." They are held in succession by the several members as they succeed to the position to which they are attached. Thus the family of the Zamorin of Calicut is divided into three *kovilagams*, or palaces: the *Padinhara*, or western, with its house at Mankavu, just outside Calicut; the *Puthiya*, or new, at Tiruvannur, also a few miles outside Calicut; and the *Kizhakké*, or eastern, at Kottakal, in Ernad, about eighty-five miles from Calicut. Each has its separate estate under the management of its senior lady, or *tamburátti*. At the same time, there are five *stánams* also, with separate properties set aside for the use of the five senior male members of the family, who are known as Zamorin, Erálpád, Munárpád, Edattrapád, and Neduthrappád. The eldest lady of the royal house is styled Valiya Tamburátti, and the Zamorin refers to her as "mother," although she may be younger than he, and to his predecessor as "uncle," although the relationship is usually that of a brother or cousin. The *tamburáttis* or princesses take their mates from Nambudris, although sometimes Kshattriya *tamburans* are chosen. They remain in their *kovilagams*, and are visited there by their mates. The children belong to the *kovilagam* in which they are born, and are heirs to the royal dignities, the true stock of the royal descent being, as Barbosa puts it, through the woman. A man's position in the line of succession is determined, however, by his own age, and not, as Barbosa thought, by the age of his mother. It is the eldest male in the line of descent who succeeds, and as he moves from the grade of Erálpád to that of Zamorin, the lower grades are filled up accordingly. Thus an uncle may have to give way to a nephew, who is older than himself; and the case of an elder *tamburátti's* son being

superseded by a younger *tamburatti's* son is common. The Zamorin, therefore (as Barbosa notes), is always advanced in years; and within the last century there have been fifteen Zamorins, of whom seven have succeeded during the last twenty-five years. The sons of the Zamorin or of the *tamburans* are not received into the royal families, and belong to the caste of their mothers, who are never of the same rank as the fathers, and are usually Náyars. When adoption becomes requisite to keep the royal house from extinction, ladies are chosen from some allied family, and their sons succeed in due course.

Another institution found among the classes following the *marumakattayam* system, as well as among many of those who observe *makattayam*, is the "*táli* tying" wedding, or *tálikettu kalyanam*, which has been described as "the most peculiar, distinctive, and unique" of the Malayáli marriage customs. It consists of the tying of a *táli*, or small piece of gold or other metal like a locket, on a string round a girl's neck when she reaches a marriageable age. This is done by a man of the same or a higher caste—as to which the usage of different castes vary—and it is only after it has been done that the girl is at liberty to contract *sambandham*. In order to reduce the expenses of the accompanying feast, it is becoming usual for the *táli* to be tied simultaneously on all the girls of a family who may be below the age of eleven. In some cases the *táli* is even tied by the girl's mother. The important point is that the girl becomes an outcaste if the *táli* is not tied on her at the appropriate time; and, according to Mr. Panikkar, the ceremony constitutes the actual and religious marriage, although it is unaccompanied by any definite marital relationship.

A word must now be said upon the system of village organization which prevails in Malabar. This must not be confounded with the village communities of the rest of India, which own land in common, and deal with other villages as units. The system in Malabar is concerned

only with such specific purposes as the management of the temple, of which there is one in each village, and, in former days, military training and mobilization. The organization includes only Náyar families. All other castes are excluded, although, with the exception of the slave castes, they may and do live side by side. The temple authorities are appointed by the village, and power is generally vested in the *asans* or *pramanis* (chief men), of whom the foremost corresponds to the lord of the manor. Each house, as already mentioned, stands apart in a separate compound, and it may happen that a Náyar's neighbour is a Christian. But so far as the communal life is concerned, he does not exist.

The dress of the Malayáli is extremely simple. The men wear a *kónam*, or small strip of cloth, passed between the legs and attached at the front and the back to a string tied round the waist, and a *mundu* or white cloth round the waist, tucked in on the right side, and hanging loose to the knees or ankles. They also sometimes carry a small upper cloth (*torttumundu*) thrown over the shoulder. *Mundus* are as a rule white; but the Nambudri wears one with a gold border. It is still the custom, however, for men to go bare above the waist when in their houses. No turban is worn, but a palm-leaf umbrella is always carried. The fishermen and agricultural coolies protect the head with a mushroom-shaped hat of palmyra leaves; and Náyar women often carry in their hands a hat of this kind with a crown which is too small for the head. For costume the women wear a short cloth and also a single long white cloth (*tuni*) tucked round the waist and hanging down to the ground. The upper part of the body is now usually covered when going out; but the old custom was to wear nothing above the waist. All women wear earrings, and the lobe of the ear is dilated in childhood to admit of the fitting in of the *tóda*, a boss-shaped hollow cylinder from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. The hair is parted in the middle and, in the north, drawn tight to the ears and

tied in a chignon; in the south, except among Nambudri women, it is twisted up in front in a sort of cone. The men leave only a small oval patch of hair on the top of the head (*kudumz*), which is allowed to grow long and is twisted in a knot, when it hangs over the forehead in front or to one side. If a Nambudri is seen with a beard, it is a sign that he is in mourning, or that he is expecting an addition to his family.

The Hindus, whose castes and customs we have been discussing, comprise nearly 70 per cent. of the population. The Mohammedans number about 30 per cent., and are principally concentrated in the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks, where they are to be found in the ratio of one in three. They are known as Moplahs (Mappillas). Like the Navayats of the Konkan and the Lubbays of the Coromandel Coast, they are of Arab origin; but unlike the Navayats, who have systematically avoided intermarriage with the Indians, they are reputed to spring from the union of Arab traders and sailors with the women of the country, and they have consistently replenished their numbers by conversions from the Hindu slave-castes. The coast Moplahs, and those of old family and social position, are often extremely fair, with features of a distinctly Semitic cast; whereas the Moplahs of the interior are indistinguishable from Tiyaṇs and Cherumans. By occupation they are tenant farmers, sailors and ferrymen on the rivers and backwaters, and many of them work as labourers on rubber and other plantations. Some are successful traders, and as such are well known in Ceylon, Burma, and the Straits Settlements. But as a rule the Moplahs are miserably poor and utterly illiterate; and agrarian grievances keep them in a chronic unrest which has flared repeatedly into open rebellion when religious propaganda ministers to a fanaticism of the most extreme type. Isolated geographically and linguistically (for they are ignorant of Hindustani) from other Indian Mohammedans, they outdo them in the narrowness and fervour of their creed. They are, for

instance, strict teetotalers in practice as well as in theory, and, as a well-informed writer has pointed out,¹³ their destruction of liquor shops in the present rising (which is the latest in a long series)¹⁴ is the expression of a genuine and passionate intolerance. In addition to the strong Puritan strain which they exhibit in their religion, they cherish an unending feud with the great Nambudri and Nāyar landowners, and with the whole middle class of pleaders, land agents and Government servants, whom they regard with mingled jealousy and contempt. Ballads and recitals keep alive the memory of the great days of Tippoo, who scourged the Malabar rājās and landlords with the rod of Islam, and of the Sahids, or "martyrs," who have since, from time to time, won eternal bliss in conflict with the infidel. Annual festivals are actually celebrated in commemoration of these heroes at Malappuram and Kondótti. Their religious leaders are known as tangals, and the principal authority is the Makhdum Tangal. This personage is head of a sort of theological college at Ponnáni, and confers the title of Musaliyar, or elder, on mullas who have qualified themselves to interpret the Koran and the commentaries. Implicit belief is given to the stories, however extravagant, told by the Tangals and the Musaliyars. The former pretend to a high degree of sanctity; and of one of the Mambram Tangals, whose mausoleum is directly opposite the Moplah town of Tirurangadi in Ernad taluk, it is related that the Moplahs swear by his foot as their most solemn oath, and treasure the earth on which he spat. They belong to the Shafi school of Sunnis, and look upon the Turkish Sultan as Khalifa. In South Malabar they are divided into two sects, with headquarters respectively at Ponnáni and Kondótti, which are constantly quarrelling with each other,

¹³ *New Statesman*, November 26, 1921.

¹⁴ With rare exceptions, says the "Malabar Gazetteer," these outbreaks have always blazed out within a radius of fifteen miles from the Pandálar hill in the Ernad taluk, the so-called "fanatical zone." The Arab strain is here very faint.

but intermarriage is not prohibited, and the practice of "crossing the floor" is as usual as it is among politicians. Their customs exhibit a strange mixture of Hinduism and Mohammedanism. Though magic is condemned by the Koran, a belief in demons and talismans is common. In North Malabar the *marumakattāyam* system is followed, although it is opposed to the principles of the Koran; in the South the *makattāyam* system is the rule, but succession to religious *stānams*, or estates, such as that of the Valiya Tangal of Ponnāni, ordinarily goes by *marumakattāyam*. On the other hand, circumcision is practised, the dead are buried, the five essentials of the Islamic creed are strictly observed—namely, the recital of the confession of faith, the five daily prayers, the thirty days' fast of Ramazan, the duty of giving alms, and the hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca (which last is, however, undertaken only by those who can afford it)—and lastly, property is distributed at death among wives, sons, and daughters in shares, which frequently resolve themselves into minute fractions, and inevitably foster poverty. The customary dress of the men is a *mundu* or cloth, generally white with a purple, orange, or green border, and tied on the left, in contradistinction to the Hindus who tie it on the right. Persons of importance wear in addition a long flowing garment of fine white cotton and a sleeved waistcoat. In the case of a Tangal, the costume is completed by a cloak of coloured silk. The usual head-dress is a small cap of white or white and black, and round this an ordinary turban or brightly coloured scarf may be wound. Shaven heads are the rule, and elderly men and Tangals are frequently bearded. Women of the higher classes are secluded, and hide their faces when they go out; the lower classes are not particular in this respect. Their normal dress is a dark blue *mundu*, a loose white bodice, more or less embroidered, and a veil or scarf on the head. They are much addicted to jewellery; and, as among the Tiyans and Mukkuvāns (toddy drawers and fishermen), a great number of earrings are worn.

Nose rings are not favoured, but the rim of the ear is bored into as many as ten or twelve holes in addition to the one in the lobe. All Moplahs will eat together.¹⁵

The chief secular potentate of the community is the Ali Rájá of Cannanore in North Malabar. According to tradition, the first of the line was a Náyar at the Court of the Kollattiri Rájá,¹⁶ who embraced Islam about the end of the eleventh century A.D. His successors became the hereditary ministers of the Kollattiri and attained a position of considerable power. At one time they were lords of the Laccadive Islands which contain a Moplah population, and possessed their own fleet. But they are now merely land-owners. The succession goes in the female line, and the Waliya Bibi, or Senior Lady, was formerly an important personage. In 1824 she was "regularly supplied with a guard of honour from the military station at Cannanore," says Major H. Bevan in his "Thirty Years in India," and was "very strict in exacting this homage to her rank."

The Malabar museum of castes and customs is almost complete; but mention has still to be made of the Syrian, or Nestorian, Christians, and the "white" and "black" Jews, although the last named are confined to the town of Muttancheri, which is just within the borders of the Cochin State. The Syrian Christians are chiefly found in the south of Ponnani taluk and in Palghat. They are at

¹⁵ As regards the Moplahs, Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., now Judge at Coimbatore (the district adjoining Malabar), sends the following note: "Many of the Moplahs are converted Cherumans, and I am told, though I can hardly believe it, that circumcision is not compulsory. They are mostly farm labourers, and very poor, dirty, and uneducated. The real Moplah, with the genuine Arab blood in him, is rather a fine specimen. Conversion of women is effected by alteration of the method of doing the hair and putting on a Moplah woman's jacket. Among the men, the top-knot is shaved and a Moplah name given."

¹⁶ This family, which is one of the most ancient and honourable in Malabar, is now represented by the Rájá of Chirakkal. It is closely allied with the ruling house of Travancore, with which it observes "community of pollution," and ladies have been adopted from it to prevent that dynasty from extinction.

present divided into three main bodies: those who are in communion with Rome but follow the Syriac rite; those who adhere to the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch; and the St. Thomas Syrians, who conform more or less to the Anglican Church. All claim the Apostle Thomas as their founder, and assert that he landed at Malankara near Cranganore in the year 52, and that, having converted some Brahmans, he established seven churches—six in Travancore and Cochin, and one at Chowghat (Chavakkad) in Ponnani taluk. Later on, in the eighth or ninth century, a merchant named Thomas of Cana arrived at Cranganore with a contingent of 400 Nestorian Christians from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, and is reputed to have obtained a grant of privileges on a copperplate which is still in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Kóttayam. The division into southerners (*tekkumbhagar*) and northerners (*vadakkumbhagar*) is said to date from this period. The former, who represent the new-comers, are fairer in complexion and have finer features; the latter, who claim descent from the high-caste Hindus converted by St. Thomas, observe more of the old Hindu customs and "walk after the way of the mother." A further schism resulted from the proselytizing zeal of the Portuguese, who sought in the seventeenth century to incorporate the whole community under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Archbishop of Goa. In 1889 the reformed party arose, with its own *metrán* or spiritual head. Though a few of the families are of Syrian blood and some trace descent from Brahmans and Náyers, the bulk are by origin Tiyaṅs (Illuvans) and Mukkuvans, from whom they do not differ materially in appearance, dress, or mode of life. The higher castes will not intermarry, and in some cases refuse to dine, with the lower castes. Their priests are known as *cattanars*.

A similar gulf separates the "white" from the "black" Jews. The former maintain they are descended from the company of Jews and Jewesses who migrated from Jerusalem to Cranganore after the destruction of the

Temple in A.D. 68, and that they have kept their race untainted. Their synagogue is paved with priceless blue and white porcelain tiles, the gift of a former Rájá of Cochin; and they display with pride a copperplate inscribed with ancient Tamil characters, and purporting to be a grant of privileges to Joseph Rabban by the "King of Kings, the glorious Bhaskara Ravi Varman," who flourished, according to Dr. Burnell, about the eighth century A.D. The "black" Jews, who are actually not much darker in complexion, are said by them to be the offspring of alliances between the "white" Jews and women of the country; but the general opinion is that, in spite of the copperplate, the "white" Jews are comparatively late arrivals, and that the "black" Jews are the descendants of the original settlers at Cranganore, who were probably refugees from Mohammedan persecution in Arabia or Persia in the sixth or seventh century. Both varieties are gradually dwindling in numbers, and neither are remarkable for material prosperity.

Malabar has been described by one of her sons as a land where life is made extremely easy by reason of the extreme fertility of the valley and the rich tropical luxuriance of the forest. It is therefore to a large extent a land of idleness, but is also a land of intellectual culture. Nowhere, says Mr. Panikkar, are learning, art, and poetry so highly esteemed as among the Nambudris and the Náýars. If they seem elusive and hard to understand, if (as Mr. Bruce expresses it) they seem to flow away from the stranger like quicksilver, it is because of the existence of that which makes them unique among Indian races—the grafting of Brahmanical institutions upon a matriarchal system of society. They are sensitive, not about having their customs discussed, but about foreigners and outsiders seeming to cast blame upon them. There may be some truth in the saying that Travancore, and inferentially Málabar, is a heaven for the Brahmans and the Náýars, and for all other people a hell. But the usages

which strike the visitor from the West as unnatural are stoutly defended by the Náýars themselves. Sir Sankaran Nair repudiates the suggestion that the matriarchate and the *sambandham* are evidence of primitive barbarism. Western civilization, he says, leaves it to a woman to find a home by seeking a husband, and presupposes subordination to her mate. The Náýar rule is based upon the complete equality of the sexes. Matrimonial connections among present-day Náýars are ordinarily as permanent as in any European community, and it is claimed for the practice that it exhibits all the merits attributed to monogamy without any of the restrictions imposed by legal and social bonds which keep couples together who would be happier apart. Moreover, as Mr. Panikkar points out, the *tarwád*, or joint undivided family, places the Náýars in a position of solid advantage in the matter of property, which they will be loath to forego. Among a few English-educated families, no doubt the patrilocal is taking the place of the matrilocal system. But the chances are slight of any extensive change. It must be remembered that it is not only the Náýars but the Nambudris who are interested in the maintenance of the peculiar marriage system.

Time will prove the value of these surmises. Meanwhile the student of humanity will desire nothing better than the continuance of a structure of society and the survival of institutions which show that one portion at least of the East is unchanging. Whatever may be happening elsewhere, all things remain always the same on the Malabar Coast. The accuracy of observations made four centuries ago can be checked on the spot to-day. A man need not be labelled as an upholder of lost causes and impossible beliefs because he welcomes such a phenomenon and devotes some hours of his leisure to its examination.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, January 23, 1922, at which a paper was read by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., entitled, "Castes and Customs in Malabar." The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir J. D. Rees, Bart., K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs. Campbell, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., the Countess of Haddo, Lady Pentland, Lady Kensington, Mr. J. Sanders Slater, Colonel S. M. Slater, Lieut.-Colonel T. S. B. Williams, I.M.S., Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. and Mrs. C. W. M. Hudson, Mrs. H. E. A. Cotton and Miss Cotton, Mr. G. F. Rowe and Miss Rowe, Mr. W. G. Clarke, Mr. A. K. Pearce, Mr. Barton, Mr. and Mrs. F. Hunt, Miss M. Sorabji, Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton, Miss Nina Corner, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Miss Stoton, Rev. H. Halliwell, Colonel V. Patekhine, Mr. and Mrs. G. P. Roy, Mr. S. C. Hill, Mr. W. Douglas Hall, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Arnold Lupton, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. W. S. Hamilton, Mr. K. N. Sitaram, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Rev. H. A. Rawlinson, Mr. Maniez, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. F. Grubb, Dr. J. Cornwell Round, Mr. and Mrs. S. D. Pears, Rev. Arthur Parker, Mr. A. C. Duff, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Cumming, Colonel Lowry, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Mrs. J. W. M. Cotton and Miss Cotton, Mr. and Mrs. O. H. Bensley, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss Forman, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY stated that he had hoped that the Secretary of State would be present at the meeting, but he had received a letter from him in which he sent his best wishes for the occasion, and expressed regret at his inability to attend owing to an important engagement.

Letters of regret had also been received from Lord Ampthill, Lord Islington, Lord Carmichael, and Sir Malcolm Seton.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the best I can do for you on this occasion is, without delay, to call upon Mr. Cotton to give us the paper, which we all look forward to with so much interest, on the "Castes and Customs in Malabar."

The LECTURER read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure I speak for you all when I say that we have listened with the greatest possible interest to Mr. Cotton's paper; we have a further pleasure to look forward to to-day, for I see in the audience men who know Malabar, having spent some years there, and may thus be able to contribute to the discussion which usually follows the reading of one of our papers. I have now the privilege and

great pleasure of calling upon Sir John Rees. Sir John Rees occupied the position of Resident in Travancore and Cochin, so that no one has a better right to open our discussion. We have also others present who have filled positions on the West Coast, and I hope they will follow Sir John Rees.

Sir J. D. REES said that when one saw a paper with the name of Cotton on it one anticipated something in a kindly, friendly, and loving spirit towards people in India; that was the spirit of the lecturer's father and is the spirit of the lecturer himself. It was a great pleasure and privilege to anyone who knew the Malabar coast to hear the paper read. He quite agreed with the lecturer that Malabar was outside the tourist route, and one did not meet anybody who knew anything about it except those who had been stationed there. Malabar coast was a land of paradox inasmuch as it was beyond all comparison the most Christian part of India (25 per cent. being Christians), but it was also beyond all comparison the most Hindu part, being the only part of India where the old custom of matriarchy survived, and it was also the part of India in which the Mohammedans were just now most conspicuous. He therefore claimed for it that it was the most Christian, the most Hindu, and the most Mohammedan part of India, and, beyond all comparison, it was the most beautiful part, inhabited by the most beautiful people and particularly by the most beautiful women, who were famous for their beauty all over the East. As to the customs of the people the lecturer had told the meeting a good deal, but as an instance of the extraordinary difficulty there was in getting the people in this country to understand anything concerning their fellow subjects in India he would like to mention that when he was a member of the Joint Committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons dealing with the Reform Bill, which had lately come into operation, greatly to Mr. Cotton's satisfaction, the Committee were asked to regard the Nâyars of the Western Coast as members of the oppressed classes and to protect them against the ravages of the Brahmins, their nearest relations, with whom they were practically on a social level, and whom they copied in all their acts and deeds! But when it came to the real difficulty which was anticipated by the Joint Committee, the oppression of other castes by the Brahmins, that did not happen in Malabar or in any other parts of the Madras Presidency, nor had he (the speaker) ever expected it would. Then again he had heard it said that the women on the Western Coast were polyandrous, but in fact they were not; they had one husband at a time. He believed that was monogamy, and if to have several husbands in succession was polyandrous, then that description could be applied to many people living in England. (Laughter.) The women were in no sense polygamous, although it was an expression commonly applied to them. From his knowledge of the Coast, on which he lived for several years, he would say that marriages amongst present-day Nâyars were ordinarily as permanent as in many a European community. The privilege referred to by the lecturer in his paper was exercised in a manner which was in accordance with the monogamous instincts which women everywhere, he believed, had; they did not dismiss their husbands except

for very good reason, and any husband who approached to good conduct would very likely be kept on for good and all. In European communities there were two systems—the Continental system, in which the girl was married to somebody chosen by her parents, and the British system, where she married a person whom she preferred, just when her judgment was obscured by love. But in Malabar what happened was that the girl, as soon as she reached the year of discretion, was necessarily married; she went through a ceremony of marriage and wore a *tali*, and then was technically a married woman. That was the Continental system, and then there was the English system superadded when she actually married the man of her choice. That system had all the merits and none of the disadvantages of the Continental and the English systems. Turning to the present position of the Moplahs, he regarded the matter, which was also one which arose out of the paper, as of the first political importance. Mr. Cotton had pointed out that the Moplahs were the descendants of Arab fathers and the beautiful women of the Western Coast; they were most fanatical; their customs were Hindu, they spoke Hindu languages, and all their outlook was, in almost every respect, Hindu except in regard to their religion. It was quite true they had frequently broken out and there had been many disturbances, but such had been hitherto of an agrarian class, the Moplahs being poor fanatical tenants of rich Hindus, and it did not take very much to create a disturbance in such conditions. But with regard to the Caliphate question, they were immediate followers of that branch of the Mohammedans—the Sunnis—which was represented more particularly by the Caliph at Constantinople; they had been preached at by propagandist missionaries, and they had opportunity to attack the English on the ground that the people of England were the enemies of the Turks, and the Mohammedans, and allies of the Greeks who were fighting the Turks. The matter was of the utmost importance; there could be no political question of more importance at the moment. The King of England was ruler of many more Mohammedan than of Christian subjects, and it was absolutely necessary for trade that the English should be on good terms with their Mohammedan subjects. By sympathizing with the Greeks and Armenians we had succeeded in throwing the Mohammedans into the arms of the seditious section of the Hindus which was estranged from us. We had failed to conclude a full and generous peace with the Turks; we had allowed the Greeks to encroach upon and live in the great Turkish port of Smyrna; bit by bit we had excluded the Turks from Europe, we had driven them over to Asia Minor, and on Asia Minor we had planted their greatest enemies, the Greeks. In this situation how could there be peace between the Mohammedan and the Christian subjects of the King? He said that the subject was one of the utmost importance, and, Mr. Cotton having given him the opportunity and Lord Pentland having called upon him, he would not on any account lose the opportunity of calling attention to the fact that the question affected everyone vitally, and must be settled before real peace in the British Empire could be obtained. It was impossible to get good trade, harmony, or reconstruction until we had convinced our Mohammedan subjects that we were their friends, and that

we were a great, just, and generous race, and were capable of doing what was right and just in this matter, when it was moreover entirely in our own interest to do what the Mohammedans wanted. (Applause.)

Mr. CUMMING said that his experience of the West Coast was restricted to four or five months, so he was not in a position to add to the discussion. He would only like to endorse all that Sir John Rees had said as to the extreme interest of Mr. Cotton's paper.

Mr. LUPRON said that he was the solitary tourist who found his way to the Malabar Coast (1915)—(Hear, hear)—and, although he had not been there, like Sir John Rees, thirty years or so, he had certainly been there thirty hours and perhaps a good deal longer than that, and he could certainly endorse what the lecturer had said about the beauty of the landscape, about the mountains, about the rivers, about the cocoanut palms, and about the houses each surrounded with its own fence and its own garden. He had to take the description of the castes and local customs from the lecturer, because that he had no time to investigate, but he did see the lovely cultivated plain and the fishermen. He had had a great deal of pleasure in listening to the lecture, and he wished it would be his good fortune to go to Malabar again. He would like to endorse every word uttered by Sir John Rees as to the vital importance of the King of this country and the Emperor of India making his peace with the Mohammedan religion, so that this great empire might be a peaceful empire where Mohammedans and Christians, and Hindus would be peaceful citizens side by side as they were before the disastrous war upset the peace of the world. (Applause.)

Mr. SITARAM said he wished to make a few remarks upon the paper. The caste system in Malabar was very peculiar, but it could be very easily explained by anyone who knew it. The Nambudri corresponds to the Brahmin caste of India. Namburi means our own Brahmin as opposed to the outside Brahmin, who was called Pattar. Nambudri is a mistake for Namburi. In South India the word Pillai or Vellalan signified a man who cultivated the soil, and in Malabar the Náyars were the cultivators, the name being derived from the word Nayan, which means agricultural landlord, as opposed to Tiyan—a serf, a low-class fellow. The Malabar Náyars were none other than the agriculturists who flowed from the East Coast into Malabar. With regard to the customs of the people of Malabar, similar customs prevailed in other parts of India which had not been affected by the Islamic invasions. He did not know whether the lecturer had made clear the institution of Talikattu Kalyanam and the institution of *sambandham*, which was essentially a South Indian institution. In South India every girl was betrothed (Talikattu Kalyanam or Panigrahanam) before she was twelve years old; it was considered right that a girl should be married or should be placed under the guidance of a man before she attained that age, and so, in the same way, in Malabar before a girl attained the age of twelve or thirteen some person had authority over her, and Malabar being freer than the rest of South India Talikattu had not the same rigour as elsewhere. The Malabar *sambandham* was an exact replica of the South India custom, Santi or Tirakshi

Kalyanam. As regards the "*uli tying*," it was performed by a high class man, for he could marry a lower class woman, but he could not marry a higher class woman (*cf.* the law of Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages). In conclusion he said he spoke with knowledge of the subject, as he had been in Malabar for five years and had travelled throughout India.

Mr. BENSLEY said he would like to mention that in Travancore, where he had been for some time, the artisan caste ranked higher than the Illuvans. With regard to what the lecturer said about the Nambudris, he had had three people of that caste working under him. One was a Nambudripád and the other two were Nambudris. The Nambudripád was a chief constable and the other two were inspectors of police, so that they sometimes unbent from their lordly attitude.

Miss F. R. SCATCHERD asked whether the lecturer, when he used the words "the wide and almost universal acceptance of spirit-worship and the almost entire absence of religious life" meant ancestor-worship as in China. (The LECTURER: No, it does not mean that.) With regard to what Sir John Rees had said about the difficulties in the Indian Empire at the present moment, it seemed to her that the remedy would be for a thoroughly impartial historical statement to be prepared which would show the growth of the Frankenstein which threatened the peace of India with regard to the Khalifat. It seemed to her it had grown and grown; there was a great deal of truth and untruth in it, but unless that Frankenstein were reduced to its proper proportions it would threaten very gravely the best interests of all concerned.

In answer to Miss Scatcherd the LECTURER said that when he spoke of "spirit-worship" he did not mean anything more than animism—good spirits, bad spirits, and so on—which was found, not only amongst Malabars, but others.

To this Miss SCATCHERD replied that the question was put on account of the phrase "almost entire absence of religious life," she having understood that animism was primitive religion.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, our discussion has apparently come to an end. We have had a very interesting paper, for which I think we must all thank the East India Association, which has brought us here, and also thank Mr. Cotton. (Applause.) Very little remains to be said of Malabar and its castes and customs. It is not necessary for me to add anything to what Mr. Cotton has said. He has brought out the leading features, and he has also added some very useful and welcome hints as to the sources from which much of his information has been derived, and by those finger-posts he has directed us to further information if we like to seek for it. I agree with him that the modern book about Malabar remains to be written, and I hope that one result of his address to-day may be to inspire somebody to—

The LECTURER: Find a publisher.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall only add a word or two to what Sir John Rees has said about the Moplahs. A great deal of severe criticism has been passed upon the Moplahs lately. I should like to say a word for the Moplahs. The Moplah is not at all a bad fellow, as Sir John Rees will

agree. Years ago he made not at all a bad soldier, and I am told that in the Kolar gold-field and in other labour undertakings he is not at all a bad worker. I can also remember that one of my personal staff told me that once upon a time he had the best District Police team in the Presidency, or as good as any, composed entirely of Moplahs—District Police football team. So the Moplahs are not always altogether bad fellows. They are fine, good, healthy material, and, too, as a community, they are not altogether unprogressive. It is nine years since I paid my first visit to Malabar, and I remember distinctly on that occasion meeting the leading Moplahs, who told me then that fifty-seven new schools had been opened that very year for Moplahs in the Malabar district; that there was a Moplah deputy collector, a Moplah deputy inspector of police, and a Moplah tahsildar, with many Moplah officials holding subordinate positions, as well as Moplah clerks, in the district. So that, although they are subject, as Sir John Rees has pointed out, to these fanatical outbreaks now and again, they are not altogether an unprogressive people. They are excellent material and there is no reason why in time to come they should not be a far more valuable element of the population than they are now. Let me say one word personally, if I may, why I am sure all people who have anything to do with Madras must especially welcome Mr. Cotton's interest in Malabar on the present occasion. Mr. Cotton belongs to a family which for five generations has served in India, and has been deeply interested in India—for five generations in direct line—and if he will forgive me referring to these personal things, I would like just to say how much such hereditary family connections with India count and have counted in the past. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I have the pleasure myself of knowing Mr. Cotton's brother, who is now District Judge at Coimbatore. Many of you must have known his father, Sir Henry Cotton, who was in Parliament and held the position of Chief Commissioner in Assam; and again, Sir Henry Cotton's father, Mr. Cotton's grandfather, was a Madras civilian, and for many years Judge of Masulipatam, which some of us here know pretty well. Then again, in the earlier generation, his great-grandfather, Mr. John Cotton, was a director of the East India Company for twenty years, and was chairman of it in 1843. I go one step further back, five generations, to his great-great-grandfather, born in 1745, who commanded an East Indiaman, and was a director of the East India Company from 1785 to 1823. Men who know India know well for how much such honourable and enduring connections with India count in the maintenance of that intimate connection between Britain and India which has lasted so long and which we wish to see last for many years yet to come. For that particular reason also I would commend Mr. Cotton and his paper to your cordial gratitude this afternoon. (Loud applause.)

The LECTURER in reply to the discussion on the paper said that he desired in the first place to thank his friend Sir John Rees for his remarks, which were the more valuable because they were founded upon first hand knowledge of Malabar. But might he say that while the Moplahs were undoubtedly fanatical believers in the Khalifat, the fact remained that

the people whom they had attacked most savagely and persistently in the present rising were the Hindus? The rising was unquestionably fomented by the Khalifat agitators, but it had rapidly taken the form of an anti-Hindu campaign. The Azhuvanchéri Tamburákkal, who was the Hindu High-Priest of Malabar, had been forced to fly for his life to Travancore, and his residence had been looted. The connection between such an incident and the woes of the Osmanli Sultan was certainly faint, and he might say the same of the forcible conversion to Islam which had befallen thousands of Hindus. He was much interested in the observations offered by Mr. Sitaram. Speaking as a humble disciple in the presence of a master, he would venture, however, to suggest that Mr. Sitaram was going too far in trying to reduce castes in South India to the same common denominator. It reminded him of the uncomfortable practice attributed to Procrustes, who had a bed made upon which he made his visitors lie. If they were too long he simply cut off the members that protruded, and if they were too small he stretched them until they fitted. Mr. Sitaram endeavoured to convey the impression that the Náyers were identical with the Vellalas, or cultivators, of Southern India; but he hardly thought that the suggestion would meet with approval if it were made to a high-class Náyar. By the mail from India that morning he had received some most helpful comments on his paper from Mr. K. N. Krishna Kurup, district munsif of Walluwanad, whom the Moplahs had driven away from his court-house. The notes would, he hoped, be published in due course in the ASIATIC REVIEW. But he would take leave to point out to Mr. Sitaram that the North Malabar sub-caste of Náyers to which Mr. Krishna Kurup belonged claimed to rank with the Kiriyaattils, who were the highest among the Náyers, and would greatly resent the notion that they were no better than Vellalas. As a matter of fact, the Náyers had always taken a superior position in Malabar. There was, for example, not much of the Vellala suggestion about the following observation, made in 1746 by a representative of the Honourable Company at Calicut: "These Náyers," he wrote, "being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the Parliament and do not obey the King's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts." He might also mention that his Náyar friend had assured him that the *táti*-tying ceremony was rapidly going out of fashion, owing partly to the expense and partly also because it was coming to be regarded as a needless ceremony. His last observation was in the nature of a confession. Mr. Lupton (*terque quarterque beatus*) had been so fortunate as to spend thirty hours in Malabar. He (the speaker) had not been there even thirty minutes, but he was glad to find nevertheless that his paper had survived the scrutiny of such experts as Sir John Rees and Mr. Bensley (who in his modesty had forgotten to tell them that he had spent forty years in Travancore) and that nothing very shocking in the nature of blunders had been discovered. It was alarmingly easy to go wrong, and as an instance he would refer to a page of "special" pictures which had appeared in *The Sphere* of October 15, and which purported to deal with "the Armed Revolt of the Moplahs." The first picture was labelled "Native Women." This was

true enough, but the women were all Hindus. The second picture was said to represent "A Typical Moplah," but the man selected was a typical Náyár. The third picture was called "A Delegate from the Patriarch at Antioch amongst the Moplahs," but what was given was a snapshot of a group made up of a Jacobite bishop, two Jacobite priests, and a small crowd of Syrian Christians in the background who were prominently displaying a couple of crucifixes. The fourth picture was a view of a river scene, "At Kunankulam in the Moplah Country." The place certainly existed, but it happened to be in the Cochin State, and 95 per cent. of the population were Christians. The path to perdition being so delightfully easy, he was much relieved to find that he had managed to escape it. He was greatly obliged to those present for having come in such large numbers and for giving him such a cordial reception.

Mr. SITARAM said that at the present time a Náyár may stoutly deny that he was equal in status with a Pillai or Vellalan, but history could not go wrong. According to the derivation both words came from the roots signifying similar things. Practically 30 per cent. of the present-day Náyars were not particular whether they called themselves Náyars or Pillais. In Travancore there was a learned judge and others who called themselves Pillais. The words Náyár and Pillai really meant the same, and even at the present time there were quite a large number of Náyars who did agricultural work. It would be found from thousands of inscriptions and from various documents that the Náyár of Malabar corresponded with the Pillai or the agriculturist of South India, and at the present time there were quite a large number of Náyars who were landowners and who did agricultural work.

Hearty votes of thanks having been accorded the lecturer for his interesting paper and the chairman for having taken the chair at the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

NOTES BY MR. K. M. KRISHNA KURUP,
District Munsif of Walluvanád.

1. The Embrándiris domiciled in Malabar adopt some of the customs of the Nambudris. They exchange their pigtail for the kudumi (top-knot). Some of them have assumed the title of Nambudri and follow all their customs. The Kattamatatti Nambudris—a fairly large family of *janmis* owning land both in North and in South Malabar, and a family of famous *mantravadis*—were originally Embrándiris.

2. The Azhuvanchéri Tambrakal [Tamburákkal] is the High Priest of Hindu Malabar. He officiates at the coronation of the Zamarin and the Maharájá of Travancore. His residence was looted in the recent Moplah outbreak, but he had left it previously with all his family for a place of safety in Travancore.

3. The statement requires modification [p. 12 of the paper] that "Náyár males can partake of meals prepared by any Náyár without distinction of sub-caste." If the food is prepared by a member of any of the three superior sub-castes of Kiriyaṁ [Kiriyaṭtil] Chárna or Súdra Náyars, it can

be taken by all other Náyers, male or female, without offending against the rites of inter-dining ; but no Náyar, male or female, belonging to these sub-castes will eat the food cooked by any other class of Náyers.

4. A high-class Nambudri male is not permitted to eat the food cooked by a Sámantan.

5. A tank is polluted by the approach of a Tiyan or Cheruman only when it is actually being used by a Nambudri or a Náyar. Kammálans [artisans] cast off their atmospheric pollution when they approach a house with the implements of their craft.

6. The tili tying wedding—tálikattu kalyanam—is rapidly going out of fashion, partly owing to economic causes and partly owing to a feeling that the ceremony is meaningless. It was not performed, for example, in the case of Sir Sankaran Nair's three younger daughters.

7. Náyar women carry umbrellas. It is the Tiyan women who carry in their hands hats of the kind mentioned on p. 21 of the paper.

[The author of these interesting notes is a Náyar. The title Kurup is used by some Kiriyaṭṭil Náyers, but it is not common in South Malabar. The Purattu Chárna Náyers in Chirakkal and Kottayam Taluks in North Malabar also use the title and claim to rank with Kiriyaṭṭil Náyers, and not with the Purattu Chárna Náyers of South Malabar. See "Malabar Gazetteer," pp. 116, 120.—H. E. A. C.]

HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER IN INDIA

BY ARTHUR T. ARNALL

B.SC., M.INST.C.E., A.M.I.E.E., M.I.E.(INDIA)

THE development of the water-power resources of a country depends not only on the facilities provided by Nature, but also on the facilities afforded by Government for the exploitation of this national asset. It also depends on the demand that exists for power within an economic transmission distance of the power sites. But it should be noted that many successful schemes have been promoted where no demand existed for power, and an outlet was provided for the energy by the establishment of new industries.

The water-power resources of India have been dealt with in more papers than one, as also have the possible outlets for such power. The question of terms under which concessions are granted by Government and the general facilities afforded by Government for water-power development have, however, been so far untouched, and for these reasons it is the intention of the present writer to devote himself largely to this aspect of the problem.

CONCESSIONS.—In Great Britain the authority to develop a water-power site is obtained by means of private treaty with the various interests involved, or when necessary by an Act of Parliament; but in India the necessary rights cannot be obtained by private treaty, and procedure by legislation for such a purpose is unknown. In British India the necessary authority is obtained, on the other hand, in the form of concessions from Local Governments. The Native States of India, speaking generally, have power to grant water-power concessions within their territories on their own terms; the writer, however, does not propose to deal with the question of concessions in Native States, and restricts the scope of this paper to matters concerning the development of hydro-electric power in

British India. The various Irrigations Acts* in the provinces empower Local Governments to use and control for public purposes the waters of all rivers and streams flowing in natural channels. Local Governments also have powers to acquire land under the Land Acquisition Act† for water-power schemes, and to transfer such land on terms to a company.

Before a concession for a water-power scheme is granted, it is necessary for the applicant to put up a definite scheme, and for this purpose the Local Government will usually grant a conditional prior claim to the power site for a period of three years, with the necessary authority to enable the promoters to enter upon, survey, dig trial pits to prove foundations, and make all other necessary investigations to outline the project.

LAND ACQUISITION.—Before the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act can be put into force, there must be an enquiry by an officer appointed by the Local Government into the questions—(a) whether the proposed acquisition “is needed for the construction of some work,” and (b) whether “such work is likely to prove useful to the public.” If the Government officer reports affirmatively on both points, the company must then enter into an agreement with the Secretary of State for India in Council, which shall cover to the satisfaction of the Local Government the terms and conditions on which the land shall be held by the company. The interpretation of the words “likely to prove useful to the public,” occurring in the Act, has been the subject of much discussion. There is no definition of what constitutes a public purpose in the Act, nor any limitation regarding what is likely to prove useful to the public. Both these matters are left to the absolute discretion of the Local Government‡ at the enquiry held under Section 40 of the Act, and once a decision has been given it is not open to appeal. The difficulty which arises upon such a state of things is obvious; for what may appear to one Government servant likely to prove useful to the public may not appear to another in the same light. One man may give

* *E.g.*, the Bengal Irrigation Act, 1876, Section 6.

† Land Acquisition Act, 1894. Extends to the whole of British India. Amended by Section 57 of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910.

‡ *Ezra v. Secretary of State* (1902), Indian Law Reports, 30 Calcutta Series.

a much wider interpretation to the words of the Act than the other. The applicant for a concession may therefore be in very considerable doubt as to the points on which he will have to satisfy the officer holding the enquiry when the time arrives, after the flotation of the company, for the enquiry to be held. The promoter of a water-power scheme for the public supply of electric power, which it is clear from the outset is a public utility undertaking, is not in doubt in this matter; but the position is not clear, for example, in the case of a water-power scheme for the supply of power exclusively for the purposes of an electrochemical industry. Yet the development of such industries is a matter of great interest to the country.

The question whether it should not be possible to acquire land under the Land Acquisition Act for companies for industrial purposes pure and simple was debated before the Indian Industrial Commission.* While the Commission was uncertain whether the Act needed revision,† it recommended that a Local Government should acquire land on behalf of an industrial concern when it is satisfied—(1) that the industry itself will, on reaching a certain stage of development, be in the “interest” of the general public; and (2) that there are no reasonable prospects of the industry reaching such a stage of development without the acquisition proposed. This recommendation is receiving attention, and it is possible that rules may be issued to regulate the application of the Act in what may at present be viewed as doubtful cases. Due consideration will no doubt be given to the requirements of water-power schemes for purposes which might not be considered “useful” to the public at large, but which are nevertheless of “public interest.”

Other matters in respect of which the position has not yet crystallized and on which it would appear desirable that rules should be issued are—(a) the terms and conditions which properly belong to water-power concessions, and (b) the terms and conditions which should properly be inserted in agreements

* Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-1918), Chapter XIII.

† According to Section 41 (5) of the Act, the Local Government is required to insert in the agreement with the Secretary of State “the terms on which the public shall be entitled to use the work.” This clause of the Act may need amendment.

for the compulsory acquisition of land for water-power schemes. The important point to observe in this matter is that a company is floated on the concession granted by Government, and it is only after the flotation that the agreement with the Secretary of State can be drafted and signed for the acquisition of land under the Land Acquisition Act. The promoter, therefore, should know exactly how he stands, as regards the terms and conditions for the compulsory purchase of land, when taking up a concession and before the flotation of his company. He should be in a position to inform the investing public fully on all the liabilities which the undertaking will involve. To effect this the terms and conditions that are to be inserted in the land agreement, to be entered into after the flotation of the company, should follow strictly defined lines, in accordance with the Land Acquisition Act and rules under that Act, and should be the same for water-power schemes as for all other cases where the provisions of the Act are put into force. If in addition to these terms and conditions, Government considers it proper that further terms and conditions should be imposed on the development of water-power resources, it should state such additional terms and conditions in the concession, so that the promoter and the investing public shall know their full liabilities at the date of flotation of the company. There have been instances, within the knowledge of the writer, of terms being discussed in the drafting of agreements for the compulsory acquisition of land for water-power schemes which had not been as clearly stated as they should have been before the flotation of the company, which should have been set forth fully in the original concession, and which did not properly belong to the land agreement at all. For an example of terms which do not properly belong to the land acquisition agreement in which they have been inserted, one may refer to the agreement, dated November 25, 1919, published in the Supplement to the Bombay Government Gazette, December 25, 1919, entered into between the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co., Ltd., and the Secretary of State, for the acquisition of land for the company's hydraulic works, generating station, transmission lines, and construction railway. Under this agreement the company is not only required to pay the usual compensation for the land, but also to pay to

Government a further sum equal to the total cost of such compensation, for the purpose of rehabilitating the disturbed ryot elsewhere. It may be the opinion of some that such an additional payment, which in this case may amount to as much as £100,000, should and can be borne by water-power undertakings in India; but what the writer wishes to point out is that such terms, if justifiable, should not appear in land agreement, but form part of the terms of the concession.

The mineral policy of the Government of India is an example of a policy governing the granting of concessions which has crystallized into definite form. Here Government has realized that to attract the investor stability of policy is necessary, and it has issued rules for the grant of mineral concessions, applicable throughout British India, which are so framed as not to leave doubt in the mind of any investor as to the conditions governing the development of the mineral resources of India.

LICENCE FOR SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY.—In addition to the concession and the land acquisition agreement, the power company in most cases will need a licence granted by the Local Government under the Indian Electricity Act of 1910. Such a licence would be required by a company which proposed to undertake the business of supplying electric energy to the public generally within specified areas; but it would not be necessary in every case, and would not, for example, be required by an undertaking supplying power exclusively to a number of electrochemical factories located adjacent to the generating station.

TRANSMISSION LINES.—For the construction of transmission lines from the generating station to distant areas of supply, the Governor-General in Council has authority* to confer upon a licensee such of the powers which the telegraph authority possess under the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, as may be necessary.† These powers cannot be conferred upon non-licensees, and if a company desires to transmit power in bulk to distant towns and electrochemical factories, it may be

* Under Section 51 of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910.

† Authority to erect power transmission lines should be given under the Indian Electricity Act, and not by reference to the Indian Telegraph Act, which deals with an altogether different class of voltage and poles, and the Indian Electricity Act should be amended accordingly.

necessary for the company to obtain a licence, although it does not contemplate the actual distribution of the power to the public. For important lines, transmitting power to large industrial centres or to railways, it will generally be found desirable to purchase a strip of land on which to erect the line, and construct a pathway for the purpose of the better protection of the public and the proper and regular inspection and maintenance of the line. Licencees should be able to obtain the necessary land for this purpose under the Land Acquisition Act; here, again, as things are at present, there may be difficulty if the line is for the transmission of power exclusively to, say, an electrochemical factory.

INTEREST DURING CONSTRUCTION.—The Local Government has power under the Indian Companies Act* to sanction the payment by a registered company of interest out of capital during the period of construction, on the share capital paid up, at a rate not exceeding 4 per cent. per annum, or such lower rate as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe. Before the war this limit was satisfactory, and the flotation of large water-power schemes practicable. In recent years, however, Government has issued many large loans in India at $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., income tax free, and the present position of a promoter of a large water-power scheme, which will take four to five years to construct, is a very difficult one. Companies incorporated in Great Britain under the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, are also limited to the payment of interest out of capital during construction, at a rate not exceeding 4 per cent. per annum; but companies in Great Britain undertaking large water-power schemes are usually constituted under private Acts of Parliament, and can in that way obtain special powers in this and in other respects. The writer considers that the Indian Companies Act should be amended to permit of a higher rate of interest being paid.

Work is the one great requirement of the times, and adhesion to this 4 per cent. limit, which was copied from the English Act and fixed under totally different circumstances from those ruling now, has a throttling effect on many schemes which would go far towards providing that work. A large water-power scheme, for example, cannot be carried out with-

* Indian Companies Act, 1913, Section 107.

out creating work in countless different ways. It employs a large amount of staff and labour locally for a number of years in the construction of the works; prospective consumers of the power build new factories and extend old ones; large orders are placed for hydraulic and electrical plant and materials; and when the scheme is complete, a new and permanent demand is created for staff and labour for the operation of the power scheme and for the numerous industries, themselves in turn reproductive, brought into existence by the new supply of cheap power. Cheap electrical energy is one of the most valuable "raw materials" of modern times, and every factor contributing to its development should receive the serious attention of Government.

It may be suggested that the necessary authority for developing large water-power schemes in India should be obtained by means of private legislation, as in Great Britain, if exceptional powers are necessary. Such procedure is at present unknown in India, and, until the Legislative Councils have had time to develop, it cannot be assumed that the decision of a Parliamentary Committee would be automatically accepted by the Legislative Council in the same way as similar decisions are accepted automatically in Great Britain. Even in Great Britain this procedure is open to criticism; only recently the Water-Power Resources Committee of the Board of Trade expressed the view* that a prominent factor in arresting the wider development of water-power schemes in Great Britain is the costly, protracted, and inefficient system of obtaining the necessary authority by means of a private Bill.

COMPULSORY PURCHASE.—The local authority, or in certain circumstances the Local Government, has the option of compulsorily purchasing a licensed undertaking after the expiration of a period not exceeding fifty years from the date of commencement of the licence, at a sum equal to the fair market value of the lands, buildings, works, materials, and plant of the undertaking at the time of purchase, but excluding the generating station unless it is declared in the licence as forming part of the undertaking for the purpose of compulsory purchase. The Indian Electricity Act is not clear as to

* Board of Trade Water-Power Resources Committee, Interim Report, February 10, 1919.

whether the term "generating station" includes all the lands, reservoirs, and other hydraulic works of a water-power undertaking. There should be no doubt in this important matter, and the Act should be made clear.

LOCHABER WATER-POWER ACT.—As an illustration of terms obtainable in Great Britain for the development of water-power it will be of interest to make some reference to the Lochaber Water-Power Act, 1921, an Act to incorporate the Lochaber Power Company and to confer powers to enable that company to develop an 80,000 horse-power scheme in Scotland, with the primary object of supplying power for the smelting of aluminium. The Bill was debated in the House and passed by a large majority, and the Act may be regarded as a model piece of legislation for establishing a water-power undertaking in Great Britain. Under it the company has power to borrow on mortgage of the undertaking up to a sum not exceeding one-half of the share capital issued, and power to pay interest out of capital during the period of construction at a rate not exceeding 8 per cent. ; it has a period of five years from the commencement of the Act within which to exercise its powers of compulsory purchase of land, and a period of ten years within which to complete the works. The terms for the purchase of the undertaking by the Board of Trade after periods of thirty and sixty years from the date of commencement of supply are also worthy of special note. If the purchase is made before the expiration of sixty years, the price to be paid is the fair market value of the complete undertaking as a going concern, and compensation to any company or person who suffers loss in consequence of the termination of their contract for supply of power from the undertaking. If the purchase is made after the expiration of sixty years, the price to be paid is a sum equal to the amount of the capital expended on the undertaking less the value of any physical deterioration ; and compensation to the aluminium company, if that company suffers loss by reason of the termination of its contract for supply of power from the undertaking. It will be agreed that the terms and conditions obtainable in Great Britain for the development of water-power schemes are distinctly encouraging, and it might be added that the terms for the compulsory acquisition of land for water-power companies in Great Britain

are the same as the terms for the compulsory acquisition of land for other purposes. There is no question of rehabilitating the displaced peasants and farmers elsewhere at an additional cost to the power company.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.—A large water-power scheme takes several years to construct, and a period of four to five years must necessarily elapse before the undertaking is complete. Owing to this and other great difficulties in the way of financing such schemes at the present time from private sources, various suggestions have been made as to how the State might give financial assistance. Probably three of the most interesting and feasible suggestions are :

1. That the Government Department which is charged with the duty of developing water-power might be provided with a fund for the purpose of starting enterprises with the approval of the Treasury.* (Such a fund, for example, might be used to make advances to undertakings, to be redeemed within an agreed period of, say, twenty years.)
2. That the State, after careful investigation, might guarantee a suitable minimum interest on the necessary capital, sharing at the same time in any profits beyond the amount necessary to provide that interest.†
3. That a local authority might take up shares in the electric supply undertaking of its district, sufficient to make it the important or predominant shareholder.‡

As regards the last suggestion, which is stated to have been working satisfactorily in Germany before the war, it is claimed that in this way the public authority would protect the public and give the company the benefit of its superior credit, while at the same time the benefits of private enterprise would be preserved. If this system were adopted in India, the authority to hold the shares would be the Local Government, which is in a position to guide the ultimate economic development of large systems of interconnected generating stations supplying power to a number of towns and industrial centres, the actual distribution of the energy to the public being undertaken, if desired, by municipalities within the limits of their respective areas.

* Board of Trade Water-Power Resources Committee, Second Interim Report, June 5, 1920.

† Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies (London) Water-Power Committee, Preliminary Report, July, 1918.

‡ Second Report on the Water-Power Resources of India (Government of India), 1920.

It is doubtful, however, whether Governments or municipalities for many years to come will have funds which can be put to such a purpose, and particularly so in India, where so much money is urgently needed for the improvement and extension of irrigation schemes, roads, railways, and town water-supplies and drainage works. Further, these suggestions seem to be based on the assumption that, short of giving financial assistance, Government has already gone as far as it can to meet the promoter of water-power schemes.

This can hardly be claimed to be so in India, where Government's policy with respect to the development of its water-power resources has not had time to crystallize. The more expeditious way for the present of encouraging the development of India's water-powers lies in inducing Government to review its policy regarding water-power concessions, with the object of seeing how it can be stabilized and how water-power concessions can be made more attractive in future, rather than in attempting to obtain financial assistance from a Government already hard pressed to find funds for other and perhaps more urgent public works. If Government is in a position to render financial assistance in the development of the country's water-powers, that assistance could best be given in the construction of the roads and railways, which are usually necessary in any large scheme, and are works which eventually can be opened to general public use, and also in the rehabilitation, where considered proper, of the ryot displaced from areas submerged by storage reservoirs.

WATER-POWER RESOURCES AND SURVEYS.—During and since the war the question of developing the water-power resources of the British Empire has received a great deal of prominence and attention. The Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies in London formed a Water-Power Committee to report on what is at present being done to ascertain the amount and distribution of water-power in the British Empire, and three reports were submitted.* The Board of Trade appointed a Water-Power Resources Committee in 1918 to examine and report on the water-power resources of the United Kingdom,

* Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies (London) Water-Power Committee, Preliminary Report, July, 1918; Second Report, March, 1918; Third Report, January, 1921.

the terms of reference being subsequently enlarged, and the Committee was directed to consider and report "what steps should be taken to ensure that the water resources of the country are properly conserved and fully and systematically utilized for all purposes." This Committee has issued four reports.* A separate report† was issued for Ireland.

The Indian Industrial Commission appointed by the Government of India in May, 1916, to examine and report on the possibilities of further industrial development in India, recommended in its report‡ that Government should make a systematic survey of the country to ascertain what hydro-electric possibilities exist. Acting on this suggestion, two eminent engineers were appointed§ in 1918, with instructions to look into the question and to make recommendations as to how the work should be carried out. After these officers had made a tour over India and Burma a preliminary report|| was published in 1919. It was then decided that the survey should be carried out in each province under the orders of the Local Government, in consultation with the two officers appointed by the Government of India to take charge of the whole survey. The survey is now proceeding on these lines, and a second report¶ was published in 1920.

The Indian water-power survey has up to the present disclosed the existence of over 130 possible water-power sites, of which, however, only a small percentage have been thoroughly examined. It is estimated that there is a total of 1,774,000 continuous electrical horse-power already in sight in India. This is vastly below the actual available power that final results of the survey will disclose. Many millions of horse-power could certainly be obtained from the Himalayan Mountains and the great rivers of Burma. For example, the combined

* Board of Trade Water-Power Resources Committee, Interim Report, February 10, 1919; Second Interim Report, June 5, 1920; Third Interim Report (Tidal Power), December 1, 1920; Final Report, November 17, 1921.

† Board of Trade, Report of the Water-Power Resources of Ireland Sub-Committee, December 6, 1920.

‡ Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-1918), Chapter VI.

§ The late Mr. G. T. Barlow, C.I.E., Chief Engineer, Irrigation Branch, United Provinces, and Mr. J. W. Meares, M.INST.C.E., Electrical Adviser to the Government of India.

|| Preliminary Report on the Water-Power Resources of India, 1919.

¶ Second Report on the Water-Power Resources of India, 1920.

minimum discharges of the Indus, Chenab, Jhelum, Sutlej, Beas, Jumna, and Ravi Rivers amounts to over 36,000 cubic feet a second, where they enter the plains,* which is equivalent to over 3,000,000 horse-power per 1,000 feet of fall; and these rivers and the tributaries that feed them rise in mountains up to 20,000 feet or more in altitude. Similar considerations apply to the Ganges, the Sarda, and many rivers rising outside British India to the east up to the Brahmaputra, and again in Burma to the Irrawaddy and the Salween. The bulk of these tremendous resources will, however, remain untouched for many years, until electrical engineers develop means of transmitting energy economically up to distances as great as 500 to 1,000 miles. This is not improbable. Fifty years ago, one would have viewed the economic transmission of electrical energy up to distances as great as 250 miles as equally improbable; yet we do that now.

Table I. gives a list of the existing hydro-electric plants in India, totalling 91,325 electric horse-power installed; and Table II. a list of plants being installed, totalling 148,750 electrical horse-power. It may be noted that, out of a total capacity of 240,075 electrical horse-power of plant installed and under construction in India, 189,000 electrical horse-power, or 79 per cent. of the total for India, is for the supply of power to Bombay City, and is due to the enterprise of an Indian firm, Messrs. Tata Sons of Bombay. The development of water-power in Bombay will be referred to later in detail.

TABLE I.—EXISTING HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANTS IN INDIA.

	Installed, Electrical Horse Power.			
Bengal :				
Darjeeling Municipality	600
Bombay :				
Bhatghar Dam	300
Gokak Water-Power Co.	2,100
Tata Hydro-Electric P.S. Co.	50,000
Burma :				
Burma Ruby Mines	560
Kanbank Wolfram Mine	500
Kashmir :				
Jammu Power Installation	910
Jhelum Power Installation	5,360
Madras :				
Government Cordite Factory	1,350

* Preliminary Report on the Water-Power Resources of India, 1919, p. 47.

				Installed, Electrical Horse-Power.
Mysore :				
Cauvery Power Scheme	...	...	...	22,650
North-West Frontier :				
Malakhand Canal	...	...	...	330
Patiala :				
Patiala H.E. Scheme	...	...	...	285
Punjab :				
Amritsar H.E. Works	...	...	...	270
New Egerton Woollen Mills	...	...	...	900
Simla Municipality	...	...	...	1,680
Travancore :				
Pulivassal H.E. Scheme	...	...	...	530
United Provinces :				
Ganges Head-works	...	...	...	600
Mussoorie Municipality	...	...	...	2,400
Total	...	...	...	91,325

TABLE II.—HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

				Plant being Installed, Electrical Horse-Power.
Bombay :				
Andhra Valley P.S. Co.	...	...	...	64,000
Tata Power Co.	...	...	...	75,000 *
Sikkim :				
Burn and Co.'s project	...	...	...	No details
Burma :				
Burma Mines, Ltd.	...	...	...	9,750
Total	...	...	...	148,750

It was not the intention of the Government of India on appointing the survey officers that they should design complete hydro-electric schemes, and the objects of the survey for the present are limited to ascertaining—(1) where water-power can be developed, (2) how much power can be developed, (3) on what lines the development should proceed, and (4) whether a particular development will be (comparatively speaking) a cheap one, a moderately expensive one, a very expensive or, perhaps, prohibitive one.† It is doubtful whether Government can do more than this, because to justify expenditure on the design of a power scheme in detail a substantial market for the power must be assured and a knowledge of the requirements of that market ascertained. These are generally difficult and complex problems, involving a great deal of private

* The first stage of development. The final stage will be 150,000 electrical horse-power.

† "The Hydro-Electric Survey of India," by J. W. Meares, *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour*, May, 1921, p. 149.

negotiation with manufacturing firms, and should be left to private promoters. Further, whatever information may be provided by Government, a company undertaking a scheme must depend upon its own engineers for the correctness of the design from a commercial point of view. Certain details such as the profile of a dam are, however, subject to the approval of Government before the work is put in hand, the object of this approval being to ensure that the works have been so designed and shall be so constructed as not to be a source of danger to the public, or interfere with existing rights.

Information valuable to the water-power engineer already exists in India, in maps published by the Government Survey, and in the rainfall and river gauging records of the Meteorological and Irrigation Departments. The Survey Department has published a survey on a scale of one inch to the mile of the whole of the country, including Native States, which is very accurate and gives all necessary levels and points on which to base a detail survey of any part. This survey is undergoing revision, and the new survey sheets give definite contours from which, generally, a rough idea can at once be formed of the possibilities of a water-power site when studied in conjunction with available rainfall records.

Accurate records, extending over a large number of years, of the intensity and amount of rainfall, together with river-gauging records, are essential for the proper design of water-power schemes. A great deal of information on these subjects has already been recorded by the Meteorological and Irrigation Departments, and by railway companies, tea-gardens, and other private concerns, but it is desirable that all existing information should be compiled in a general statement, and early steps taken to supplement it by establishing additional rainfall and river gauging stations over promising water-power districts. This important matter is receiving the attention of Government, and in a few years all essential information for the development of India's water-powers should be available in a concise form for general public use.

An interesting feature of the Final Report of the Water-Power Resources Committee of the Board of Trade is the Report therein published of the Water Resources Sub-Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. J. F. Crowley, on the

compilation and recording of data. The system therein outlined and illustrated has much that should recommend it to the attention of the Government of India, with a view to adoption in India. Such a system started in the early stages of the water-power survey of a country would go a long way in simplifying the work of the survey, and in presenting its results to the public in a concise and comprehensive form.

WATER-POWERS OF THE WESTERN GHATS.—It has already been pointed out that a great deal of detailed information is available from various sources on the present knowledge of India's water-power resources, and on the uses to which those resources might be put. But as an illustration of the importance of their development in the interests of the industrial progress of India, the writer will give a brief outline of what has been and is being done to harness the water-powers of the Western Ghats. We have seen that the hydro-electric schemes constructed and under construction in the Western Ghats constitute about 80 per cent. of the total hydro-electric undertakings in hand in India and Burma, and form by far the greatest development of water-power in the East. It is partly because of this, and partly because the writer has for many years been personally connected with the construction of these hydro-electric undertakings, and is therefore more familiar with them than with similar undertakings in other parts of India, that he has selected them for a brief description.

The accompanying map and Table III. give a general outline and particulars of the existing and contemplated hydro-electric undertakings in the Western Ghats, and their location with respect to Bombay City, the railway systems, and contemplated new industrial centres; contours of the average annual rainfall in inches over the catchment areas of the water-power schemes are also given. There are four hydro-electric schemes under the managing agency of Messrs. Tata Sons, Ltd.—namely, the undertakings of the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co., the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Co. and the Tata Power Co., and the Koyna River project. These four schemes completed would be capable of supplying Bombay City and neighbourhood with 915,000 electrical horse-power (for 3,600 hours each year) at a maximum charge of $\frac{3}{4}$ anna (or three-farthings) per unit. A much less

charge than this is, of course, feasible for electrometallurgical and electrochemical industries located near the power stations. It will be observed that each scheme, for the present, is being undertaken by a separate company, but that all are under the same management, and, it may be added, there are working agreements between the several companies. There is, therefore, no overlapping of interests or duplication of systems in the distribution of the energy to the public, a state of affairs which does exist in many parts of Great Britain, where a number of power companies supply power in the same areas, with the result that the public have to pay more for their supply of electricity than would otherwise be the case. In fact, one of the primary objects of the newly appointed Electricity Commissioners is to unravel this unfortunate state into which the electric supply of Great Britain has drifted. We will now consider each scheme indicated on the map in order from north to south, and then review the development of Bombay City, the market for this great source of power.

The Igatpuri project, which is not as yet designed in detail, may find an outlet for its power in the electrification of the Thull Ghat section of the G.I.P. Railway near Igatpuri, and in providing power for industries at Igatpuri, in the Deccan, where there is one of the finest all-the-year-round climates for industrial labour in peninsular India. Nasik, a few miles from Igatpuri, at present chiefly famous for its golf-course, is an extremely ancient and important Indian town, and on account of its position and delightful and constant climate was once suggested as a site for the capital of India. More recently it has been suggested as a site where the Government of Bombay could establish permanent headquarters. As regards the power site, the writer believes that a catchment area of about 60 square miles can be utilized, with a head of 1,000 feet on the turbines and an available storage capacity of some 3,000 million cubic feet in the proposed reservoirs. The scheme is probably capable of an output of 20,000 electrical horse-power *ex* power-house for 3,600 hours per annum.

The Andhra Valley Power Supply Co.'s undertaking has been under construction about five years, and is now nearing completion, and will commence the supply of power to the public in a few months' time. The entire project was designed

TABLE III.—EXISTING AND CONTEMPLATED WATER-POWER SCHEMES IN THE WESTERN GHATS.

	Igatpur Project.	Andhra Valley P.S. Co., Ltd.	Tata Hydro-Electric P.S. Co., Ltd.	Tata Power Co., Ltd.	Koyna Project.	
					North Lake.	South Lake.
Capital (issued) Rs. (lakhs)	—	210	270	450	—	—
Mortgage Debenture Bonds	—	—	85	—	—	—
Date of incorporation	—	Aug., 1916	Nov., 1910	Sept., 1919	—	—
Commencement of supply	—	—	Feb., 1915	—	—	—
Catchment area (square miles)	58.8	49	22	97	182	164
Reservoir storage (million cubic feet)	4,000	15,000	9,840	18,000	42,000	30,000
Static head on turbines (feet)	1,000	1,730	1,725	1,700	1,900	1,600
Power delivered to Bombay for 3,600 hours each year (H.P.)	—	65,000	50,000 (a)	150,000 (b)	400,000	250,000
Water discharge from power-house (million gallons per day)	—	120	100	300	700	450
Transmission distance to City of Bombay (miles)	—	56	43	77	131	150
Units sold per annum (1919-20)	—	—	95,257,166	—	—	—

The power is generated at 5,000 volts, 3-phase, 50 cycles, and transmitted to Bombay at 100,000 volts.

(a) Capable of extension.

(b) The initial installation will be for 75,000 horse-power only.

by Mr. H. P. Gibbs, a director of Messrs. Tata Sons, and carried out under his supervision by his staff in Bombay. After the flotation of the company and commencement of works, he was assisted by the late Sir Michael Nethersole, Inspector-General of Irrigation in India, who was appointed Chief Hydraulic Engineer to the company upon his retirement from Government service. The generating plant consists of six 8,000 kilowatt sets, generating current at 5,000 volts, 50 cycles. The energy will be transmitted to Bombay City at 100,000 volts, over a transmission line 56 miles in length, where it will be transformed down to 20,000 volts and distributed at that pressure to the consumers by underground cables. The company, realizing that war and post-war prices for plant and materials would greatly increase the development costs over and above the estimates, was able through equitable co-operation with the Bombay mill-owners to secure a contract price of 0·725 anna per unit for the supply at 20,000 volts. The mill-owners will bear the cost of transforming from that pressure to 2,000 volts, the standard pressure for mill-driving in the city, and provide and install their own electrical equipment for driving the mills. The whole output of this undertaking is sold, and the success of the enterprise well assured.

The Tata Hydro-Electric Power Co.'s undertaking has been in operation for six years. A detailed description of this scheme was given in a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts in April, 1918, by Mr. Alfred Dickinson, Consulting Engineer to the company. It was the first scheme of such magnitude to be undertaken in India, and its success is largely responsible for the very extensive development of water-power in the Western Ghats now in progress. It is at present supplying the cotton industry of Bombay with an average load of about 40,000 horse-power. A charge of 0·5 anna per unit is made for the supply of energy at 2,000 volts; and a charge of 0·55 anna per unit for supply, including the equipment of the mills by the power company with motors, cables, switch-gear, starters, etc., and their complete upkeep. The company is paying a dividend on the ordinary share capital at from 7 to 8 per cent. per annum.

The construction of the Tata Power Co.'s undertaking, also originated and designed by Mr. Gibbs, was commenced in

1919, and is being carried out by the company's own construction staff under the advice of the Tata Engineering Co., consulting engineers to the project. It is designed for the ultimate supply of 150,000 horse-power to the City of Bombay, but for the present only sufficient plant will be installed for the supply of 75,000 horse-power. Applications aggregating to 50,000 horse-power have already been registered on the waiting list of this undertaking, which, interconnected with the Andhra Valley and Tata Hydro-Electric schemes, will assist in the supply of power for the electrification of the Bombay City, suburban, and Ghat sections of the railways. An unfortunate delay has occurred in the construction of this undertaking, arising out of an active opposition on the part of the inhabitants of the lands that will be submerged by the storage reservoir to the acquisition of their properties. On account of this opposition the construction of the main dam and other hydraulic works has been suspended by the company, with the object of effecting a friendly settlement to the dispute. The principle involved—namely, that of the compulsory acquisition of land for public purposes—is one of such paramount importance to the progress of India that one looks to the support of all shades of political opinion locally to assist in a solution. It is only fair to add that the inhabitants of the valley directly concerned are only partly responsible for the trouble; and that they, under the exceptional terms of the acquisition and on account of the large demand the works will create for labour, will benefit considerably by the carrying out of the scheme.

The Koyna River project, originated and investigated by the writer, is capable of an output of 650,000 electrical horse-power (for 3,600 hours each year), and is intended to provide energy for electrometallurgical and electrochemical industries located near the power stations, for public electric supply in Bombay City, as an extension to the supply from the existing three power-supply companies' undertakings, and for public electric supply to all towns within economic range of electric power transmission. The proposal to establish electrometallurgical and electrochemical industries at the Koyna site is the first comprehensive scheme of its kind thoroughly investigated in India, and in connection with this scheme Messrs. Tata

Sons and their associates in the project have incurred considerable expense in having it thoroughly examined and surveyed, and in obtaining and thoroughly proving the necessary mineral deposits to complete the scheme in all its essential features. As stated in the *Times Trade Supplement*, February 21, 1920, "there is every reason to anticipate that the Tata concern, having created a large industrial centre in a remote jungle area of Bihar for iron and steel production, will be instrumental in creating one of the largest factory centres in India for electro-chemical industries."

DEVELOPMENT OF BOMBAY.—Reference has already been made to the important bearing that an existing or assured market for power has on the question of water-power development. It will therefore be of interest to review the development of Bombay City and its relation to the Western Ghats power resources.

Bombay City is the premier port of India, has a population of about 1,200,000, and is by far the most important centre of cotton spinning and weaving in India. The traffic in and out of the city over the railways in 1913-14 was 4,872,000 tons, and the total value of the trade of its port in 1918-19 was £164,044,060, in private and Government merchandise.

The chief industry of the city is, of course, the spinning and weaving of cotton, but there are many important woollen and flour mills, general engineering and railway workshops, oil mills and chemical factories. In the year 1916 there were 266 cotton mills in India, containing 6,839,877 spindles and 110,268 looms, and employing on an average 274,361 hands daily; of these, Bombay City possessed 86 mills, containing 2,984,575 spindles and 53,205 looms, and employed 118,303 hands. If this number of spindles and looms in Bombay City in 1916 had been driven electrically, they would have required a supply of approximately 100,000 electrical horse-power.

The foregoing figures show that nearly half of the spinning and weaving of cotton in India is concentrated in Bombay City. At present about 1,000,000 bales of cotton are consumed annually by the city mills, and in addition about 1,700,000 bales are exported from its port. It is obvious that this industry will expand indefinitely, if proper industrial town-

planning schemes are carried out, for Bombay City and its neighbourhood offer all necessary facilities in an abundant and cheap supply of raw materials, cheap power, a suitable climate, experienced labour, low transport charges by sea and land, and in possessing one of the largest markets for cotton goods in existence. It is already the largest centre of the cotton industry in India, and when one considers the conditions under which the 300,000,000 population of India at present exist, one is impressed with the great future lying before the cotton industry of Bombay City. Table IV. gives the growth of the spinning and weaving of cotton in the city during the last fifty years.

TABLE IV.—BOMBAY CITY COTTON MILLS.

Year ending June 30.	No. of Mills.	Spindles.	Looms.	Hands employed Daily.	Cotton consumed (Bales of 392 lbs.).
1865	10	249,984	3,378	6,557	No record
1870	10	290,920	4,090	8,103	"
1875	27	752,634	7,781	13,551	"
1880	32	987,676	10,856	29,417	220,354
1885	49	1,347,390	12,011	41,545	392,498
1890	70	1,895,660	13,785	59,139	636,234
1895	69	2,123,892	20,217	75,740	815,394
1900	82	2,536,891	22,215	72,914	744,800
1905	81	2,516,916	28,073	92,924	1,072,452
1910	89	2,824,046	41,931	104,550	953,450
1913	90	2,925,966	45,250	110,033	1,072,210
1916	86	2,984,575	53,205	118,303	1,096,174
1919	86	2,934,476	60,778	126,368	999,756

Sir George Curtis, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts in June, 1921, on the Development of Bombay, detailed schemes now taken in hand by the Government of Bombay, the City Improvement Trust, the Municipality, and the Port Trust, under the far-seeing leadership of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, which will cost a total of 30 crores of rupees, or roughly £20,000,000, to complete. This will convey a good impression of the rapid and extensive expansion at present going on in the city. The Government schemes are being carried out by the newly created Development Department, under Sir Lawless Hepper, Director of Develop-

ment, and consist chiefly of the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme, which is intended to reduce congestion in the southern portion of the city, supply residential accommodation for the higher classes, and meet the requirements of the Military Department ; an industrial housing scheme of 50,000 one-roomed tenements for the working classes ; residential and industrial town-planning schemes on the islands of Salsette and Trombay ; and industrial town-planning schemes outside the city boundaries. For many years the city had suffered from a marked shortage of housing accommodation, especially for the working classes, and it is estimated that during and since the war the population of the city has increased by 25 per cent., owing to the increase in demand for labour. The Government includes in its town-planning schemes the laying out of a new industrial town at Ambarnath Station, on the G.I.P. Railway, some 30 miles from the city. This scheme will probably prove the first step towards a real solution of the congestion in Bombay, which exists mainly in the working classes quarter. The new industrial town will obtain abundant supplies of water from the discharge of the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co.'s power-house ; lie adjacent to one of the big electric power transmission lines, from which it can draw cheap power ; have adequate road and railway facilities ; and will be capable of unlimited expansion. Although the scheme was only initiated early in 1921, sites for three factories had been definitely allotted by March, 1921.*

Other areas, not included in the scope of Government's present programme, are indicated on the accompanying map, where it is possible that new industries may be established. The sites on the Deccan at Igatpuri, Poona, Satara, and Karad, all lying about 2,000 feet above sea-level, have special claim in offering a much superior all-the-year-round climate for industrial work than Bombay City, Ambarnath, and other Konkan sites. (The Konkan is the lowlying strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea.) It has been claimed that labour is 25 per cent. more efficient in such a climate as that of Igatpuri than in the Bombay City or Konkan climate. In addition to this, all these sites, Igatpuri, Poona, Satara, and

* Report on the Working of the Development Department for the period ending March 31, 1921, Bombay Development Department.

Karad, can obtain abundant supplies of cheap power and water from the Western Ghats, are well served with roads and railways, and can tap new sources of labour. Satara, Karad, Khed, and Chiplun are possible sites for electrometallurgical, electrochemical, and other industries dependent upon electric power from the Koyna scheme.

The map also gives the alignment of a projected railway, originally proposed many years ago, running from the Deccan at Karad on the existing Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, down the Western Ghats near Kumbharli, and then along the Konkan past the Koyna and Tata Power Co.'s schemes to Hog Island, on the east side of Bombay Harbour, where there is a favourable site for an all-the-year-round ferry across the harbour to the existing port. The primary object of this line was to facilitate the transport of labour between Bombay City and its main sources along the Konkan. The development of water-power along the Western Ghats and the proposed establishment of industries on the Konkan have created new interest in this railway project, and it was surveyed by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Co. in 1920, under the authority of the Railway Board. The construction of the line, with a connection to the G.I.P. Railway near Kalyan, would make a considerable and desirable improvement to the existing indifferent communications along the Konkan, especially during the monsoon season, when the small ports of the Konkan are not accessible, and greatly assist the growth of industries by facilitating the transport of labour and goods. It would also open up an additional route from Bombay to the railway systems of South India.

For many reasons it is desirable that industries at such an important and growing centre as the port of Bombay should not be concentrated in one place. To minimize the effect of labour troubles alone, it is better to split up the industrial population into comparatively small and separated towns; and it is probable that industries will in time spring up at all the centres indicated, each centre offering its own special advantages.

The development of Bombay and the development of the Western Ghats water-powers are to a great extent interdependent, and it is doubtful whether the ambitious development

schemes initiated by Government in 1920 would have been so fully justified had it not been for the existence of the immense resources of cheap water-power in the Western Ghats, one of the greatest water-power resources of the world. Bombay has no hope of a cheap supply of coal, and has to depend upon coal railed and shipped over great distances. The importance of water-power to Bombay City was brought forcibly home during the war, when the railways and shipping were worked to their utmost limit for war purposes. Anyone acquainted with conditions in Bombay during the war will realize the disaster that would have overtaken its industries had, under such conditions, those industries depended upon, say, 250,000 electrical horse-power generated from coal. Yet in very few years now Bombay industries and railways will depend upon that amount of electric power.

This brief review of the development of Bombay is sufficient to emphasize the great public importance of the development of the water-power resources of the Western Ghats. It may fairly be claimed that the prosperity and happiness of the population for many hundreds of miles round Bombay City will in time be measured by the extent to which the great water-powers of the Western Ghats are developed and utilized. To effect this development every possible encouragement and assistance must be given by Government, and some important amendments made to existing laws. The attitude of those politicians who are inclined to urge the ryots not to yield up their land for essential works, even on the basis of adequate compensation, will also have to be modified. If this paper draws the attention of Government to these important matters, the aim of its author will have been served.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, February 20, 1922, at which a lecture was given by Mr. Arthur T. Arnall, B.Sc., M.INST.C.E., A.M.I.E.E., M.I.E. (India), entitled, "Hydro-Electric Power in India." Sir Thomas H. Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Samuel Digby, C.I.E., Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, C.I.E., C.R.E., and Mrs. Campbell, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. D. G. Choudhari, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Scatterd, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. G. B. Tadwalkar, Mr. D. R. C. de Alwis, Dr. J. F. Crowley, Mr. G. E. A. Catchatoor, Colonel Ranken, Colonel A. S. Roberts and Mrs. Roberts, Mr. W. H. Molesworth, Major-General Beresford Lovett, Mr. E. Wilkins, Mr. O. M. Rolleston, Mr. A. Lupton, Colonel Minshall, Mr. F. C. Channing, Major Sothan, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. S. P. Pears, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. B. Lane, Mr. E. Worthington, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Dr. J. A. Harker, Mrs. and Miss Corfield, Mr. K. N. Rau, Mr. R. L. Narayanan, Mrs. White, Mr. J. Gordon, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Floyd, Lieut-Colonel T. S. B. Williams, Major W. H. C. Coates, Mr. E. G. Fleming, Mr. H. S. Rooke, Mr. E. E. Eccles, Mr. C. S. Thomson, Mr. C. E. Simmonds, Mr. R. Hazleton, Mr. C. S. Meik, Mr. S. N. Bardhan, Mr. S. Mahadeva, and Mr. Stanley Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, more than sixteen years ago, impressed with the potential value of the newly discovered aluminium ores of India and the necessity for cheap electric power for their development, I recommended the Government of India to obtain from all the local Governments whatever information they had then available with regard to the water-power resources of each Province. In a paper that was published last May in the *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour* Mr. Meares, Electrical Adviser to the Government of India, described the products of this inquiry as "sometimes misleading and generally inaccurate."

Nothing much more substantial was evolved by a Government agency till after the Indian Industrial Commission took up the question afresh, and in 1918 urged the institution of a systematic hydro-electric survey, which was inaugurated in the following cold weather. As a result of this first general reconnaissance, we now know to what extent the natural resources of the country have been neglected hitherto. As President of the Industrial Commission, and afterwards as the member of Government responsible for the administration of the Hydro-Electric Survey, I naturally

look forward with special interest to hearing the views of a distinguished engineer who has spent some years in a detailed examination of the possible power sites of the Western Ghats. Mr. Arnall is one of those who, with real technical significance, see in running water one of the "raw materials" of a country, not as mere water, but as a source of inexpensive energy. The technical specialists whom I see in the audience to-day will know the full meaning of the expression "cheap electrical energy," especially in a Province like Bombay, where there is practically no coal, and where there is also no oil. They know how some industries can flourish only in family groups, and they know also that whole families must remain absolutely undeveloped unless we can obtain energy in a mobile form at a very low rate. But the development of hydro-electric power means in economic principle something very much more than mere cheap energy. It is one of those raw materials that is not used up with using. It is not like a coal-mine or an oil well—what our economists call a "wasting asset." It is but the interception of energy provided by Nature, or what has been aptly called by Mr. Meares, whom I referred to just now, as "Nature's gift of gravity." The coal-miner, from the day that he starts work, robs and destroys for ever the natural resources of his field; the oil-driller squanders the accumulated energy of geological ages; but the hydro-electric engineer merely intercepts a product that Nature continually reproduces, and by the very same process inevitably wastes at the same rate, whether it is used or neglected. Now, neglect to intercept this natural waste merely forces a country to draw out and dissipate its accumulated capital in the form of coal and oil. The first reconnaissance survey that was made by Mr. Barlow and Mr. Meares showed that there was in India recoverable water-power to the extent at least of over one and three-quarter million horse-power; that is to say, roughly, as much as India gets from her annual output of coal. Delay in harnessing even that much power—and that is not the total by a long way—means a direct annual loss of something that might be estimated roughly in value at about 5,000,000 pounds sterling, and such neglect delays the whole growth of the country in several ways, even endangering the security of India among other civilized nations.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will not keep from you any longer the privilege of hearing first-hand the considered views of a practical engineer who has already proved that the wasted water-power of India can be turned to commercial account by Indians and for the benefit of their industries. I will now ask Mr. Arnall to read his paper. (Applause.)

The paper was then read, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Arnall's paper falls naturally into two parts; the first part discusses the conditions that are necessary to facilitate private enterprise in the utilization of the water-power which is now being wasted in India; and the second part gives us, as a concrete example, a comprehensive survey of the schemes which have been projected for development along the western escarpment of the Deccan plateau. The second part provides the inspiration for the first. The scheme which has been outlined shows how concerted action

on the part of the hydraulic engineer, the electrician, the railway engineer, and the technical industrialist, will revolutionize—I do not think that is too strong a word—the economic configuration of Western India. It will provide a living for thousands who now exist—one cannot use the word live—from hand to mouth on the land, threatened annually with starvation by the vagaries of the monsoon. It will appreciably add to the Government revenues, which will be required in yearly increasing amounts to meet the legitimate needs of an expanding civilization. It will retard, and this is an important point, the heavy drain on the coal resources of the country, which are already being threatened with relative depletion. The railways, which are now overloaded by coal traffic from Behar to Bombay, will be free to handle more expensive and more valuable products. It will facilitate the retention in India of money or its equivalent in raw materials—the same thing—which is now sent out of the country to pay for imported manufactures. It will add to the security of India by the local manufacture of specialized munitions which, as we learned during the Great War, may be cut off during any further international complications.

Most of these are widely known truisms that need no further discussion ; but it is important to keep in mind the fact that Mr. Arnall's project is not the dream of an economic visionary ; it is the finished product of many years of solid work, undertaken by a band of very critical and very conservative experts at the expense of an Indian firm who have shown a remarkable combination of prevision and enterprise controlled by cold commercial commonsense. (Hear, hear.) Schemes of this sort require for their success the concerted action of the commercial public, the Government, and those leaders of public opinion who direct for good or evil the manifestations of public spirit. To the detriment of the whole country they can be inhibited by the passive resistance of either of these three groups. Every delay in a commercial enterprise adds to its cost, which must be paid for ultimately by the consumer himself. Mr. Arnall has referred, for example, to the way in which recent local opposition now threatens the completion of one of the constituent items in this great programme, and an item which I think in itself has cost something like a crore of rupees already. One sympathizes with those ryots, whose sentimental attachment to their homesteads cannot be compensated entirely by money ; but when works are undertaken for the general public good and under conditions directly profitable to those who are locally inconvenienced, it should be a privilege of those who mould public opinion to show that their desire for the general welfare of the country takes precedence of all political sentiments. Patience, however, such as the Tatas have shown in this respect, although it must be paid for in cash by the industrialist, and therefore ultimately by the consumer, will secure more lasting results than the forcible application of Section 24 of the Land Acquisition Act, which directs that the Court, in determining the amount of the compensation to be paid, shall not take into consideration "any disinclination of the person interested to part with the land acquired."

Mr. Arnall draws attention to the great disadvantage now arising from

the absence of definite rules and precise regulations to govern the grant of concessions to develop hydro-electric power. His criticisms are, I think, just and very much to the point. Local Governments have so far neither rules nor experience to enable them to lay down conditions which will be fair to the promoters of these enterprises ; which will be at the same time reasonably certain to safeguard the public revenues ; will limit the demands of those companies who are naturally anxious to forestall imitators and competitors ; will prevent unduly large projects from inhibiting activity in promoting small local schemes, or, conversely, will prevent small local power-stations from preoccupying sites which might be found suitable for inclusion in larger schemes of greater general public utility. The Government of India have not been unconscious of this defect or absence of rules to control the grant of concessions of the sort Mr. Arnall has referred to. Soon after the publication of the first reconnaissance survey by Messrs. Barlow and Meares, which was undertaken on the suggestion of the Industrial Commission, we proceeded to review the small amount of facts and experience then available for the purpose of formulating general principles of a tentative nature on which afterwards to found a set of rules. Our intention was to start with general rules analogous to those which are now used for the grant of mineral concessions, and then afterwards, with the accumulated experience, to draft legislative measures. At the same time, in February of last year, I introduced a Bill into the Indian Legislature to amend the Indian Electricity Act as a sort of temporary stop-gap, hoping, at any rate, to make it meanwhile more suitable to meet the conditions of the larger power concerns that are now developing in India. The shortcomings of the Land Acquisition Act, pointed out by the Industrial Commission, are not so easily cured. The Act was examined in 1920, and lines for amendment were suggested for criticism through local Governments in the ordinary way. Mr. Arnall very fairly calls attention to the disadvantages of the present state of affairs, which leaves some doubt whether, and, to what extent, the Land Acquisition Act can be used legitimately for the benefit of hydro-electric power schemes other than those of ordinary public utility. He points out also that in existing circumstances any attempt to develop a power scheme of a large kind merely leads to the institution of a "vicious circle." A company cannot obtain the benefit of the Act till it is floated ; and it cannot fully satisfy the principles of company flotation without the certainty of obtaining under unequivocal conditions the land necessary for it to work. The obscurity of the Land Acquisition Act had led to very embarrassing inequalities in its provincial interpretation. Contrary to the views of most local authorities, it has been used by some local Governments more than once to acquire land on behalf of industrial concerns. In several provinces, however, this use of it has been refused. Good authorities also have agreed that it can be used legitimately for charitable and philanthropic institutions ; equally eminent lawyers have advised the Government that the wording of the Act does not admit of this use of it, in spite of the explicit statement that was made in the Legislature when the Act was amended in 1894. A well-known commentator on English law once

cynically remarked that the lawyer who wrote so as to be understood was an enemy to his profession. Well, the Land Acquisition Act, I think, must have been drafted by someone who had the interests of his profession greatly at heart. But it is obviously desirable now in the interests of industries which are, after all, more useful in litigation, that the Act should be amended into ordinary honest man's English, so as to meet the requirements not only of those who wish to acquire land, but those who are equally anxious to dispose of land. One should remember that often in India it is not so much the unwillingness on the part of the landowner to sell as the necessity of obtaining a clear title which makes the use of the Land Acquisition Act necessary.

Most new developments of the sort described by Mr. Arnall clash somewhere with vested interests. It is difficult to foresee in the development of hydro-electric power, however—at any rate on the Western Ghats—any prospective injury to existing interests; anything that will not at once, or almost at once, bring with it compensating advantages. The colliery owners are not likely to object; they know that every new industry means new requirements for fuel, and after all the colliery owners of Behar and Bengal have more than enough to do to meet the demands of Eastern India. The railway companies will lose part of their long freights from east to west, but under existing conditions the transport of coal at low freight rates merely reduces their opportunities for handling more valuable goods, whilst those railways serving the newly developed areas will have an opportunity of handling new raw materials and new finished products. Steamship companies engaged on the West Coast trade may find that part of their traffic is being diverted to the proposed new Konkan railway. But they will remember that when new industries spring up, the railway will have to serve the new industrial areas, or it will not be constructed at all, and that the two together are more likely to help than to injure the steamship companies. With regard to those who have any fear on this score, I would like to invite them to learn a lesson from the Manchester Ship Canal. In the early 90's, when I was a fellow of the Owens College, one might have imagined from the general local talk of Manchester that the people looked forward to the days when they would make trips down to see the ruins of old Liverpool. But, although the Ship Canal has raised an inland town like Manchester to be the fifth port for tonnage in the United Kingdom, Liverpool is greater than ever. There was evidently room for both, and there is room, too, for the proposed Konkan railway as much as for the shipping on the West Coast. Each will create traffic for the other if they work together. (Hear, hear.)

The development of electric power on a large scale is important, not because of its extended use for lighting, or as a simple motive power in mills, but because especially it is possible, by utilizing the main load for the mills, at the same time to spare energy at very low rates for chemical and metallurgical manufactures that cannot be attempted economically in any other way. Most of these are essential munitions of war, ordinary as well as lethal. Their separate manufacture in each of our great Dominions is now essential for military reasons, as well as important on economical grounds; and till

India can produce sulphuric acid at, say, £3 a ton, and electrical power at, say, £3 per electrical horse-power, the rest of her resources in coal and iron, lead, copper, zinc, leather, etc., will be so much loot for any other power that can dodge the British Navy. Narcotic soothing syrups, like the League of Nations and the Washington Conference, may be swallowed with safety by self-contained countries like those of Europe, Japan, and America, but they merely endanger the national life of India. For internal purely domestic reasons liberal reforms are important, but cheap hydro-electric power and cheap sulphuric acid are absolutely essential. The Government that fails to distinguish between what is essential and what is important will act like the apothecary who fails to distinguish between the use of arsenic as a tonic and the use of arsenic as a poison. Judging by the attention which is now being given to undignified official communiqués in reply to impertinent open letters, India seems to be the victim of two such disputing apothecaries, one legally qualified and the other a quack. Meanwhile her water is running to waste, and her sulphide ores are being sent out of the country in shiploads. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

I will now ask Lord Lamington to open the discussion.

LORD LAMINGTON: Ladies and gentlemen, many of the papers we have had read before the Association dealt with vital subjects, but I think the one which Mr. Arnall has presented to us is of thrilling importance. He has indicated what will be the future industrial activity that will take place under the shadow of the Western Ghats. He has gone very fully into the subject, and our chairman has reviewed the subject very closely. I am doubly interested in it. Firstly, as having been Governor of Bombay. When the great Tata scheme first started I always watched its progress with great interest, and I am very glad to realize that great scheme is likely to have successors in other parts. Secondly, I was a member of that Water Board Committee where these various projects were discussed and considered. It is very remarkable how very important a part the Bombay Presidency plays in these schemes. I think the whole of these water areas lie on the eastern slopes of the Ghats; here they have to be impounded and diverted from their natural course in an opposite direction.

The main point which has been very much dwelt upon by the two speakers was the connection of this scheme with the Government. The lecturer indicated that it might be advisable for Government aid to be obtained. Personally, I should always avoid Government aid if possible. I am no believer in Governments; they are mere necessary evils. I always used to do my best as Governor of Bombay to act on the side of the private individual. For instance, I remember there was a great idea at that time to provide small railways as feeders for the bigger railways. One of my colleagues put forward certain schemes, and advocated Government control and management of the two schemes, that promised to be remunerative, leaving the rest to be operated by a private company. That was absurd. I am, of course, in favour of Government supervision; but I believe that it is by far the best principle that projects should be carried out by those who are immediately interested rather than by the taxpayer.

I understand from the result of that Committee which has been referred

to that it was the view of the lecturer himself and his colleagues that these matters should be undertaken by private enterprise as far as possible. I am glad to hear Sir Thomas Holland corroborate the fact that work begets work. Everything produced is only one link in the long chain of sequence of events, and is bound to produce more work in the future for everybody. I have no doubt many here to-day will be able to present their views with far greater effect than I can. I remember about thirty years ago I travelled from Madras to Bombay, and how the first view of this great city, surrounded by palm-trees and vegetation, impressed me, not only with its beauty, but also by its tall chimneys emitting streaks of smoke, with the evidence that under the auspices of the British Government this great industrial city had arisen in the Far East, and one of the great results of this wonderful scheme will be the abolition of this smoke that besmirches the glorious landscape. (Hear, hear.)

I only hope that all that has been forecasted in this paper will be realized in the not too distant future.

The CHAIRMAN : Dr. Crowley, whom I see present, was also a member of the Water Resources Committee of the United Kingdom and Chairman of the Water Resources Subcommittee, Board of Trade, which has produced an extremely interesting report on this subject, and we should like to hear what he has to say on the matter. I will ask him to speak ; but before I do that I am asked to say that Miss Scatcherd has received a letter from Dr. Pollen commenting on the lecture, and I know that this Association would like to hear his message.

MISS SCATCHERD : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Pollen has written from Portugal as follows :

"The post has just brought me a letter enclosing the admirable paper by Mr. Arthur T. Arnall, which he is to read before the E.I.A., under the chairmanship of my old friend Sir Thomas Holland, on the 20th. I have read through the paper. In the first place I consider the E.I.A. is to be congratulated on securing such an excellent and useful paper. It is bound to do good to Bombay and the rest of India, and writing as I do from the land from which Catherine of Braganza conveyed Bombay to Britain, and with thirty-two years' knowledge of the town and island, I should like to congratulate most heartily the lecturer.

"I have always been a great believer of water-power in India, and I agree with the lecturer that cheap electrical energy is one of the most valuable raw materials of modern times, and he is right in urging that every factor contributing to its development should receive the serious attention of Government and of everyone really concerned in the welfare and progress of India. My old friend Tata was one of the very first to realize its value, and Government ought to have come to his assistance much more readily than they did.

"There can be little doubt that a prominent factor in arresting the wider development of water-power schemes in Great Britain was the costly, protracted, and inefficient system of obtaining the necessary authority by means of a private Bill. Indeed, this system lays at the root of nearly all

the legitimate Irish agitation for Home Rule, and may be described as its chief justification.

"That is an excellent idea that local authority should take up shares in the electric supply of its district, sufficient to make it the important and predominant shareholder (just as Disraeli made Great Britain in the case of the Suez Canal).

"It is interesting to note that it is not improbable that electrical engineers will be able to develop means of transmitting energy economically to distances as great as 500 and 1,000 miles.

"I am delighted to hear of the Ingatpura project. I used to know Nasik and Ingatpura well in the old days, and I was one of those who urged the selection of Nasik in preference to Calcutta and Delhi as the capital of India and the seat of the Supreme Government. The climate is first-rate, and it is justly claimed that labour is 25 per cent. more efficient in a climate such as that of Ingatpura than in Bombay City.

"I was also pleased to see in the map in the paper the alignment of the railway we projected many years ago running from the Deccan at Karad to Hog Island on the east side of the harbour.

"I agree with the lecturer that the construction of the line, with a connection to the G.I.P. Railway at or near Kalyan, would make a most desirable improvement, and would open up an additional route from Bombay to the railway system of South India.

"In conclusion, I should like to support the lecturer's plea for the modification of the attitude of those misguided politicians who urged cultivators not to yield up their lands—even on the basis of adequate compensation—for works essential to the good of the whole community.

"Yours sincerely,

"J. POLLEN."

Dr. CROWLEY : Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to add my tribute to the tributes that have been paid to the lecturer for the eminently practical character of his paper. Frequently we have to listen to papers which deal with constructive work carried out and executed, no doubt very interesting from a technical point of view; but this evening we have had a paper pointing out grievances, and suggesting remedies for dealing with those grievances. During my experience in connection with the Electricity Supply Inquiry in this country one was brought into intimate contact with the complicated situation that has arisen here during the last thirty years of electricity supply development, and also, in connection with the Water Resources Inquiry, with the condition which has arisen in connection with water-supply for various purposes; and I must confess, after five years' work in connection with those two inquiries, and feeling that this country was the only country in the world that could present such a complicated picture, it was rather refreshing to find when one reached India that Government were worried there, in a new industrial country, about some of these matters.

In India irrigation is the dominant factor in connection with water supply problems. Latterly it would appear that the question of drainage

is arising as a result of irrigation because of the bringing up of harmful salts through irrigation, thus making it necessary to lower the level of the subsoil water. Cheap power, on the other hand, is now being regarded throughout the whole world as one of the most vital necessities to industrial countries, and it is because cheap power is so important that we have had this paper from Mr. Arnall to-day.

Now, as regards some of the practical points raised in connection with legislation, there is no doubt whatever that it is a very serious matter to have to promote a power company in India, with the conditions that may attach to the grant of land to that company. Mr. Arnall gave you a practical case where a company was actually floated, and attached to the Land Acquisition Agreement entered into afterwards was a condition which meant an expenditure of a sum of £100,000 additional to that usually payable under the Act. Again, he referred in his paper to the question of licence conditions. If you wish to run a transmission line across a tract of country in India for the purpose of supplying a private enterprise, it would appear that you cannot obtain powers to do so unless you first apply for a licence to supply electric power to a neighbourhood to which you have no intention of supplying power. Now that condition of things is one that should not be allowed to stand. These problems of land acquisition and water-supply and electrical distribution are problems, however, that concern other people than the power engineer. In the first place, as regards land acquisition, I think the author made the suggestion that the conditions on which land could be acquired for other than public purposes should be the same as the conditions on which land is acquired for public purposes. The question of compensation for land taken compulsorily arises here, and I am not quite clear that it would be just to fix the compensation for land required for a semi-private purpose on the same basis as you would fix compensation for land required for a public and national purpose.

Then there is another matter. From the schemes outlined in the paper it is clear that the bulk of them are sending power from their natural catchment areas to a distant industrial centre. It is at the same time suggested that new industrial centres may spring up in the neighbourhood of the power sites. There is a question that arose in connection with our enquiries in this country which is of interest, and that is, as to whether it would not be wise to insert in concessions granted to power undertakers a clause securing that a certain percentage of the power they develop is reserved for the area from which the power is taken. There is a feeling that the people who live in a particular catchment area have a prior right to the power developed from that area. I think this is a matter that might well merit attention in India.

I mention those points with a view to leading up to a suggestion. I think these matters of Land Acquisition Clauses, Power Supply Licence conditions, and Wayleaves for Transmission Lines are so complex—we have moved so far in these matters recently—that if the best results are to be secured for India it would be wise if a committee were formed by the Indian Government to enquire into what has been done in other

countries, and to suggest legislation in connection with these matters. That would be a sound method of approaching what is an extremely complicated subject. Might I also support the suggestion of the Water Power Committee of the Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies that an Imperial Conference on Water should be called? Having been for some time in India, and passing from India to Egypt, and coming into contact with the Public Works Departments in both countries, one found that one learned much in each country that one did not know before, and I think the specialized knowledge which is locked up in the various countries of the Empire might be made available for the Empire as a whole. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Sir LIONEL JACOB, K.C.S.I. : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to say something on the subject of the excellent lecture we have heard this afternoon; but since I retired from Indian service considerable progress has been made in hydro-electric investigations in the country, and I have to confess myself a back number. There is, however, one point I may perhaps emphasize. Lord Lamington has advised that in matters of this kind it is best to have as little to do with Government as possible, and though theoretically I agree with that view, in practice Government assistance, encouragement, and intervention are essential.

We have heard much this afternoon about the Land Acquisition Act; there are all the other Acts of which mention has been made, and it is difficult for private enterprise to steer through the complications of procedure without Government aid. It is therefore important that the procedure should be simplified, and I agree with the Chairman that the leaders of industry and of public opinion in India should force the attention of Government to the subject. Since I retired, I believe some improvements have been made, and I also believe that they have been largely due to Sir Thomas Holland (Hear, hear), who takes a common-sense and business-like view of matters which are not regarded in the same light by the ordinary official. (Hear, hear.)

I remember, in the instance of a pioneer endeavour to obtain a hydro-electric concession, I did my best to secure favourable terms in order to encourage enterprise of that kind, and I found myself opposed. I was told that I did not understand that these fellows were trying to make money out of the country! (Laughter.) It was difficult to believe that very able and intelligent officers of the Government would make a remark like that. It almost implied that they expected that men would go to India and spend time and ability and invest large sums of money from philanthropic motives. That is the particular point I wish to lay stress on. The Government cannot be avoided, but we want the Government, for the sake of the industrial progress of the country, to be more helpful and considerate, and to take that interest in commercial affairs that Sir Thomas Holland took; and with more men like him I believe that the desired progress would be greatly advanced. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel MINSHALL said he was delighted to hear of the enormous advantages which Bombay would derive industrially and from the point of view of munitions. Lord Lamington had also referred to the advantages of

removing the smoke from Bombay, but there was one other enormous advantage which Bombay was waiting for at the moment, and that was the electrification of its railways. As they were no doubt aware, some years ago the whole project was looked into in the time of Lord Sydenham and plans prepared for the electrification of the railways. Cheap electric power was absolutely essential to the carrying out of that great project. There were, doubtless, many many present who had been in Bombay since he had, and they would have seen the growing congestion on the railways. The great Bombay development scheme depended entirely on transport facilities. For many reasons the advantages which existed in this country for other means of transport could not be had in India, and he gathered that unless some means were taken for improved transportation of the suburban traffic the whole development scheme was likely to be seriously delayed. In his opinion, amongst the largest consumers there were in Bombay the railways would be probably the most important, and even for that reason alone the development of the hydro-electric schemes was absolutely essential. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON said he was glad to be allowed to say a few words on the subject. He was one of the people whom the lecturer characterized in his remarks as a robber—*i.e.*, as one who had helped to exhaust the mineral supplies in this country as hard as ever he could. When he was in India he had looked into the question of hydro-electric supplies, and he saw some of the reservoirs near Bombay, and the pipes, and the power-houses, and the transmission lines, and that great work which was now being greatly extended. He also had the privilege of being shown by one of the engineers of the Indian Government, in a more southerly part of the Ghats, the enormous schemes for the construction of future reservoirs, which would be available for the development of power and irrigation. In those cases the water was to fall in an easterly direction so as to get on to the dry plains. He would like to know from the lecturer what proportion of the rainfall of any given district he would actually lock up in his reservoirs and in the supply of power for Bombay and the Western districts. Probably it is only a small fraction of the total rainfall in the catchment area of his reservoirs.

Then Dr. Crowley said the irrigation problem involved the problem of drainage. In Amritsar he had been shown a wonderful pump (the invention of Mr. Ashford), which was intended to drain the irrigated areas, so that they would not be poisoned as the result of raising the hydraulic level, and which also would facilitate increased irrigation. They also utilized the fall of the irrigation canal to work turbines for the generation of electrical power to work the pumps which drained the irrigated areas. This electrically-driven pump could also be utilized for raising water from wells for irrigation, as being cheaper than water-drawing by oxen. He regarded the hydro-electric development as one of the great things for the India of the future.

With regard to munitions, nitrogen could be manufactured also, not merely for the purpose of destruction of human beings, but for the manufacture of manure, which would help to improve the condition of the

people of India. It had been said by one of the speakers that some of the people "only existed"—they could not say "lived"—but if a little more nitrogen and a little more super-phosphate and potash were applied to their lands, the people of India might live in a condition of happiness and prosperity which they had not experienced within the last few hundred years. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask the lecturer to reply to the discussion.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you all very sincerely for your kind interest; the interest shown by our chairman was especially gratifying. I know the secretary is always keen to have points raised in the discussion to which one can reply, but I am afraid there are not many points arising out of this paper to-day.

There was one point raised by Mr. Lupton to which I should like to reply. He seemed rather to suspect that water-power engineers are robbing the Deccan of its irrigation water-supplies. I would point out that the Government of Bombay thoroughly investigated all the valleys of the Western Ghats many years ago, and those valleys which could be used for irrigation would be so used, and they would not be allowed to be used for power. The reason *these* valleys (indicating on map) are being used for power is because the rivers flowing from them are so much below the level of the plains of the Deccan that their waters cannot be economically used for irrigation, and it is chiefly for that reason that the Government is allowing their development for power. It may be added, however, that a portion of the waters of the Tata Power Company's and the Koyna schemes is reserved for possible Deccan requirements.

Mr. LUPTON: The schemes I referred to were not the schemes on this map which the lecturer has referred to.

The LECTURER concluded by proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded, and on being put to the meeting was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

The proceedings then terminated.

Mr. Alfred Dickinson, M.INST.C.E., M.I.E.E., Consulting Engineer, has written the following letter for publication:

"The author, who was one of my chief assistants on the Tata Hydro-Electric Works, as the paper demonstrates, has taken full advantage of the opportunities he has had of acquiring information and knowledge of hydro-electrics in India. I congratulate him on his interesting paper.

"No one can have a keener interest in hydro-electric development than I, but I am not one of those who believe that all hydro-electric propositions possess commercial advantages. The real test of any electric supply undertaking is the price at which electrical energy can be sold to consumers. A hydro-electric plant possesses no advantage over any other scheme if it cannot profitably sell cheaper energy. The Tata Hydro-Electric Scheme was the pioneer scheme in the utilization of the dry valleys of the Western Ghats as storage lakes for power purposes. I was

the prophet crying in the wilderness, and received from the wisecrackers the odium generally meted out to such prophets, and, like the prophets of old, now get like treatment in my own country. The directors with whom I worked were a group of Indian gentlemen with large and broad views, most of them manufacturers of cotton fabrics, but with little experience of the difficulties to be met with in the carrying out of large engineering projects. Therefore their doubts and fears during construction can be understood. I believe that an engineer of less sanguine temperament would have succumbed.

"The Tata Hydro-Electric scheme was the first installation of its kind which earned and paid a dividend on its whole capital in the first year of working. It was designed for eight units at the power-house; only five have been installed as yet. The water capacity of the existing lakes is sufficient to give a minimum supply for 3,600 hours a year of 76,000 horse-power delivered to consumers in Bombay, which can be readily increased by 10,000 horse-power or more by utilizing the catchment of the Kundhli Valley, which I advised the company to do. By this addition, and the completion of the power-house, a considerably increased revenue could be obtained from the water available for power, thus very materially enhancing the profits of the company. It was believed that the Andhra Valley scheme would cost much less per horse-power than the Tata Hydro-Electric Works. I did not concur in that opinion, and experience has shown that I was right.

"Hydro-electric installation in India generally, particularly in the Western Ghats, present many advantages over hydro-electric schemes in this country. For instance, land in India is cheap; in this country the price is almost prohibitive. Also, there the cost of rubble masonry is about one-fourth of the cost in this country. Again, the value of a cubic foot of water stored in the Western Ghats is much higher than that of a cubic foot of water stored in this country, owing to the larger fall obtainable in the Western Ghats.

"The magnitude of the preliminary work involved on a hydro-electric scheme is seldom, if ever, fully appreciated. The fundamental basis on which we originally worked on the Tata scheme was two rain-gauges which had been kept by the G.I.P. Railway at Lonawla for a period of thirty-seven years. The first preliminary was to test the reliability of these gauges by checking them with other special gauges. Being satisfied that the rainfall would justify a scheme, we proceeded to select sites for storage dams. The present locations are not those which would have given the best hydro-electric advantages. At much less cost in dams we could have devised a scheme which would have given over 200,000 horse-power. The only reason that scheme was not proceeded with was that to obtain a concession we were compelled to adopt the line of least resistance. Among others, the G.I.P. Railway were criticizing the scheme. In addition, we had the opposition of the Bombay Tramways and Power Supply Company, and we had the scepticism of the Bombay Government and of the Municipality of Bombay. When we were able to demonstrate the soundness of our proposal the scepticism of the Government was overcome and it then

did everything possible, granting a concession quickly. Its success is due to the exceptional conditions which exist, and which our close investigation of details discovered and established.

"After the works were commenced an objection was raised that the catchment areas could not yield the estimated quantity of water. This disturbed the minds of the directors and caused endless trouble to me; for, although experience has demonstrated and fully established the soundness of our views, at the time it was our opinion as against another. The estimates were based upon 75 per cent. of the rainfall being caught and stored; as a matter of fact, it is very much in excess of this. I mention this because no expenditure on the construction of a hydro-electric scheme dependent upon rain falling during the monsoon can be fully justified without a complete knowledge of all such like particulars, and these extending over many years. All this shows that, valuable as will be the information collected by Government of the various schemes, it can only be considered as the first stepping-stone of the essential investigations of the engineers designing for the schemes."

FINANCIAL SECTION

THE EXPORT TRADES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES TO ASIA

BY MORETON FREWEN

The Times of January 31, when considering the conditions which obtain at present in the chief trades of Lancashire, has this to say: "Cotton still clothes three-quarters of the people of the globe"; and whereas the cotton business three years since was more prosperous than at any previous period in its history, it is now difficult to find language to describe its depression adequately.

Let us review very briefly the figures of this colossal trade. In 1913 our export to India in square yards was 7,075,558,400, for 1921 it was 2,902,659,000, which is much the lowest figure touched since the Lancashire cotton famine of 1862.

And these sinister conditions have come to stay—the strangulation of our export trades and those of the United States—until an economic conference has met and has found methods to restore the purchasing power of the money of "those three-quarters of the human race." When China can once more buy a sovereign with three taels instead of as now with eight, the trade will rapidly recover. Thus the great silver problem has once more emerged at the most critical moment in human history.

I remember at a small dinner given by the late Sir William Houldsworth, the Member for Manchester, in honour of Professor Francis Walker, the eminent American economist, the Professor immensely impressed the dozen guests, amongst whom were Sir Arthur Balfour and Mr.

William Lidderdale, the governor of the bank, by concluding his short speech with these words. He said :

" I regard the question of silver as far more than any mere problem in finance. I believe that with its right settlement is bound up the very progress of their civilizations for the Western nations." There never should have been a " Silver Question."

Under a harmless and innocent Bill purporting to codify the various Mint Statutes, a clause excluding silver from free coinage was smuggled through Congress.*

In the debate in the Senate on the Repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, Senator Cameron, of Pennsylvania, was able to declare *nemine contradicente* :

" From the beginning to the end of this long debate not one voice in either House has been raised in defence of a mono-metallic gold standard."

There has been a lively discussion in the Press of the Far West as to where those two mighty railroad builders, James J. Hill and Edward Harriman, stood as to this question in their last days. Hill's vast railway constructions had built up great and populous States from Minnesota to Oregon, fully 1,500 miles. Harriman died a few years since, owning, or at least controlling, some fifty thousand miles of railroads. Both of these great captains of industry had become in their last years, as Harriman expressed it to me, " ardent silver men," having been forced by events to make a study of the question. The reasons which chiefly weighed with these two I will write down briefly.

These economic points will assume much importance when America comes to final decisions on the great problems of the Pacific.

* For the conclusive evidence as to this " crime of 1873," see an article of this writer's in the *North American Review*, April, 1909.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE WEALTH OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY GEORGE POLLOCK

(Editor, *Netherlands Indies Review*)

"It was curious how, as I walked the street of Singapore, I felt weighing upon me the vast islands of the Dutch East Indies—Java, Borneo, and Sumatra—that hemmed me in on either side, and await, in turn, the development of their incalculable riches. The world needs more and more the produce of the tropics, and these half-virgin islands, small continents in themselves, will be playing their part when Singapore has sunk to trivial importance."

Thus wrote a special correspondent of *The Times* from Malaya, realizing that it is to the Dutch East Indian Archipelago that the world must look for a great proportion of the supplies of tropical produce which are the necessities of civilization.

Borneo, as yet practically undeveloped, is, excluding the continent of Australia, the largest island in the world, and Sumatra, practically undeveloped also, is destined to prove one of the richest. Java is at present the only island of this group where the vast agricultural and mineral wealth is being exploited to any degree, and when Sumatra, in the future, is developed to an equal extent, her importance as a world supplier will be colossal.

Rubber—now rising once more in value—tea, sugar, coffee, quinine, copra, palm-oil, tobacco, pepper, and nutmeg, to mention only a few of the many agricultural products, are nearly all found in such quantity that the presence of a single commodity would ensure the importance

of the islands. And in addition to these there are the wealthy tin mines of Banka and Billiton, the recently-discovered copper mines in Timor, and petroleum wells, gold, diamond, coal, and iron mines scattered broadcast.

It is to these islands that India must look for a great deal of the raw material she will require as her needs increase and as the output of her industries grows greater. The Djambi oil-fields, from which are obtained annually over 17,000,000 barrels of petroleum, are the nearest source of supply for her motor industry, and, to-day, Dutch East Indian spirit is to be found in the tanks of motor-cars throughout the Empire.

Java practically controls the world's quinine supply, and enormous quantities of this drug pass from the Dutch East Indies to Calcutta and other ports.

A considerable bulk of what is known as "Singapore tin" comes in reality from the mines of Banka and Billiton, and Java ranks chief among the exporters of sugar to India. During September, 1,081,478 cwts. of the best grade alone—"Java 23"—found their way into Indian warehouses.

One of the newer plantation industries—so far as the Netherlands East Indies are concerned—is the cultivation of the oil-palm, and it is not beyond possibility that this branch of agriculture will prove the source of great additional wealth.

It is only a comparatively short time since the first oil-palms were brought into the islands, but in Sumatra, especially, the industry is developing at such a tremendous rate that the position West Africa now holds in this respect is being seriously menaced.

According to a conservative estimate in a very few years 100,000 acres will be covered with oil-palms in Sumatra alone, and the exports from that island will be something like 100,000 tons annually.

Copra production is, of course, an older industry, and, at present, a more important one. Throughout the world there is a serious shortage of edible fats for both human

and animal consumption, and exports of this produce will have to increase to an enormous extent before any difficulty will be experienced in finding a market. India, alone, is a copra buyer of enormous potentiality, and her proximity to the Dutch East Indies will undoubtedly react favourably on the market. If Sumatra had been developed a little earlier, perhaps vegetable and not animal fat would have been used to smear the cartridges used by the Indian soldiers in 1857, and it would have needed another pretext to plunge the country into war.

Copra, one of the main constituents of margarine and of the other fatty compounds used in the preparation of food, is the fruit of the wonderful *klapper*, or coco-nut palm, which can be used in such a multitude of ways. No part of the tree is thrown away. Fruit that falls to the ground before it is ripe is made by the natives into medicines. Ripe nuts are eaten both raw and cooked. The hard shell is made into spoons, mugs, and plates; and from the fibrous covering we obtain what is known as "coir," which is made into string, matting, brushes, etc. Even the leaves of the palm can be used to thatch the native huts; and when the tree is tapped, alcohol can be distilled from the latex. Copra is made from the kernel, and its importance has increased tremendously since the discovery of the "deodorizing" process. It is very largely used in the manufacture of cattle-foods, such as oil-cake, as well as in the manufacture of margarine, etc.

Agriculture is the principal but, nevertheless, only one occupation in the Netherlands East Indies. Factories are hard at work turning out all kinds of goods, and ships are being built in at least two of the seven well-equipped shipyards to be found in the islands. Ropes, bricks, chocolate, jam, are all manufactured to some extent; but the whole of this production is swallowed up by the home demand, and still the islands offer—indeed invite—tremendous opportunities for trade. There is a population of over 50,000,000 whites and natives, and as the latter are rapidly becoming

more enlightened, demand is good for almost every commodity that the manufacturer's ingenuity can devise.

The Dutch East Indies are prepared to supply the world with certain commodities, but in return they demand that they themselves shall be supplied with European manufactures. The import and export trade is growing daily, and the principal firms trading with the islands have found it advantageous to form themselves into the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies, an organization now represented in the Netherlands East Indies by the branch at Batavia and with a head office in London at 103, Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, E.C. 4.

The Chamber is, of course, in the closest touch with all trade and industry connected with the islands, and is now proving itself to be invaluable to traders by passing on to them latest reports which come direct from the Batavia branch, where Mr. C. M. Morrell, the former London secretary, is in charge of affairs.

The Chamber is especially fortunate in having for its Governor Sir Walter Townley, K.C.M.G., formerly Minister at the Hague, and it is consequently in a particularly favourable position to act both in Holland and in her East Indian colonies.

It is almost a platitude to say that the first step towards an improvement in trade is an extension of activities on the part of manufacturers and traders, and it is equally evident that the Dutch East Indies afford one of the finest fields in the world for such an extension of trade. The British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies is in a position to advise as to the steps which should be taken to secure the best results from such commercial relations.

For the benefit of those who are interested in Netherland East Indian trade relations with India and with England I append selections from the items of proposed expenditure in the 1922 Budget of the Netherlands East Indies :

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Dutch Florins.

Building and workshops required for the postal telegraphic and telephone service	1,406,500
Buildings and works necessary for the maintenance of the salt monopoly	135,800
Buildings and works necessary for the Government Printing Department	441,350
Buildings and other works required by the Marine Department	1,317,750
Buildings and workshops necessary for the aeronautics (advancement)	1,410,000
Bridges and constructional works for the maintenance of canals, rivers, dykes	9,343,000
Irrigation, drainage, dams, and pier works	14,424,000
Work in the interest of public health	4,015,500
Harbour of Tandjoeng Priok (Batavia)	9,697,125
Harbour of Soerabaja (Java)	15,466,503
Harbour of Makasser (Celebes)	816,492
Harbour of Belawan (East Coast of Sumatra)	5,747,430
Harbour of Emmahaven (West Coast of Sumatra)	904,261
Harbour of Semarang (Java)	2,306,805
Harbour of Tjilatjap (Java)	861,730
Small harbours	3,302,324
Other expenses indirectly connected with the harbour service	1,437,000
Dredging service	5,075,075
Expenditure in connection with the development of hydraulic and electric power	7,670,825
Exploiting of Government mines	39,266,044
Preliminary steps connected with the possibility of exploiting iron ores in Celebes	Not yet decided
Post, telegraph, and telephone service	22,989,060
State railways and tramways, also automobile services	93,010,200

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

WIT AND HUMOUR OF THE HINDUS

BY STANLEY RICE

NOTHING is more sensitive to the effects of time and place than wit and humour. The jests which convulsed our forefathers are very apt to leave us cold; the laughter-makers of our time would perhaps then have been received with grave faces and dubious shrugs. It is one of the chief glories of Aristophanes that there are to be found men to-day who can enjoy the jests which convulsed the Athens of Euripides. The tree which Cervantes planted is still green; the gay flowers of Molière's garden still bloom, if here and there we find one drooping. These examples have been chosen deliberately, because the wit has to conquer not only the centuries but the nations. We English, who enjoy our *Punch*, who like to roll upon our tongues the fine flavour of its wit or to laugh at the broad humour of its jokes, are apt to shrug a scornful shoulder at the piquant drolleries of *Le Rire* or raise contemptuous eyebrows at the guffaws and exaggerated caricatures of *Simplicissimus*. Nor is the language the only obstacle. Those who relish the raciness of everyday American conversation may yet see little to admire in intentional American witticisms, or at least receive them with a languid and unenthusiastic smile.

To make a name in literature or in art which shall be on the lips of contemporaries is the ambition of many; to make such a name that shall outlast a century is the reward and the glory of very few. But the most astonishing achievement of all, even though the sphere may not be the noblest, is to produce works of wit and humour which, coming to us down the long corridors of the centuries, can still provoke the laughter or tickle the palate of this generation.

It is in this spirit, that we are not altogether constituted to enjoy the wit and humour of other nations, that we should approach those of India. Even for this limited

appreciation we have but few materials, for if the humour of a nation be expressed in its literature, we have very little on which we can rely. Few of the ancient Sanskrit dramas have survived, and none at all of those ephemeral compositions which provided the lighter side of theatrical representation. The modern theatre turns in all seriousness to the problem play, to those performances which point a moral to politics or to society; the Hindu when he takes himself seriously is apt to take himself very seriously indeed. Those plays which seek merely to excite innocent laughter are not worth the trouble of translation, if indeed they are susceptible of it. Nor can any student hope to read all the productions of the many languages of India; he can only estimate the humour of the Indian by what goes on around him in everyday life; he can only judge by what it is given him to see or to read.

We all recognize intuitively the broad distinction between wit and humour, perhaps we should none of us find it so easy to express this intuition in words. Wit appeals to the intelligence, humour rather to the senses. Wit pricks us with a rapier; humour, like old Bottleby in the poem, often "drives at our ribs with his knuckles," and expects the tribute of loud laughter. Wit must always be conscious; we only ascribe the quality to the man whose sallies are intentional, though they may be improvisations of the moment. Humour, on the other hand, is frequently unconscious; no failure is more lamentable than that of the man who tries to be funny and yet cannot raise a laugh; yet no intentional humorist can raise more extravagant laughter than the tragedian whose efforts have gone astray. That is what we mean when we say that it is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous, for the sublime and pathetic figure of a Hamlet may easily be made, by the mere awkwardness of the actor, to appear at the other end of the scale as the most grotesque of caricatures.

Psychologists tell us that the sense of the ridiculous depends upon contrast, and this presupposes a certain mental development, which is capable of apprehending it. This contrast, says Höffding, "results from the sudden conjunction of two thoughts or two impressions, each of which excites a feeling, and the second of which razes what the first erects." This is said to be fundamental, and, as we shall see, the Hindu classic writers, who were appealing to a highly cultivated audience, have constantly acted upon it. It is the same sense of contrast, exercised in another

direction—that of the feeling of superiority—which makes a short man feel somewhat ridiculous when talking to an excessively tall one, or especially to a very tall woman. This feeling seems to be akin to the feeling of the sublime which we have when we contemplate the stars or lofty mountains—anything in Nature which suggests a power immeasurably greater than our own. But it is viewed from the opposite standpoint, and this perhaps is the reason why the absurdity of a farce excites laughter. The things which Charlie Chaplin does are not funny; it is the utter insignificance of the man as made up for the stage, the ludicrous gravity with which he moves, the apparent unconsciousness of his own absurdity, which tickles the fancy at any rate of the less educated.

If the ancient Sanskrit dramas contain nothing that can reasonably be called tragedy, inasmuch as the essence of tragedy lies in the final and irrevocable catastrophe, neither do we find anything of the purely comic type. It is perhaps unfair to invite comparison with English and French plays of many hundred years later, nor do we turn to Shakespeare and Molière with this object, but merely by way of illustration. Shakespeare, then, mixes tragedy and comedy in his plays. Perhaps the nearest to Indian conceptions is the "*Merchant of Venice*" (always, be it noted in passing, a favourite with the Indian schoolboy), in which the pathetic, if vindictive, figure of the Jew, deprived of his daughter, his ducats, his bargain, and his faith, might really belong to the most poignant tragedy as we moderns understand it. Moreover, up to a certain point the play threatens to follow the lines of conventional tragedy. Antonio has made his bargain and cannot meet his obligations; until the last moment, when Portia appears with her verbal quibbles, there seems to be no way out of the difficulty. Then suddenly all is changed; the bond is discovered to be defective, and Antonio escapes through the offices of this goddess out of the machine. That is exactly what we are led to expect in a Sanskrit play, but the comic element differs entirely. There is no character in Sanskrit literature which in the least resembles Lancelot Gobbo. Nor again, at least in those plays which are accessible to English readers, do the authors hold up to satire the manners and customs of their times as Molière did in the "*Femmes Savantes*" and the "*Précieuses Ridicules*," and to a lesser degree in the "*Bourgeois Gentilhomme*," which one may regard as pure farce of the delicate and whimsical type rather than of the rough-and-

tumble order—a farce for the handkerchief of queenly Miss Janet rather than for the guffaws of old Bottleby.

In appraising the comic art of the Hindus we are met by a formidable difficulty in that there are very few extant examples of it. In classifying the dramas, or rather in expounding the classification of Sanskrit writers themselves (for never has a dramatic system been so elaborately constructed, labelled, and analyzed as that of India), Professor Wilson shows that there is only one class which deals entirely with the comic, although “fraud, intrigue, and imposition are appropriate topics” of the Bhana, while in the Ihamriga “love and mirth are the prevailing sentiments”; in both of these, therefore, there is room for a display of wit or humour. The Prahasana, on the other hand, “is a farcical or comic satire, and might be thought to have originated, like the old comedy, from the phallic hymn. Unlike the Aristophanic comedy, however, it is levelled at the many headed mob, but in general at the sanctified and privileged orders of the community. . . . It is in their extreme indelicacy that they resemble, although they scarcely equal, the Greek comedy, but they have not its redeeming properties of exuberant gaiety and brilliant imagination.” There are similar classes in the lower division of drama which are called Uparupakas, but these need not detain us.

With their passion for analysis and classification the Hindus have made a long list of human emotions and qualities which they consider fit for dramatic representation, and of these Hasya is described as “mirth arising from ridicule of person, speech, or dress, either one’s own or another’s.” This quality is again subdivided into four, of which the first two are the elegant and cultivated expression of the emotion; the last two, and especially the fourth, are only fit for the common people. It is hardly necessary to add that they range from impassivity to the uproarious laughter which, as we are told, “betrays the vacant mind.”

And the same passion for regulating everything, including the emotions, has to a certain extent sterilized their humour. That free play of the dramatist is denied to them which deals lightly with the foibles of human nature, now exhibiting the vanity of Malvolio, now holding up the mirror to vixenish temper in Mistress Quickly, or again revelling in the misanthropy of Alceste or exposing the hypocrisy of Tartuffe. The ancient drama has one comic character *par excellence*, the Vidushaka, but even he has become so systematized that the critics have been busy

reducing him to a common denominator; they have sought out the type and expect you to see the same features in all. Nor are they altogether wrong. The Vidushaka is a Brahman who is generally fond of good living, and has been called a mixture of shrewdness and buffoonery. He accompanies the King or hero, and acts as his confidential adviser. It is here that we detect the sense of contrast. Not only does the King speak Sanskrit and the "Fool" Prakrit, the King poetry and the "Fool" homely prose, but the poetic rhapsodies of the one are set against the downright common-sense of the other, and it is upon this that the wit depends. If you say with Solomon's Song that your heart is sick of love, the "Fool" will tell you that it is your body which is sick of apples. If you sigh for a meeting with your lady he will suggest that a portrait will suffice. "As my eye," says the Prince in "*Vikrama and Urvashi*"—"As my eye

"Rests on the towering trees and from their tops
Sees the lithe creepers wave, I call to mind
The graces that surpass its pendulous elegance.
Come, rouse your wit, and friendship may inspire
Some capable expedient."

"I have it," replies the "Fool." "Go to sleep and dream about her, or get a portrait and gaze on that." Or he is continually turning longing eyes to the pleasures of the table. "I used to stuff myself," he says in the "*Toy Cart*," "till I could eat no more . . . now I wander about like a tame pigeon picking up such crumbs as I can get." This appears to be the stock jest. We find it in the "*Sakuntala*" and in the piece already quoted. It is a cure for lovesickness. "Pay a visit to the kitchen," exclaims the "Fool," "the sight of the dishes will drive away melancholy."

Too much stress ought not to be laid upon these ancient pieces. Like the Greek drama, they were intended for religious and moral instruction, and the sparkling wit and humour of a Congrève or a Molière would be as out of place as a fifth-century Athenian tragedy. No doubt also much depended upon the actor and how much stage business he was able to introduce. Wit and humour are delicate plants which bloom and expand in the rays of a lively imagination; the dull reader will see nothing in the brilliant wit that appeals to a finer apprehension, and he who is looking out for the keen thrusts and the pointed fancies of wit passes without a smile the broad jests that convulse his neighbour with laughter. It is difficult rightly to

appreciate the wit of a bygone age written in a dead language. Imagine a scene written in the dialect of Somerset, perhaps depending for its effect on this dialect; imagine that the whole point of the scene is contained in some quality characteristic of the British rustic; suppose that scene translated into the purest Parisian French and presented to an audience unaccustomed to England and to English ways. Would it be matter for surprise if the whole flavour of the thing were spoiled—if the French audience received it not with smiles, but with yawns?

Nevertheless, make what allowances we will, the wit cannot but seem to us rather thin, the humour somewhat languid. An Indian gentleman once remarked that the chief cause of misunderstanding between Englishmen and Indians, if any there really were, lay in the lack of a sense of humour in the latter; a saying not altogether true, yet not without a germ of truth. To a people so preoccupied with the sense of dignity, to a people whose idea of hospitality is to receive a guest with honour and ceremony rather than with that familiarity of welcome which in the current vernacular we call "making a man feel at home"; anything which seems to detract from that dignity or to offend that notion of honour seems to be an affront. Ever on their guard against appearing ridiculous, they do not understand those quips, seldom amounting to real wit and often not even approaching humour, with which we are wont to enliven conversation; and that which from its very contrast between intention and performance strikes us as supremely funny seems to them quite natural and proper. They saw nothing incongruous in presenting as an athletic prize to a boy who never wore shoes an ordinary boot-brush. And a village anxious to celebrate the coronation saw nothing funny in following behind a cheap picture of the King placed on a rough toy-cart, and drawn by a naked cooly.

It may have seemed that too much space was devoted to an examination of the humour of bygone days; there was a purpose in it. For the ancient dramatic rules are still extant, are still a guide to the playwrights of to-day; and since we have so little chance of learning the inner thoughts of Indian writers from the vernacular plays of to-day, seeing that those written in English generally break away from the established rules, it is only by reference to the ancient works that we may have a trustworthy guide to the sentiment of to-day. There is, it is affirmed by the Indians themselves, nothing between the serious mytho-

logical, social, or political play and the outrageous buffoonery of farce.

The Hindu genius expresses itself far more readily in story and apologue than in neat terms of phrase or brilliant dialogues, such as Oscar Wilde gave us. The "Panchatantra," or collection of fables contained one within the other after the manner of Chinese boxes, deserves to be much better known. We ought not to deny the title of wit, in the larger sense at any rate, to these ingenious tales which, like our old familiar *Æsop*, inculcate moral precepts through the entertaining adventures of lions and tigers, kings and Brahmans, bulls, crocodiles, crows, and rats. We may leave the Hindus their farce, which is neither better nor worse than those silly productions in Europe which aim only at raising the easy laugh of the moment. We may leave them their accredited buffoons, whose jests are apt to splutter in our ears like a damp firework. We may, if we choose, flatter ourselves that we have a keener sense of the unconsciously ridiculous. But in the telling of witty stories, not inconsistent with a certain dignity in which the humour lies perhaps too effectively concealed, they need fear no comparison; rather one would be tempted to say, they have no rivals.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.—II

By J. A. SANDBROOK

(Editor of *The Englishman*, Calcutta)

THE first decade of the new régime was humdrum enough in Calcutta journalism. Things were no better in Bombay, where there were only two papers, the *Courier* and the *Gazette*, neither of which exists to-day. The editor of one of them, Fair, had shared the fate of Buckingham for daring to offend the Recorder. Newspapers, like other institutions, had their vicissitudes, and when the great financial crisis came to Calcutta in the early thirties the proprietors of *John Bull*, like many other firms, were so badly hit that they tried to dispose of the property.

A purchaser was found in the person of Joachim Hayward Stocqueler, and he bought the paper for £1,800 (Rs. 18,000), a sum that must have been a good deal less than the amount spent upon its foundation. Stocqueler, like Buckingham, was a romantic figure who had travelled widely and adventured in many parts of the world before coming to Calcutta. The late Sir George Birdwood, who remembered him well, once described him as one of the handsomest men he had ever known, and on the stage and concert platform, as well as in the smoking-room or at the dinner table, he was one of the most fascinating and vigorous personalities. It was in 1833 that he became proprietor of *John Bull*, and at once changing the name to *The Englishman* and gathering around him a body of brilliant writers like Sir John Peter Grant, once Puisne Judge of the Court of Bombay; John Farlie Leith, a rising advocate of the High Court; Charles Thackeray, uncle of the novelist, he soon made the paper a great power in India.

Hitherto the newspapers of India, save for the rather sordid personalities in which they indulged, had consisted mainly of extracts from the English papers. Stocqueler adopted a vigorous policy for the collection of news from all parts of India, and his enterprise led him even to print a paper in London summarizing each mail's news for despatch to his subscribers up country, thus effectively counteracting whatever advantage the Bombay papers derived from the first peep at the mail. Later on, in the days of the Afghan War, he printed an edition of *The Englishman* in Delhi also. By these enterprising means he kept far in advance of his contemporaries. Almost simultaneously with his arrival in Calcutta the Press was made entirely free from Government control, and the paper benefited enormously from the strong, well-informed, and thoroughly independent writers that he employed.

Dr. Russell of *The Times* has often been spoken of as the first of war correspondents. But long before that great journalist had joined the staff of *The Times*, Stocqueler had become a war correspondent. Indeed, he is one of the first duly accredited war correspondents on record. So great had the influence of *The Englishman* become, particularly in the army, for which it catered specially, that in 1838 Stocqueler was invited to accompany the advance into Afghanistan. He touched the life of India, and of Calcutta especially, at many points. He embarked in many enterprises, and as an army agent—precursor, one might almost say, of the admirable Cox—he was a popular figure with the military. But he lost money in these concerns, and when in 1842, broken in fortune and dispirited, he cast the dust of India off his feet, he was comforted at the reflection that he was able to sell *The Englishman* for £13,000 after having derived a good income from it, and that he left the Press in India, which he had found childish in Bombay and weak in Bengal, in a state of healthy maturity, “literally the organ of public sentiment and a useful auxiliary of the Government.”

By the forties of the last century the newspaper Press of India had acquired a position of authority and influence no less powerful than that of the Press in other parts of the British Empire. Circulations, it is true, were not very great. But the spread of education was daily widening the circle of readers amongst the people of India, and with the growth of trade, the establishment of factories, and the opening up of the material resources of the country came an ever-increasing influx of people from England and other countries. The new-comers were largely, if not chiefly, men from the public schools and the Universities of England—men who had been brought up in a healthy and ever-widening atmosphere of constitutional freedom, who carried with them to their new homes the old ideals of freedom, the deep respect for authority, and the love for learning and good literature that have meant so much to the social life of England and the orderly development of its institutions of government. It was no small advantage to them to find in India a Press as powerful as it was free, and in the years of progress that followed the Press was destined to play a great part in India, especially by keeping a somewhat self-centred bureaucracy in touch with public sentiment, native as well as British, and by encouraging the sober discussion of public affairs. It is to men like Buckingham and Stoqueler that we owe, in the first place, the foundation in India of a healthy Press inspired with the ideals that have always inspired the great journals of the United Kingdom.

They were succeeded by men of large views, whose attitude towards the problems that confronted them were inspired by an intense devotion to England and all that she stood for in the world of politics, and by a deep sympathy with the life that throbbed around them—a life just waking to political consciousness, and groping, often blindly and without native leadership, towards higher ideals of social and political betterment. Shallow and uninformed critics have often condemned the attitude of the Anglo-Indian

Press towards Indian problems, and especially towards the Mutiny. They conveniently forget the position of a small white community living and governing by prestige alone in the midst of a huge population too often swayed by waves of unreasoning fanaticism. And they derive their impression of the character and motives of the Anglo-Indian Press from a few stray expressions in letters to the editor and in correspondence written by men in remote and isolated stations, where the perils of existence seemed infinitely greater than they seemed to those situated in large centres of population, where the hand of authority was stronger and the influence of companionship more pacifying. It has always been the custom of Anglo-Indian editors to allow a large measure of freedom of expression to *moffussil* contributors and to writers of letters to the editor; but it must not too hurriedly be assumed that these writers reflected, still less governed, the policy of the papers. In our day we may not defend many of the expressions that were used—the policy would now be to modify or expunge them; but it was greatly to the advantage of the Government of the day to know exactly what men and women in the remotest parts of India were feeling, and to appreciate the danger as far as possible from the point of view of those who were confronting it in their daily lives. But whether we justify or condemn the expressions that were used in the dust and heat of conflict, let us not be led into the belief that the papers in whose columns they appeared were swayed more by racial bitterness and political extravagance than by a statesmanlike survey of the problems that had to be faced and solved.

During the critical years of the Mutiny *The Englishman* was edited by William Cobb Hurry. He had come to India in 1825 as a private trader. In thirty years he had made sufficient money to allow him to dispose of his interests in indigo and other concerns, to purchase a share in *The Englishman*, and devote himself to his literary ambitions.

He had always taken a serious view of life and its problems, and when the Mutiny came, with all its terrors and alarms, people turned from the frivolous type of literature which had hitherto satisfied them, to find comfort and guidance in a paper which, like *The Englishman* of that period, specialized in the gathering of important news and the sober discussion of public affairs. Reading through the files of the paper for that period, even at this distance of time, one is struck by the moderation, the complete absence of sensationalism that they present. One may imagine how the sub-editor of to-day would have gloried in sensational head-lines and vivid summaries set out in bold type. The pages of *The Englishman* presented a cool, unruffled surface, calm and determined, resolute and moderate as the great Power that was slowly but surely gathering its forces in order to suppress revolt and restore authority. *The Englishman* was served by a great army of correspondents, most of them connected with the army, who supplied it with a constant stream of news regarding the Mutiny and the measures taken for its suppression. This news was collated and presented in a manner that our times would regard as dull ; but in the moderation of its presentment, no less than in the sobriety of the editorial comments, we can recognize the hand of a master imbued with an immense sense of responsibility. There may have been indiscretions provoked by some violent outrage ; but in the main the temper was restrained and dignified, reflecting with admirable judgment amidst the heart-rending bitternesses of the time the sober determination of the British people to restore peace, and to continue to govern as much in the interests of the millions of India as in their own.

Space does not permit a mention here of the many brilliant and earnest men who from time to time conducted the journals of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Allahabad—the four great centres of Anglo-Indian newspaper activity.

(*To be continued.*)

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE MUSIC OF INDIA. By Rev. H. A. Popley. (*Oxford University Press.*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

The European who undertakes to describe the music of India to European readers has not a few difficulties to surmount. He must express himself in terms of the European art because he knows no others, and because he would otherwise be unintelligible to his readers. He must also glean his information from those who, themselves ignorant of European music, and, therefore, of its terminology, have considerable difficulty in expressing themselves intelligibly upon their own art. He must think away all ideas of harmony and confine himself to melody; this, however, is less difficult than to adjust ideas to strange scales and strange times. Indian music, like Greek and mediæval music, is based on modes rather than scales; the tempered scale of modern music is unknown to it. And as there is no notation, as the subdivisions of tones differ, and as there are special names for the notes with their sharpened and flattened variations, a special notation becomes necessary.

Mr. Popley has evidently a very great admiration for the music of India, and has been at great pains to cultivate his knowledge. He has borrowed largely from Mr. Fox Strangways, whose book on the music of Hindustan remains the principal European contribution for many years. Those who have heard the real Indian music, and do not confuse it with the noises in the streets, or the strident accompaniment to a wedding procession, will fully sympathize with his protest against the condemnation of Indian music by the ignorant, or by those who have never tried to understand it. At the same time, it is equally impossible to accept the rhapsodies of some admirers who would raise Indian music to the rank of the Eternal Art, and by implication, at any rate, depreciate the glories of the music of Europe. Mr. Popley has successfully avoided extremes. He pleads for a more frank recognition of the Indian art, but admits that, even in India, much remains to be done in the way of research and encouragement. He also suggests—and here we must fully agree—that children should be trained in Indian music. But let the missionaries set the example, if an example is needed. Let them stop teaching the children to sing praise to their Creator in doggerel rhymes set to debased tunes, which they interpret in a musical language wholly foreign to them, and which performs its "sacred purpose connected with the regeneration of the human heart" no better than does the croaking of the Indian frog, or the cawing of the Indian crow. Let them teach the "Lord's Song" in a musical language which appeals to the child; let them set their Christian hymns in terms of Sanskrit hymns, and set them to the music of India.

The three main divisions of Indian music—to speak loosely—are the scale, the *rāgam*, and the *tala*. Of the scale, something has already been

said ; it is practically impossible to deal with the subject without becoming involved in mathematical calculations, which naturally detract from a book, but at the same time are necessary to a scientific work. The rāgam has eluded most people, and Mr. Popley has fared no better than the rest. He calls it "the basis of melody in Indian music and a substitute for the Western scale." Mr. Fox Strangways has attempted a more precise definition, but admits that, taken alone, it is almost unintelligible. Rāgam may be called, as Captain Day has called it, a "melody type"; "basis of melody," so far as it conveys anything, is neither better nor worse. But to call it the substitute of the Western scale is surely most misleading to the European reader.

It must be admitted that the tala is extremely difficult to convey to a student of the subject by means of the written word. The Indian talas have distinct rhythms which one feels to be inevitable, and which are, nevertheless, elusive. A European illustration will, perhaps, explain how this comes about. Even those who lay claim to no very great knowledge of European music know the second movement of Tchaikowsky's B minor Symphony, which is written in the unusual $\frac{3}{4}$ time. Now if this time is changed to common, or to $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$, the whole character of the music disappears. The second section in particular loses its *lift*—it becomes either commonplace or formal. We are so accustomed to the stress on the first beat of a bar, that when that stress comes later, or when the stress is on one bar and not on the next, there is something unfamiliar to us, something to which our ear fails at once to attune itself.

Mr. Popley has something interesting to say about rāga pictures which suggests, one may remark, a certain affinity between colour and music not unknown to Western musicians. Careful readers will notice that the prevailing colour in one rāga is green ; in another, yellow ; in a third, violet or red. These colours certainly do suggest the character of the melody type. The remarks on the "five main note-lengths" are not so happy. In the first place, he gives six and not five (only four are given by Mr. Fox Strangways), and, in the second, these note-lengths are said by Indian musicians to be archaic, and no longer in ordinary use.

The book is a useful guide to Indian music. It is supplementary to Mr. Fox Strangways' work in that the latter is often too technical, or, at least, presupposes too wide a knowledge of music for the average reader. Mr. Popley's work is of the more popular kind, and, in certain particulars, he has succeeded in conveying a clearer idea to those who may have been puzzled by the more abstruse work. Any contribution which will serve a much-neglected art is welcome, and if we cannot quite share Mr. Popley's enthusiasm, we are, at least, grateful for it.

THE MUSINGS OF A MISSIONARY. By John A. Sharrock, M.A. (Croydon ; Roffey and Clark.) 2s. 6d.

(Reviewed by J. B. PENNINGTON, L.C.S. Ltd.)

As an old Tinnevely "bureaucrat," who spent nearly half his time in that district, and perhaps knew its missionaries of those days more inti-

mately than any official that ever went there, it seems only right that I should say what I think of this little booklet by an old friend and alumnus of my old school, who always says exactly what he thinks with such trenchant vigour and frankness.

As to the purely missionary part of his musings I shall say but little, because I knew very little of the internal administration of the mission : but I always thought that a good missionary, (and many of them, like Dr. Caldwell, with whom I was always on intimate terms both before and after he became a Bishop, were very good), was of quite as much use in a district as any magistrate, and I am thankful to say we were always very good friends, though I was never devoted to missions like some of my friends. Nor do I care to dwell on the very unsavoury subjects discussed on p. 49 *et seq.* ; but if there is any truth in the suggestion that heinous moral offences are sometimes condoned by the ecclesiastical authorities with the idea of hushing up a scandal it is most deplorable.

Chapter VIII. gives me an opportunity of saying something on a subject which is more familiar to me ; and though, speaking generally, I agree with Mr. Sharrock's criticism of a vacillating policy, I still believe that "conciliation" * is the right line to take to begin with, and that the repression of free speech as long as it does not incite to violence is most dangerous. Mr. Gandhi's strength lies in his policy of non-violence—whether he is sincere or not. If he sincerely inculcates the simple life, (as Horace perhaps thought even he did,) who shall blame him?—except, perhaps, for thinking he can put back the hands of time, and acting in a way that he surely must know is bound to end in violence.

Mr. Sharrock's account of caste and the impossibility of reconciling it with any possible form of democracy is very forcible, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Montagu could not have been made to understand what he was doing before he embarked on his wild career of so-called reform.

It is a very small matter, but considering the ignorance of people in this country, it would have been better if Mr. Sharrock had pointed out, what no doubt he knew, that the Indian civilian always pays a great part of his pension by deductions from his pay ; and, if he is very lucky, even more than he receives in pension.

* By "conciliation" I do not mean "constantly giving way," as he says, but rather goodwill on both sides, and a sincere desire to arrive at a reasonable compromise.

THE SCOURGE OF CHRIST. By M. Paul Richard. (Madras : *Ganesh and Co.*) Rs. 3.

The object of M. Paul Richard in writing his "Scourge of Christ" is, apparently, to create a volume of witty and paradoxical sayings. In this he has succeeded ; but, in many cases, truth is sacrificed to wit ; while his attacks on all forms of orthodoxy, though often justified, are sometimes almost ludicrous in the sweeping statements. Occasionally, too, some of the maxims are so abstruse and paradoxical that few ordinary people with ordinary untwisted brains can understand them, though perhaps this may be due to mistranslation in some cases.

Many of the maxims, however, are extremely true, startlingly true in fact, especially those dealing with "The Gospel of Prayer"—that is to say, if Section IV. of that chapter is omitted. Section IV. needs special mention, as it sets forth vegetarian ideals and theories in no uncertain language. In order to show the spirit of the writer, it may be as well to set forth a few of these maxims here. Thus, when speaking of our "Daily Bread," he says:

"'Martyrized bodies'—the meaning we put on 'daily bread.'"

"'Grace before meat'—thanks to God for the present results of murder."

"'Dining-room'—a funeral chamber dedicated to the rite of absorbing diversely spiced corpses."

These maxims are all very well, but on what can a man live if he kills nothing? If he eats vegetables he must kill them first, and who can say that they do not resent deeply being rooted up and thrown into boiling water simply because they have not the power of motion or of voicing an opinion? Possibly they are even more sensitive than animals. Who can say, then, that it is not just as much "murder" to uproot and boil a cabbage as to kill an ox and roast its flesh? The only difference is that the latter can show its objection, while the former cannot.

It would hardly be fair to quote only such examples of the maxims as those just set forth without also giving some that show real flashes of insight. Let us, then, select a few. For instance, M. Richard writes:

"'Moralist'—one who has a high sense of other people's duties."

"If so many people choose evil rather than good, it is no doubt because they would rather be punished by God than by the Devil."

"Putrid water has sometimes the most shining surface."

"The shadows are the proof of the sun."

"Behold the coal!—embodied sunlight."

It is useless, however, simply to write a long list of selected quotations, however good or amusing, and it is equally impossible to describe all the thousand maxims satisfactorily in a limited space. A book could be written on each, for every one of them gives much food for thought. Sometimes one agrees with the maxims, sometimes they cause one to see things in a new light, while others provoke a spirit of controversy or even of annoyance. In whatever way they may strike one, however, the book is, nevertheless, well worth reading; and though its apparent object, to the casual observer, is merely to be a compilation of witty remarks, as we observed above, the real object is to elevate Asia, and to point out the shortcomings of the European who looks down upon his Asiatic brethren with disdain. To quote his very words:

"Europe finds it natural to take one man of Asia as master and all his brothers as slaves."

"... Thou shalt love (regard?) thy neighbour—all peoples whatsoever black, yellow, white, African or Asiatic, strong or weak, small or great thou shalt 'love' as thyself."

At the same time, it is evident that he expects a second Christ to come

from the East, the conception being very obvious both in the section dealing with "The Son of Asia" and in his "Canticle to Asia."

THE CHIRALA PERALA TRAGEDY. By G. V. Krishna Rao. (*Ganesh*)
(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

The system of Unions in Madras on the principle of Local Self-Government was apparently designed to meet those cases in which villages were too large to be left entirely to themselves without any attempt to introduce the necessities of modern civilization, and yet not large enough to be constituted municipalities with their much more elaborate machinery, their more complicated needs, and their heavier taxation. There was, however, a grave defect. The step from the Union to the Municipality was too sudden; the taxation under the Municipal Act was so greatly in excess of that under the Local Boards' Act and the whole scheme of administration was on such a different scale that whenever it was proposed to turn a Union into a Municipality there was not unnaturally a vehement protest. This is apparently what happened at Chirala. Finding that protests had no result, the villagers under the new influences at work in India evacuated their houses and lived in huts in the fields; they even vowed to continue this uncomfortable mode of life until the new Municipality was countermanded.

Into the rights and wrongs of the case one cannot enter, because the pamphlet called "The Chirala Perala Tragedy" amounts to frank propaganda. The leader of the movement, Mr. Gopalkrishnagya, seized the occasion to instruct his people in the wickedness of the Government generally and was duly prosecuted. His statements are given in full and are not particularly interesting since they only show the customary violence of language, couched with the usual claim that the non-co-operator is preaching the gospel of love and hates neither the Englishman nor the English people, but only the sins of that abstract thing called Government. The Publicity Bureau is "answered," but it has not been allowed to speak for itself. Reading between the lines of the rather defective English, one sees that Mr. Gopalkrishnagya is simply an enthusiastic follower of Gandhi, who has seized upon the opportunity of a grievance to promulgate his leader's well-known creed.

The root of the trouble lies in the want of a proper sliding scale by which the Union is merged gradually into the Municipality with the least possible disturbance either of taxation or of functions. The Union on the border line ought to be so constituted that it is very nearly a Municipality: the Municipality on the border line that it is very nearly a Union. We commend this suggestion to the authorities.

The Zemindar of Kurupam has done good service by addressing an "Appeal" to his countrymen to look the facts of non-co-operation and other methods of extreme agitation in the face. The pamphlet, which is printed in three languages, English, Telugu, and Uriya, is written in the plain, sober language of common sense. If there is any criticism to be

made, it is that here and there the style is above the heads of the common folk, to whom presumably it is addressed, and that the long extracts from the speeches of Lord Reading and Lord Willingdon might for the same reason have been paraphrased. But perhaps it is presumptuous to tell a Zemindar how to speak to his own people; the pamphlet is, in any case to be welcomed as the outspoken opinion of a great landholder in British India, and the Zemindar is to be congratulated on the public spirit he has shown at a time when the cause he has adopted has, for reasons not inherent in itself, become unpopular.

S. P. R.

FRENCH BOOK

L'ARABIE ANTÉISLAMIQUE. Ign. Guidi. (Paris: *Geuthner.*) 1921.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

The lectures which Professor Guidi, of the University of Rome, delivered in 1909 before the newly founded University of Cairo, excited much attention, but as they were published only in Arabic, the language in which they were first given, they have hitherto been accessible only to a narrow circle of readers. The author has often been asked to make them more generally available, and the French translation, recently published, appears opportunely at a time when a wider interest has been excited in all matters that concern Arabia. Not that these lectures deal with modern conditions, for they end with the period immediately preceding the rise of Islam; but for the understanding of the movement initiated by Muhammad some knowledge is essential of the earlier history of Arabia, and of the conditions that led up to the expansion and the conquests of the Arab tribes. Materials are scanty, and a clear account of the Arabian peninsula during the two centuries preceding the Muhammadan era can only be drawn by collecting together data from varied sources, often difficult of interpretation. This Professor Guidi has done in an attractive manner in these four lectures on Christian and heathen Arabia before Muhammad, explaining particularly the relations of the Arabs to the Roman and Persian Empires and to the kingdom of Abyssinia.

SHORTER NOTICES

INDIAN TEXTS SERIES: SIKSHA-SAMUCCAYA. Compiled by Santideva. (*John Murray.*) 21s. net.

It will be recalled that the manuscript of this book was brought from Nepal by Mr. Cecil Bendall, and edited by him for the Russian Bibliotheca Buddhica. Three chapters are devoted to the avoidance of evil, and other subjects treated are: "Purification from Sin," "Perfection of Patience," "Subjects of Intent Contemplation," etc. The text was compiled chiefly from the earlier Mahayana Sutras, and is a valuable compendium of Buddhist doctrine.

SIXTY YEARS OF INDIAN FINANCE. By K. T. Shah. (*P. S. King and Son.*) 21s. net.

The author of this book has been Professor of History and Economics at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and Professor of Commerce at Mysore University. He surveys a wide field, inquiring into every source of revenue, and examining the whole machinery of financial organization. His final plea is as follows: "The author still keeps to his main contention that the only true and effective remedy (in currency and exchange) is to introduce a full, free, honest gold standard and gold currency, and place it—by legislative sanction—beyond the tinkering of all amateur financiers."

SOLDIERS OF THE PROPHET. By Lieut.-Colonel Murphy. (*John Hogg.*) 10s. 6d. net.

What distinguishes the above volume from many others dealing with the fighting during the Great War in the Near East is that it has some welcome introductory chapters dealing with previous events. The story begins with the Turkish expedition into the Hauran, and through the Arab revolt in Kerak, and the operations in Tangistan in 1913, through the main hostilities, to a chapter on Constantinople in 1918. We commend particularly to our readers the chapter on the Turkish Army organization, which contains much important matter.

ACROSS MONGOLIAN PLAINS. By R. C. Andrews. (*Appleton.*)

The author is already known for his delightful volume entitled "Camps and Trails in China," which describes the "First Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History." The above volume is the result of a year spent in Mongolia and Northern China on the second expedition. The author has purposely avoided scientific details, arguing that these will find their proper place in the Museum's official publication. The result has been a wholly successful book from the point of view of the general reader. Why do not other scientific travellers follow Mr. Andrew's example, and supplement their official reports by a simple account for the benefit of the public?

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES : A FIVE YEARS' SURVEY

(Specially contributed)

ON February 23, 1917, His Majesty the King formally opened the School of Oriental Studies, and it therefore seems that a fitting moment has arrived to call the attention of the public to the degree in which this institution has in five years of existence justified the efforts of those who devoted so much time and labour to its establishment. It is unnecessary to recall the long history of unsuccessful attempts made in the preceding thirty years to meet this obvious national want ; suffice it to say that it was the Committee appointed by H.M. Treasury under the presidency of the late Lord Reay in 1907 that finally led to the creation of the School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury Circus. In March, 1910, the Secretary of State for India appointed a Departmental Committee under Lord Cromer to formulate in detail an organized scheme for the institution in London of a School of Oriental Languages upon the lines recommended in the Report of Lord Reay's Committee. The School actually began its activities in November, 1916, and at a period obviously unpropitious for its immediate development on thoroughgoing lines, for a variety of reasons connected with the difficulty of recruiting the best teachers, and of obtaining students among the youth of the country. On the other hand, it proved immediately useful in connection with the training of recruits for active service in the Near and Middle East, and, with the opening of the School, Army classes in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish were immediately formed. One of the main objects in placing

the School in the heart of the City was to be in close touch with those firms and banks dealing with the Near, Middle, and Far East, and with the cessation of hostilities and the demobilization of the Army the number of students connected with commerce began to increase rapidly.

The conversion of the general public to the view that enormous advantages are to be gained by the preliminary study of a foreign language before proceeding to the country in which that language is spoken is a laborious process, but this view is gradually gaining ground. It is, of course, self-evident that an Englishman, on his arrival in a foreign country, has, as a rule, neither time nor inducement to devote himself seriously to the study of the local vernacular. Arriving without any knowledge of the language, he naturally associates generally with those who speak his own, while the process of adapting himself to new surroundings and making new acquaintances keeps his leisure hours fully occupied. If, on the other hand, he arrives in the country with even an elementary knowledge of the grammar and a small working vocabulary, he can at once begin to add to his stock of knowledge.

The concentration of the teaching in Oriental subjects in this School has furnished a further proof of the demand created by supply. A number of the languages taught here were included in the past in the curricula of University College and King's College; but though teachers were provided, students were very few and far between. Arabic and Persian, for example, which now attract such large numbers to this institution, were almost entirely neglected, although the teachers of these two languages at University College are now professors on our staff. Up to the present time over 1,500 men and women have received instruction in this School, and in the Session 1919-20 the numbers reached 539. That the figures in the last two sessions show a slight decrease may be fairly attributed to the financial state of the City. The students represent a great variety of interests, including, as they do, officers of the

Army and Navy, Colonial and Indian officers, business men, missionaries, and undergraduates and postgraduates. However, it has been the aim of the School from the outset, not only to give practical instruction in the vernaculars of Asia and Africa, but also to develop the higher branches of study in connection with the great classical languages of the East; thus, as a centre of Oriental research this School offers facilities such as have never before been available in the British Isles. The School library is growing daily, and bids fair to become the finest Oriental library in Europe.

The School of Oriental Studies is a recognized School of the University of London, and its staff includes five University professors and four University readers. A number of its students have taken degrees in Oriental languages in the University, and among these there have been several natives of India of high attainments. It was hoped that the position of the School in the City of London would not only attract students from business houses trading with the East, but would also lead to considerable financial support from such firms; the unstable condition of the finances of the City, however, has led to comparatively small response from this quarter, and, though the School has so amply justified its existence and further endowment is badly needed, the time does not seem propitious for making a fresh appeal to the public for the funds which are still required. On the other hand, the support of the Government has been generous, and without it the School could not have reached its present high standard.

In the matter of language teaching, while the aim of the School is essentially practical, much importance is attached to scientific methods of study which tend towards the rapid and thorough acquisition of a competent knowledge of Eastern and African languages. Classes in phonetics and in the methods of linguistic study, which students are strongly advised to attend, form an important part of the curriculum. It sometimes happens that Europeans, and

particularly missionaries, are compelled to master languages that have never been properly studied or even reduced to writing. In such cases direct special instruction in the particular language may not always be possible in this country at present, but the School affords a preliminary training in the methods which should be used when these peculiar difficulties arise, indicating how such languages should be studied and reduced to writing, and how their special characteristics should be recorded.

In all cases where circumstances permit, native speakers of the languages taught in the School are employed side by side with European experts who have made a special study of the particular language; and this combination has been found to be peculiarly effective. The native teacher has the advantage in matters of niceties of pronunciation, thorough knowledge of idiom and natural fluency, while the European lecturer is in a better position to understand and meet the special difficulties of the European student, and also has, as a rule, a broader outlook and more comprehensive grasp of the subject.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the special importance to missionaries of a thorough knowledge of the language of the people to whom they are to be sent, and any time which they are able to devote to the acquisition of it before they leave this country will be well spent under the conditions which have been outlined above; while it need scarcely be added that every effort is made at the School of Oriental Studies to meet their special requirements. Many missionaries have already taken advantage of these facilities and it is desired to extend them still further, particularly in the case of medical missionaries, for whom there is much scope in India, China, and elsewhere, but who up to the present time have been scantily represented at the School.

While primarily intended for instruction in the languages spoken in those vast portions of the earth's surface, the School also provides teaching in the literatures, history, religions, and customs of the varied populations that inhabit them. It

has been found by experience that a thorough grounding in these matters, acquired in this country from trained teachers who have specialized in their several subjects, is an invaluable preparation for anyone who proposes to devote himself to work among the native inhabitants of these regions. It gives him an initial advantage over those who have not had such a course of preparation, which not only facilitates his further studies abroad, but also systematizes them, thus leading in a shorter time to better results than can be obtained by the crude process of "picking up" the desired information locally, often from inadequate teachers.

From time to time courses of lectures on particular religions, such as Muhammadanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc., are given at the School, in which the characteristics of these different systems are explained and analyzed. Other lectures are devoted to the study of particular ethnic types and groups of populations, as well as to their history and the influences which have moulded them.

The following list shows the languages and other subjects in which the School gives, or is prepared to give, instruction : Amharic, Arabic, Armenian, Assamese, Bantu languages, Bengali, Buddhist literature, Burmese, Chinese, Dravidian languages, Ethiopic, Georgian, Gujarati, Gurmukhi, Hausa, Hebrew (modern), Hindostani (Urdu and Hindi), History, Indian law, Iranian languages, Japanese, Kaffir, Kanarese, Karanga, Kashmiri, Luchuan, Luganda, Malay, Malayalam, Marathi, Melanesian, Micronesian, Nepali, Nyanja, Palæogeography, Pali, Panjabi, Papuan, Persian, Phonetics and Linguistics, Polynesian, Sanskrit, Sesuto and Sechuana, Shan, Shina, Siamese, Sinhalese, Swahili, Tamil, Telugu, Tibetan, Turkish, Yao, Yoruba, Zulu.

But this list must not be regarded as exclusive; cognate subjects for which a sufficient demand may arise will, if the circumstances permit, be added to the curriculum, and there are also inter-collegiate arrangements by means of which students of the School can study at other institutions of the University of London subjects which are already dealt

with in such institutions, and are therefore not included in the School's own curriculum. A second list shows the public lectures which have been delivered at the School during its existence. These are open to the public generally as well as to the students of the School, and of course vary from year to year.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

FORLONG BEQUEST FUND LECTURES: "Religion in India and China—Some Points of Comparison" (Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids); "The Way to Buddhahood" (Professor de la Vallée Poussin); "The Mystery Man, the Precursor of Laocius and Confucius" (Professor E. H. Parker); "Philosophy and Buddhism in Japan" (Mr. Yoshio Markino); "Central Asia" (Sir E. Denison Ross); "Mesopotamia" (Mr. R. Campbell Thompson); "The Art of Asia" (Mr. Laurence Binyon); "The Middle East" (Professor A. J. Toynbee); "The Buddhist Literature of China" (Mr. W. M. McGovern); "The Primitive Culture of India" (Colonel T. C. Hodson); "The Hindu Culture of India" (Dr. L. D. Barnett).

INDIAN SUBJECTS: "Ancient India" (Dr. L. D. Barnett); "Ceylon during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe); "The Importance of Hindostani" (Mr. Yusuf Ali); "Indian Family Life" (Mrs. N. C. Sen); "Familiar Indian Animals" (Mr. F. Finn); "Shakespeare on the Hindostani Stage" (Mr. Yusuf Ali); "Indian Orthography, or the Battle of the Characters" (Dr. John Pollen); "The Novel in Bengal" (Dr. J. D. Anderson); "Indian Palæography," two lectures (Dr. L. D. Barnett); "The Popular Literature of Northern India" (Sir G. Grierson); "The Mogul Period of the History of India," five lectures (Mr. A. D. Innes); "The Development of Modern Educational Institutions in India," three lectures (Dr. S. A. Khan); "Gujarat in the Time of Akbar" (Sir E. Denison Ross); "Secret Dialects or Argots in India" (Dr. T. Grahame Bailey); "The Thugs—the Assassins of the Eighteenth Century" (Dr. T. Grahame Bailey); "The Hindu Doctrine of Grace" (Dr. L. D. Barnett); "An Introduction to Indian Music" (Mr. S. G. Kanhere); "Ramayana, the Great Sanskrit Epic" (Mr. S. G. Kanhere); "The Early Mohammedan Dynasties of India" (Sir E. Denison Ross); "The Portuguese in India" (Sir E. Denison Ross); "The Causes of the Distribution of the Indian Languages" (Mr. E. H. C. Walsh); "The Ruined Cities of Ceylon," three lectures (Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe); "Chaitanya and the Vaishnava Revival in the Sixteenth Century" (Rev. W. Sutton Page); "Some Cases I have Tried" (Mr. A. Sabonadière); "Racial Types in the Bombay Presidency" (Mr. W. Doderet); "The Jains" (Dr. L. D. Barnett); "Tea and Rubber Industries in Ceylon" (Mr. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe).

FAR EASTERN SUBJECTS: "Malay" (Mr. C. O. Blagden); "The Three Quests of China" (Rev. Dr. John Steele); "The Essential Ideas of the East (Japan)" (Mr. N. Kato); "A Forgotten Kingdom (Korea)" (Mr.

H. Bonar); "The Superior Man of Confucianism" (Rev. S. B. Drake); "A Chinese St. Patrick, Han Wen-kung, and the Crocodile" (Rev. Dr. John Steele); "The Nature and Use of Tones in Chinese and Other Languages" (Professor Daniel Jones); "France's Share in Far Eastern Studies" (Mr. H. L. Joly); "A Mediæval Japanese Classic" (Mr. G. E. Sansom); "Tibet" (Mr. E. H. C. Walsh); "The Philosophy of Japanese Buddhism" (Mr. W. McGovern); "The Buddhist Temples of Korea" (Miss Hilda C. Bowser); Chinese Customs and Etiquette" (Mr. A. N. J. Whyment); "Chinese Philosophy" (Mr. M. C. Jame); "The Malay Peninsula" (Mr. C. O. Blagden); "Among the Head-Hunters of Formosa" (Mr. W. M. McGovern); "Chinese Fiction" (Dr. Hopkyn Rees); Chinese Fairy Tales" (Mr. A. N. J. Whyment); "Chinese Folk-Lore" (Dr. Hopkyn Rees); "Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula" (Mr. C. O. Blagden).

NEAR EASTERN SUBJECTS: "The Study of Arabic" (Professor Sir T. W. Arnold); "The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day" (Miss M. A. Czaplicka); "Arabic—the Language of Religion," two lectures (Kwaja Kamaluddin); "Syria" (Mr. A. Sefi); "Toleration in Islam" (Professor Sir T. W. Arnold); "Arabic as a Medium of Education and Commerce" (Mr. A. Sefi); "Turkish Literature," four lectures (Dr. E. Edwards); "Islam in its Relation to International Morality" (Mr. A. Sefi); "Modern Egypt" (Mr. D. A. Cameron); "Bahaism" (Mr. Ahmad Safwat); "The Scripts of Ancient Mesopotamia and their Decipherment: the Origin of our Alphabet" (Mr. R. Campbell Thompson); "The Origin and Development of Persian Painting" (Professor Sir T. W. Arnold); "The Peoples of the Nile Valley," six lectures (Professor C. G. Seligman); "The Mosques of Cairo" (Sheikh Abd el Razek); "The History and Literature of the Georgian People" (Mr. D. Ghambashidze).

WEST AND EAST AFRICAN SUBJECTS: "The Bantu Languages" (Professor Alice Werner); "The History and Geography of East Africa" (Professor Alice Werner); "Africa before 1500," ten lectures (Professor Alice Werner); "Muslim Literature and Tradition in East Africa" (Professor Alice Werner); "Africa in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," nine lectures (Professor Alice Werner); "The Swahili Coast" (Professor Alice Werner); "The Wakilindi Saga" (Professor Alice Werner); "European Expansion in Africa," ten lectures (Professor Alice Werner); "Bantu Tribes of East Africa," six lectures (Professor Alice Werner); "Bantu Mythology and Folk-Lore" (Professor Alice Werner); "The Swahili Poem on the Ascension of the Prophet" (Professor Alice Werner); "The Hausa Language" (Mr. J. Withers Gill).

MISCELLANEOUS: "Oriental Characteristics in the Divine Comedy" (Mr. Herbert Baynes); "Moorish Monuments of Mediæval Spain" (Dr. A. S. Yahuda); "The Animistic Basis of Eastern Religions" (Rev. Dr. John Steele).

No account of the work of the School would be complete without emphasis being laid on the part played by the Director in assuring its success and permanency.

Sir E. Denison Ross has been identified with its work from the very beginning, which, it will be remembered, was during the Great War. He had, therefore, to contend with manifold difficulties. There can be no question that he was eminently suited to grapple with such an arduous task. It gave ample scope to his gift for organization and his linguistic knowledge. Already in early years the study of Oriental languages proved for him great fascination. After a course in Paris, and at the University of Strasbourg, where he was a pupil of Professor Nöldeke, he travelled extensively in Asia Minor, Central Asia, Persia, and China. In 1896 he was appointed Professor of Persian at University College, London, and in 1901 passed to India, where he held for ten years the position of Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. For three years he was in charge of the Records of Government of India, and then returned and became identified with the work of the British Museum in London. The importance of his services during the war are well known, as also the rapidity with which he mobilized all the talents of the newly-founded School for the conflict. He has laid the foundations of this great institution, he has erected the edifice in close co-operation with his staff: it is to be hoped that for a long time to come he will be able to direct its destinies.

ARTS AND CRAFTS SECTION

[*This feature is introduced for the first time and is designed to stimulate interest in a subject which is deserving of greater attention.*—ED. ASIATIC REVIEW.]

INDIAN EXHIBITS AT THE WHITE CITY

THERE are welcome signs that Indian Arts and Crafts are once more receiving a fair share of attention. Before the days of mass production in factories, Indian objects of art were greatly esteemed, and found their way into the palaces of the wealthy. But the changes in the conditions of trading during the last century caused a serious setback in the expansion of these products. It was, therefore, a happy idea of the Government of India to take a direct interest in the revival of these industries. Moreover, it is argued that during bad seasons and the failure of the Monsoon such work would form an important means of livelihood and help to combat the ravages of famine. The task of the Government, therefore, was threefold: (1) To encourage the revival of these arts and crafts; (2) to supply craftsmen with good material on which to exercise their skill; (3) to arrange for the ready sale of the finished product. A visit to the British Industries Fair in London this year showed how far this campaign had developed since 1920, when there was only a small stall to exhibit the products of the United Provinces and Bombay. Now we have the Punjab and Burma as newcomers, and the visitor can gain a very fair idea of the arts and crafts of those parts from the exhibits that are shown. Taking the United Provinces first, we were greatly struck by the Moradabad brass ware. This took the form of trays, urns, teapots, boxes, and candelabra. Other striking features were the Nagina ebony work and Nizamabad pottery. In connection with the sale of these articles, Government, in harmony with their policy of placing these industries under local control, have established at Lucknow an emporium for the collection and inspection, sale and export, of the more artistic goods manufactured in these provinces.

The Punjab section showed a large number of articles made of wood and inlaid with ivory, or brass and copper. The wood used is Shisham, which is very strong and durable, and of a beautiful colour when polished. It is pointed out that the ivory inlay is thick, and not of veneer only. Thus these articles can be rubbed down and repolished without damage. Space forbids a detailed description of the many articles of lacquer work. In the best work the coloured lac is laid on the wood in successive layers of different colours, and the pattern is then chased with a graver through the upper layers down to the colours beneath, thus forming a very permanent decoration.

Burma offers a large number of large umbrellas, which are very beauti-

fully made and, we are assured, extremely strong. Some are large enough to serve as marquees. They are all thoroughly waterproof. Other attractive exhibits are textiles, ivory work, and some beautiful silver ware. These articles are in charge of Mr. H. B. Holme, I.C.S., Director of Industries, Burma.

The Bombay exhibits comprise carpets, silks, brocaded dress materials, and a large variety of articles in sandal-wood.

Enquiries regarding all the above articles should be addressed to the Director of Industries in the various provinces, c/o the Indian Trade Commissioner, 60, Winchester House, E.C. 2. It may be added that the encouragement of these industries is a very important movement, which is being greatly appreciated in India. Their artistic value is unquestionable, and we see no reason why they should not secure a much larger sale in this country.

EXHIBITION OF ARMENIAN DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

An exhibition of great interest to students of Near Eastern art was recently held at the Victoria and Albert Museum. It consisted of a representative selection of the water-colours and pencil sketches of Mr. A. Fetvadjian, the well-known Armenian artist, whose work attracted much attention at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, in the Spring of 1920.

This artist has devoted twenty years of his life to his self-appointed task of revealing and recording the ancient architectural glories of his country. Students of Diehl, Stryzowski, and Rivoira have been vaguely conscious that the plains and uplands of Armenia hold the half-buried and much-battered relics of a unique Christian civilization whose flowering-time lasted from the sixth to the thirteenth century A.D. The greatest number of existing ruins are to be found in the districts of Ani, Ererouk, Maghasberd, and Horomos, formerly in Russian Armenia. There, palaces, fortresses, churches, and triumphal arches crown the deeply-riven volcanic rocks above the pallid and profound River Akhourshan. From the exquisitely graceful little chapel of the Citadel to the great cathedral, there is not one fabric that does not bear the scars of many struggles against man and Nature. That they still stand is evidence of the fine craftsmanship of the masons who jointed the blocks of tufa so accurately over their concrete core that, after more than a thousand years, the stones cannot be dislodged.

The Fetvadjian exhibition also contains a series of twelve vivid water-colour sketches illustrating the native dress of Armenian women in different vilayets. Most of these examples betray strong traces of Turkish and Persian influence; but in the full-skirted, fur-edged surcoat worn by the matrons of Erivan it is interesting to descry a far-off resemblance to European masculine costume of the early sixteenth century.

All these pictures are being exhibited at the Royal Institute of British Architects, Conduit Street, W. 1, from April 19 to 30.

ORIENTALIA

"SHINAR" OF THE OLD TESTAMENT DISCOVERED TO BE THE ANCIENT SUMERIAN NAME OF BABYLON

AND DISCLOSING THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE "TOWER OF BABEL"

BY L. A. WADDELL, LL.D.

HITHERTO Assyriologists have failed to find any trace of the Old Testament name for Babylonia, "Shinar," in the historical records of Babylonia or elsewhere.

The name "Shinar," or "Sh-n-ar," the "Sennaar" (*σεννααρ*) of the Septuagint version, occurs eight times in the Old Testament,¹ and has been assumed to be a name for Babylon or Babylonia, from the details given in the references to it in Genesis in connection with Nimrod, the Tower of Babel, and Abraham. There we read: "And the beginning of his [Nimrod's] kingdom was Babel and Erech [the modern Warka²] and Accad and Calneh, *in the land of Shinar*."³ It was the site of the "Tower of Babel"⁴; and one of the four invading kings of Palestine whom Abraham is described to have despoiled was "Amraphel *king of Shinar*,"⁵ who is generally identified with Khammu-rabi, the famous historical king and lawgiver of Babylon about 2225 B.C., of whose inscribed monuments and actual original official letters so many are still extant.

Reviewing the ancient names for "Babylon" (which itself is of later coinage) in the Early Sumerian (or pre-

¹ Gen. x. 10, xi. 2, xiv. 1 and 9; Josh. vii. 21; Isa. xi. 11; Dan. i. 2; Zech. v. 11.

² Warka on the old course of the Euphrates to the north-west of Ur, the modern Mukayyar.

³ Gen. x. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xi. 2-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiv. 1 and 9.

Semitic) and later cuneiform (or wedge-headed script) documents, in a search for this name "Shinar," I observed that the word-signs for the name translated "Babylon" were usually transcribed by Assyriologists as "Tin-tir."¹ As this makes a form of name otherwise wholly unknown to classic history, it was presumably a more or less arbitrary, if not fictitious, transcription as so many of such "restored" names have proved to be. Further examination showed that in that transcription the end portion of the name restored as "tir" really consisted of two syllabic word-signs, which however were treated as forming only one, with a wholly different phonetic value to that possessed by these two component signs when read separately and individually.

On my reading these latter two word-signs for "Babylon" separately by their ordinary Sumerian phonetic values, I found that they yielded the name "She-nir,"² with the literal meaning of "The great Tower of Grain."³ This thus disclosed obviously the Sumerian source of the Hebrew name of "Shinar" or "Sennaar" for Babylon, as well as presumably the real origin and purpose of the "Tower of Babel" in the land of Shinar. And it showed incidentally that the Septuagint form of that name preserved faithfully the original Sumerian first vowel, which is incorrectly rendered *i* in the Massoretic Hebrew tradition.

¹ See for example J. D. Prince, "Sumerian Lexicon," 1908, p. 333. But most modern Assyriologists with unwarranted licence transcribe these signs of "Tin-tir" as "Bāb-ili" or Babylon. Thus L. W. King in "Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings," II., arbitrarily transcribes these signs systematically as "Bāb-ili," notwithstanding they possess no such values (see pp. 11, 17, 18, 48, 50, 67, 70, 78, 81, 195), and without any remark that such liberty has been taken.

² For these constituent word-signs, their phonetic values and definitions, see for *She*, "grain," J. D. Prince, "Sumerian Lexicon," p. 311; G. Barton, "Babylonian Writing," No. 323, and p. 168; G. Howardy, "Clavis Cuneorum" (Leipzig, 1904-1915), No. 349, and p. 75; and for *Nir*, "great tower," see Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Barton, *op. cit.*, No. 282, and p. 146; Howardy, *op. cit.*, No. 300; and Thureau-Dangin, "L'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme," Nos. 140 and 73.

³ See references in above footnote.

This new reading of the old city-name of Babylon and its meaning, obtained by means of transcribing its constituent syllabic signs by their separate values, is conclusively confirmed by the pictorial form of these signs themselves, which are here reproduced in the accompanying illustration. In this are given the varying forms of writing the city-name "She-nir" for Babylon, as it is written in the Early Sumerian documents of about 2950 B.C., down through the ages, through the periods of Khammu-rabi and the Assyrian domination to the latest Neo-Babylonian of the Medo-Persian occupation of Darius, 485 B.C. For all through these periods these two signs were regularly used in official documents in writing the name of the city latterly known as "Bābili" or "Babylon."

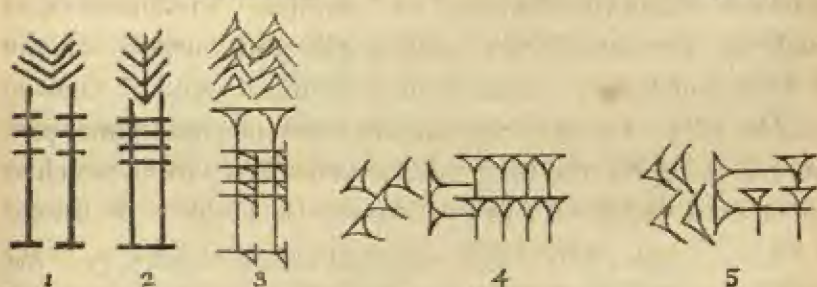
NAME OF SHE-NIR OR "SHINAR" CITY IN SUMERIAN AND
CUNEIFORM SCRIPT

*Sumerian*¹
about 2900 B.C.

Akkadian
of Khammu-
rabi, 2225 B.C.

Assyrian
about 1000 B.C.

Neo-Babylonian
of Darius about
485 B.C.



It will be seen from this illustration that the Early Sumerian style of writing the city-name of She-nir (or "Shinar") with the meaning of "The great Tower of Grain" actually pictures graphically by its word-signs, in linear drawing, "Ears of Corn" on the top of a "Tower." In writing by such pictographs the Sumerian scribes laid

¹ The first of the Sumerian set of these two associated word-signs is from the documents of King Entemena in Sarzec's "Découvertes en Chaldée," pl. 5 *bis*, No. 1a, V. 4; and the second is from the inscription of King Manistusu, Face C. xvi. 16.

the signs on their left side (which are re-erected to their original position in the figure); and the later curtailed forms of writing those early pictographs were the result of the later scribes reducing more and more the number of strokes for celerity in writing with their wedge-headed (or "cuneiform") style, yet still preserving something of the general form of the parent Sumerian pictograph.¹

This strikingly discloses that the famous "Tower of Babel" of the Hebrew legend, situated in the centre of the rich alluvial plain of the Euphrates, "in the land of Shinar"—properly "She-nir"—was originally about 3000 B.C., a great Sumerian state-granary for storing corn, presumably as an insurance against famine. For we find from the great number of dedicatory economic records of the Early Sumerians that they were in the habit of erecting large state-granaries in their cities, and several of the actual structural foundations and walls of some of these Sumerian granaries of about 3000 B.C. have been unearthed by the spade of French and American archæologists at Shirpurla (the modern Tello) and other dead cities in Lower Babylonia.

The prefix to the above abbreviated city-name with the phonetic value of *Tir* or *Ti*² is defined in the Assyrian bilingual glosses as meaning "Life, Live," also "Wine (of Life?),"³ and secondarily "Forest."⁴ It thus appears either to describe grain as "The Staff of Life," or indicate that wine also was stored in the great Tower of the city of She-nir (or "Shinar"); while the sense of "Forest" may possibly preserve the memory of the primeval forest which formerly occupied the site.

In this regard it seems noteworthy that the name

¹ From Khammu-rabi's "Laws," XII. 25.

² *Ti* is also a value of this sign. See S. Langdon, "Sumerian Grammar," p. 296; and G. Contenau, "Tablettes Cappadociennes," Paris, 1919, No. 96.

³ See Prince, *op. cit.*, 332; Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 128, No. 425.

⁴ Pinches, "List of Cuneiform Signs," No. 180.

"Ti-she" formed by the first two of the three syllables of this old city-name, "Ti-she-nir," is the title of the Hittite "God of Grain and Wine" in the old rock-sculptures, cuneiform tablets, and cylinder-seals of the Hittites, the time-immemorial ruling race of Asia Minor; and the Hittites also used Sumerian cuneiform script with its Sumerian meanings and phonetic values.¹ In the ancient colossal rock-sculpture at Ibriz in Lykonias-Cilicia to the north-west of Mesopotamia, the Hittite god, Ti-she, is figured as the vegetation-deity and prototype of him whom the Greeks later called "Dionysos" and the Romans "Bacchus." He is there depicted in what is now known as "Scythian" dress, carrying in his hands a bunch of grapes and stalks of corn, and is being worshipped by a devotee who has apparently Semitic features. And the word-sign for this *Ti* is considered by Assyriologists to picture a leaf of the grape-vine.²

This "Ti-she," Corn and Wine spirit of the Hittites, was also called in dialectic variants "Tishab," "Teshab," and "Teshub."³ It thus seems, I think, that the name of the city called "Ti-sha-ab" or "Ti-shu-u-ab," in a Hittite tablet,⁴ is a Hittite form of the name "Ti-she-nir" for Babylon.

The fuller form of the old name of this city, which was latterly called "Babylon"—namely, "Ti-she-nir"—is frequently employed regularly in official Babylonian documents down to the very latest Medo-Persian period;⁵ though it is arbitrarily transcribed as well as translated "Babylon" by

¹ This fact was first noted by Pinches in 1881, and has since been profusely confirmed by Sayce, Winckler, Hrozný, and others. See Contenau, *op. cit.*, 113 f., for the signs in question in the Hitto-Cappadocian.

² See Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

³ Or "Tessub," as read by Sayce and others.

⁴ See Contenau, *op. cit.*, text No. 15, line 9, and pp. 85 and 126. The second reading is mine.

⁵ For instances of its use in the contract-tablets of Babylon in the period of Darius, see Pinches, "Babylonian Tablets of Berens Collection," Nos. 106, 107, and 108.

Assyriologists.¹ The first syllable of this name was obviously omitted by the Hebrews in forming their "Shinar" or "Sennaar." The first two syllables of the name were also often omitted by Babylonians in writing the name, presumably for brevity; and only the last—namely, "Nir"—employed to designate the city-name. This "Nir" is undoubtedly the real phonetic value of the word-sign which is usually transcribed by Assyriologists as *E*, as the short title for Babylon; for it is the self-same sign as the end one in the full title, as above, though it chances to be in its later abbreviated shape also of the same form as the later *E* sign in Neo-Babylonian.²

The short name for Babylon of "Nir" suggests to me the possibility that the old channel of the Euphrates flowing southwards from Babylon to the junction with the old Tigris above Erech (or Warka), now called by the modern Arabs "Shatt en *Nil*," or "The Channel of *Nil*," may have derived this title from the old contracted name of "Nil" for Babylon. For the letters *l* and *r* are freely interchangeable dialectically in Arabic, and to some extent in most other languages, as, for instance, in the Old English "Hal" for "Harry." And it is a common practice in the East, as in the West, to call a section of a river or channel after the name of the chief town to which it leads.

The latter-day form of this city-name as "Babylon" is

¹ Instances of this arbitrary transcription of the word-signs of this name as "Bāb-ili" or Babylon are cited in footnote 1, p. 2. And even Thureau-Dangin, for example, similarly so transcribes it habitually without remark. On the other hand Pinches is careful to note that the signs in question do not read "Bāb-ili" or Babylon, but "Tin-dir" as he reads the "Tin-tir" of other Assyriologists, who, however, do not give the last two signs of the triad their separate syllabic values.

² The word-sign for "E," which means a "reservoir," is No. 109 of Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*; 263 of Barton, *op. cit.*; 279 of Howardy, *op. cit.*; and p. 92 of Prince, *op. cit.* And though somewhat resembling the *Nir* sign is never used in or for the title of Babylon in all the many early inscriptions I have examined—the *Nir* sign a distinctly different sign and numbered differently in above-cited lexicons as Nos. 73, 282 (and compare 329), 300, and p. 262 respectively.

purely Semitic and non-Sumerian. It is derived from the Akkadian or Assyrian Semitic "Bāb-il-lu," meaning "Place of the Gate of God," with reference to its great temple of the Father-god, Mar-duk, there—for the puerile Hebrew etymology of the name given in Genesis has been long discarded by scholars. And this Semitic title of the last great capital city of Mesopotamia was latterly Hellenized by the Greeks into "Babylōn," as we now know the name in classic and modern literature. This Semitic name for their city was written by the Babylonians, as was their custom, in script of Sumerian origin; for the Akkado-Assyrian Semites appear to have possessed no script of their own, but adopted the Sumerian word-signs, to which they gave Semitic equivalents with the same meaning from their own vernacular. It thus happens that the Semitic name of "Babylon," *Bāb-il-lu*, spells, I find, by the Sumerian value of its word-signs, *Ka-ash-ra*,¹ rather than "Ka-dingir-ra," as it has hitherto been transcribed.

This "Ka-ash-ra" Sumerian title of the old capital city as "The Place of the Gate of God," semiticized by the Akkado-Assyrians into "Bāb-il-lu," or Babylon, is now disclosed to be obviously the Sumerian source of the title "Kashdim" so frequently applied by the Hebrews throughout the Old Testament to Babylon and Babylonia, as an alternative to "Shinar," and a name hitherto an unsolved puzzle to Assyriologists and Biblical scholars. This Hebrew title of "Kashdim" is arbitrarily rendered in our English version of the Old Testament as "Chaldea," because the latter equivalent is used in the Septuagint Greek version. It is now seen, however, that the Hebrew

¹ This second syllable (*ash*) is usually rendered "dingir" by Assyriologists having arbitrarily selected the latter equivalent out of several different phonetic values for this sign. But this Sumerian syllabic word-sign for "god" also possesses the value of "Ash" (see Brünnow's "Sumerian Classified List," 419; Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 41—where it is noted that *Ash* also means "grain, cereal," as well as "god"—and Howardy, *op. cit.*, No. 13, p. 19). And I have observed that the Sumerians undoubtedly used the *Ash* value of this sign in spelling historical names.

"Kashdim" is manifestly an error of the later Hebrew copyist scribes for "Kashrim," as the Hebrew letters *d* and *r* are so very similar in form that they are frequently mistaken by copyists, and in small writing and even in modern print a magnifying lens is almost necessary to distinguish the difference. The affix *im* in the Hebrew is the sign of the plural; thus "Kashr-im" (or Kashd-im) means literally "The *Kashr* (or *Kashd*) Lands," or "People of *Kashr* Lands"—that is to say, "The Land of *Ka-ash-ra* (or Babylon)" of the Sumerians.

For the use of the word "Kashdim" (or properly "Kashr-im") in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament—rendered "Chaldea" in our English version—shows that it is repeatedly applied to designate "The Land of Babylon," and not merely Lower Babylonia bordering the Persian Gulf, to which Chaldea is now generally believed to have been restricted. Thus Ezra (v. 12) says: "*Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel (Babylon), the Kashdiā*" (and similarly Jeremiah xxi. 4 and xxii. 5). And Daniel states (i. 1-4) that this Babylonian king taught in his palace "the learning and tongue of the *Kashd-im*. Isaiah (xlviii. 20) says, "Go ye forth of Babylon: flee ye from the *Kashdim*." Ezekiel (xxiii. 15) says, *the sons of Babylon: Kashdim the land of their nativity*." And Isaiah (xiii. 19) says, *Babylon the glory of the kingdom, the beauty of the Kashdim*. This "Kashd-im," as we have seen, is clearly a copyist's mistake for "Kashr-im," or "The Kashrs," the plural of the *Ka-ash-ra* title of the Sumerians for Babylon, and therefore equivalent to "Babylonia," or "The Lands of Babylon."

But side by side with "*Ka-ash-ra*," or "*Bāb-il-lu*" (or "Babylon"), or "Place of the Gate of God," the other old Sumerian title for that city of *Ti-She-nir* (or "Shinar"), or "The Great Tower of Grain and Wine," with its abbreviated form of "*Nir*," continued to be used freely in official documents down to the very latest Babylonian period, as we have seen.

Thus we find by this new evidence that:

(1) the ancient Sumerian name for Babylon was *Ti-She-nir* or "The great Tower of Grain and Wine," designating it as the site of a great Sumerian state-granary tower;

(2) an abbreviation of this name is the Sumerian source of the name "Shinar," uniquely preserved in Hebrew tradition as a title for Babylon and The Land of Babylon;

(3) a still further abbreviation of that Sumerian name was "Nir," and not *E*, as hitherto supposed;

(4) the Hebrew legend of "The Tower of Babel" rested on an historical basis, although the economic purpose of that tower was misrepresented and embroidered with fiction in the Hebrew legend;

(5) another Sumerian religious title for this city was "Ka-ash-ra" or "The Place of the Gate of God," designating it as the centre of the cult of the Father-god, Mar-duk;

(6) the Semitic Akkado-Assyrian translation of this name was "Bāb-il-lu," the source of the "Babel" of the Hebrews, and latterly grecianized into "Babylōn."

(7) this Sumerian name of "Ka-ash-ra" was the source of the Old Testament name of "Kashdim" for Babylon and The Lands of Babylon, in which the Sumerian title was corrupted by later Hebrew copyist scribes mistaking *r* for the very similar letter *d* and adding the Hebrew plural affix *im* to designate the "The Lands of *Kashr*," properly "Ka-sha-ra"—a name rendered in our English version of the Old Testament as "Chaldea";

(8) and "Chaldea" of that version is disclosed to embrace Babylonia, both Lower and Upper.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY'S EXCAVATIONS AT EL-AMARNA, 1921-1922

By H. R. HALL, D.LITT., F.S.A.

THE Egypt Exploration Society has continued its excavations at El-Amarna this season with considerable success, and has made discoveries of great interest. The expedition was under the direction of Mr. C. L. Woolley, assisted by Mr. F. G. Newton as architect, by Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, and by Mr. P. L. O. Guy. Mr. Woolley reports that his work has covered four distinct areas: (1) the "walled village" site, discovered and partly excavated last year by Professor Peet; (2) the sight of a pavilion or pleasure-garden of King Akhenaten; (3) that of a temple near the river, and (4) part of the town site. Of these the most important is (2). The enclosure measured about 200 metres by 100 with an annexe of some 160 by 80 metres. The entrance was a columned hall with pylons and gates built of stone, with rich decoration of which many remains were recovered. On the north side stood a building of three main courts, in the first of which stands a raised throne approached by shallow steps and probably once covered by a baldachin. The central peristyle court curiously resembles a Roman atrium, with, in the centre, a small hypæthral space like an impluvium, in which were flower-beds. On the walls of the back court were designs painted in *tempera*. This building seems to have been some sort of hall of audience. In the north-west corner of the enclosure lies a "water-court" with tanks, on the sides of which, above water-level, are painted lotuses and other water-plants with vines on trellises above them. All round this court runs a pavement of painted stucco, bearing the same designs as were found by Petrie in the Northern Palace. The pavements have been

lifted and set in plaster for the removal to England. One very interesting fact about this building is that in it the name of Neferti-it, Akhenaten's sister-queen, has been erased and that of her daughter Meritaten substituted; and even her portrait has been altered to that of the princess. This can hardly be due, Mr. Woolley thinks, to anything other than a quarrel with the queen and her divorce—a new fact in our knowledge of the reign.

On (3), the temple site, Mr. Woolley established the continuous occupation of the western part of the site after the desertion of the main town and up to the twenty-sixth dynasty. In (4), the town, the house of the Vizier Nekhtpaaten has been cleared with interesting results.

In all, forty-six boxes of antiquities have been packed for transmission to England, and will be shown at the Society's exhibition next July, after which they will, as usual, be distributed to museums in Britain, Europe, and America; the Cairo Museum having already taken its *quotum*.

Owing to the great cost of travelling and transport at the present time, the Society does not propose to excavate next season, and has this year worked a double season instead. Naturally, if increased subscriptions and donations justified it, this policy might be reconsidered. In any case, the exploration of Amarna will be pursued systematically, and if funds permit the excavation of the Osireion at Abydos will be resumed. This prospect depends, however, entirely on financial considerations, and those who have archæological work in Egypt at heart can help by forwarding their subscriptions to the Secretary of the Society at 13, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1, who will gladly afford all information with regard to terms of full membership of the Society, its publications, and the use of its fine library of Egyptological books, chiefly presented by Sir Herbert Thompson, which is now open to subscribers.

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE

The Annual Meeting of the British School of Archæology was held at King's College on March 7; the chair was taken by Sir Frederick Kenyon, K.C.B. Professor Garstang, Director of the School, who is shortly returning to Palestine, gave a very interesting account of the work which is being done under the auspices of the School. He stated that he regarded archæology in Palestine not only in the light of unearthing beautiful works of art, but also as a means of increasing our knowledge of the ancient peoples of Palestine. At present the great problem of the identity of the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, and Philistines, was confused. He hoped, however, that in the course of a very few years material would be available which would enable them to have a clear idea of the nature and distinguishing characteristics of each of these peoples.

He stated that no less than eight expeditions were, or would shortly be, at work in the Holy Land. The French Archæological School was working at New Jericho, the Jewish Archæological Society at Tiberias, and the Franciscan Monks at Capernaum. Besides these there were the Palestine Exploration Fund excavating at Ascalon, and three American Universities—Philadelphia at Basan, Harvard at Samaria, and Chicago at Megiddo.

Referring to the British work the Director laid stress on the discoveries at Ascalon. There they had found columns of great beauty forming cloisters. These had been erected by Herod the Great, and were mentioned by the historian Josephus. It was regarded as highly probable that this edifice had been erected on the top of the Philistine sanctuary.

After describing the organization of the Central Museum in Jerusalem he enunciated the policy of setting up local museums under local guardians for the conservation of objects of immediate local interest. Another important

task was that of protection—*i.e.*, of defending the monuments from erosion. One example of this work was the safeguarding of the famous Crusade Castle of Athlet, which is situated on a spit of land just south of Mount Carmel.

The Chairman made special reference to the continued generosity of the Hon. Treasurer of the School, Mr. Robert Mond, who had contributed a further £395 towards the expenses of the year; without this contribution it would not have been possible to balance the accounts after making provision for the current year.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

"LORD READING'S TASK IN INDIA": A CRITICISM

SIR,

In the July issue of this magazine, Mr. Stanley Rice, in his article "Lord Reading's Task in India," has sought to analyze carefully the causes of unrest in India. Having made a thorough survey of the political outlook, he drew out a genesis of unrest, and it seems to me he attributes the cause to the lack of British justice in India, and thus, he believes, if the whole machinery of British justice be properly overhauled on the principle of equality, the wrong in the machine of administration will be removed, and the administration in India, like the former days, will be made smoother and easier. This belief is the common asset of an English politician, and naturally he believes justice must be the stronghold. But other causes prevail. A little study of, and deliberation over, the history of India will at once point out that Indians were never apathetic to foreign rule; invaders after invaders came and settled there. India, instead of rising up against them, founded homes for them, and they were enlisted in her list of castes. It is a common fact that the hand of Providence has disciplined India into sobriety; all Indians of all classes depend upon their religious and social notions and feelings, and only with great difficulty could they be interested in political affairs. Exceptional risings in the deserts of Rajputana, or in the sandy hills of Marhatta, or in the jungles of Bengal, may be explained away with ease. In these cases, either the family prestige or ambition or greed prompted the local Rajas to rise up against the then central Government; their adherents were generally myrmidons who must not be confused with the zealous citizens of the west, fighting for the cause of liberty. They, also like their masters, fought and died to secure their material object and to have their ambitions fulfilled. The people were sometimes, of course, roused up to gird up their loins and invited to fight, when their religious scruples were trampled upon. These risings may sometimes have taken the form of national rising. But those who fought never intended to drive out the foreign rulers, the redress of their grievances was the right motive of the mutiny, although the mass thought otherwise. India believes in the divine rights of her kings; they are the sincere reverers of the throne, and felt the cause of loyalty ennobled by its alliance, not with freedom, but with religion. Asoka, Siladiya, Kaniska, and others ruled over a mighty empire and a vast mass of contented

subjects, because their policies were wedded with religion. Akbar read the inner spirit of India with the prophetic eye of a seer ; he also succeeded in cutting the Gordian knot ; though a Muhammadan, his rule was welcomed ; the Hindu community worshipped him as a lesser deity next to the Almighty only. The bigotry of Aurangzeb sapped the foundation of Mogul rule, and the whole fabric collapsed like a pack of cards.

With the introduction of the British rule in India, the horizon of India was broadened, her isolation was broken off, she came in contact with a mightier continent and with a race known throughout the world on account of their enterprise. Railways and sea-going vessels shortened the distance, quickened communications ; transport became easy. The scarcity of one province began to be met with from the superfluity of another. Up to this time the Indians were enjoying a sound sleep in their comparative abundance and superfluities ; the introduction of commerce introduced a new factor into their social life. First, a part of their superfluities, and afterwards a major portion, began to be shifted from one province to another, till the economic laws became fully manifest, and one price came to prevail in nearly all the markets, minus, of course, the transport charges. The easy means of communication threw open the gates of intermigration among the people of the different provinces. The hardy people of less favoured provinces migrated to rich provinces, and by dint of their perseverance and industry began to pile up fortunes. They were the more easily able to do so because the fear of foreign invasion became practically nil when India came completely under the English rule. Thus exploitation of one province by the people of another province began unconsciously. The evil effects, though not felt at the beginning, became manifest when the whole atmosphere changed and exploitation of Indian resources by the foreign merchants began on a more scientific basis, with more thoroughness and deliberation. Even the hardy and speculative races of India had to submit before the onrush of the new-comers, and instead of becoming merchants and traders they had to remain satisfied in the rôle of brokers and middlemen only. Even the rich men with capital to invest found no opportunity to capture the international trade. The coal, jute, and iron industries of Bengal, the tea industry of Assam, were started with English capital and skill ; even the Indian branches were mainly staffed by Europeans. The Indians were asked only to work either as clerks or as coolies. The economic distress of the people became manifest ; to earn one's bread became an uphill task, which had been formerly very easy in India. Milk, fish, and common vegetables are the chief ingredients of Indian food. Plenty of milk could be had, even between forty or fifty years ago. I, in my young days, have seen the milkmen selling twenty seers milk for one rupee. Rice, the main food of the Bengalees, was sold at Rs. 2 per maund. I am not narrating a golden age, but what I am describing here is the early recollection from my younger days. This cheapness began to disappear when export of raw materials was organized by the European merchants with the introduction of steam-engines and with the advent of the big ocean-going vessels. But these changes were felt by our peasantry. In their distress, to meet their daily wants and necessities, the peasants

naturally fell into the clutches of usurers, and to pay their exorbitant rates of interest, they had either to mortgage or, later on, to sell their holdings. Thus, in Bengal, the peasants and those above them, whom we call Bhadralog, or middle class, were becoming desperate, when all possible avenues of earning money seemed barred to them.

Then the war came with all the attendant evil effects; the economic distress of the people was intensified, their miseries were multiplied. During the course of the war they gave all to assist the Government in a successful campaign against the perfidious enemy; they clothed themselves in rags for the want of a piece of cloth, and had to remain satisfied even with one meal a day, with the hope that cessation of hostilities would not only bring back the olive branch with pre-war standards of comforts and luxuries, but the condition would be made somewhat more comfortable on account of some concessions from the Government. After the cessation they anxiously waited for the fulfilment of their expectations, with a trembling heart, for one year. But at last, to their utter discomfort, they found that to return to the standard of pre-war days was an impossibility. Unrest, like in other countries, raised its head. The Indian professional politicians, hitherto, failed to appeal to the mass; the economic distress made it possible for them to gain their ears, and hence the agitation took a different form. The Indian National Congress, instead of being a coterie of lawyers and educated men, enlisted a stubborn body of peasants and labourers. Mr. Gandhi, with his followers, welcomed the movement; he made it a point of siding with the labourers. His successful handling of the agrarian question at Motihary and Gujarat made him an idol among the Indian labourers. The Khalifat question threw the religious Muhammadans into his arms; the Hindu-Muslim entente, so artificially fostered at the Lucknow Congress, became cemented by his hands, when he vowed to protect the interests of the Porte and appealed to the Hindus to take up the cause of the brother Mussulmans. This is one of the main causes; but it is rather the apparent than the real root of all these troubles. English capitalists, and, following their example, Indian capitalists, have exploited Indian resources and labour rather ruthlessly. The huge profits earned were shipped to Europe or to other countries and spent there. The people were left to their miserable lot to eke out their existence as best they may.

All these economic causes have intensified the situation, and the peace-loving people of India are gradually drifting into revolution and anarchy. There is still time to stop and to ponder over the matter. To have a statesmanlike view of the whole affairs will tax the constructive energies of the most resourceful politician. He has to study all the events, both separately and collectively; he has to assign a reason to every cause, and thus to build up a wholesome policy of regeneration which would bring about peace in India and in the Empire at last.

RAI LALITMOHAN SINGH ROY BAHADUR.

POETRY

TWO SONGS FOR WIDOWS

EDITED BY CONFUCIUS

(CONTRIBUTED BY D. A. WILSON, I.C.S., RETD.)

IN an American book, "A Yankee on the Yang-Tse," by W. E. Giel (1904), there is an incident which astonished the writer, and which is the best commentary on two beautiful songs for widows edited by Confucius, and familiar psalms in China for twenty-four centuries.

A young widow was recently pressed to wed the brother of her deceased husband, and refused. In the end she took opium and died. Her husband's family paid a hundred taels damages to hers, and the money was spent on a monument to her honour at her tomb.

The song for the Young Widow is dated between 854 and 813 B.C. (Odes I., 4 and 1, and Chinese Classics, IV., 73-74), and the other, for the Old Widow, a masterpiece of poetry, is dated between 675 and 651 B.C. (Odes I., 10 and 11; Chinese Classics, IV., 186-187).

THE YOUNG WIDOW

AIR—*The students' song, "Bring back my bonnie to me"*

I

My boat is adrift on the river,

My boat is adrift on the sea;

My darling's away, and for ever,

And empty the world is to me!

Never, never, never another for me, for me!

Never, never, oh, never another for me!

II

My boat is adrift on the river,

My boat is adrift on the sea ;

O Heaven above us for ever !

O Mother ! can't you feel with me ?

Never, never, never another for me, for me !

Never, never, oh, never another for me !

THE OLD WIDOW

AIR—"*My Nannie's Awa'*"

I

The soy-bean still blossoms and leans on the thorn ;

Convolvulus creepers the tomb-stones adorn.

But I've none to lean on ; I linger alone :

The man whom I honoured is under the stone.

II

Oh, beautiful yet is our pillow of horn ;

The same lovely covers our bed still adorn ;

But, weary for morning, I now lie alone :

The man whom I honoured is under the stone.

III

The days seem all summer days ; something is wrong !

The nights seem all winter nights, dreary and long.

Though it be for a century, I'll lie alone :

My home's now beside him, and under the stone.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS: *East India Association—Lyceum Club—Royal United Services Institution—Central Asian Society—Persia Society—Royal Asiatic Society—Royal Colonial Institute—China Society—India Society—Anglo-Egyptian Union.*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp. 221-297. The next lecture of the East India Association will be held on April 24 at the Caxton Hall (3.45 p.m.), when Mr. Sitaram will read a paper on "Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic," illustrated by lantern slides. Dr. F. H. Thomas will take the chair.

There was a meeting of the *Oriental Circle, Lyceum Club*, on March 6, when Mrs. Shrimpton Giles (in the chair) proposed the toasts for "India, Japan, and China." These were responded to by Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E.; Mr. Tokugawa, First Secretary, Japanese Embassy; and His Excellency Chao-Hsin Chu, Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London. Mr. Tokugawa emphasized that the merging of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance into a four-Power pact made no difference whatever to the traditional friendship between the two countries. He added that the Japanese people were anxious to rival the cordial reception accorded to the Japanese Crown Prince, when the Prince of Wales arrived at Tokyo.

The Chinese Chargé d'Affaires stated that the great need of China was education. It had taken England many centuries to arrive at her present state of civilization. He pleaded for tolerance and sympathy.

After the dinner Mr. Komai, who, it will be remembered, wrote a beautiful poem at the time of Princess Mary's wedding, entertained the company with some Japanese anecdotes.

A reception was held on March 1, at 21, *Cromwell Road*, to bid farewell to the Earl of Lytton on his departure to succeed Earl Ronaldshay in India. Amongst those present were Lord Lamington, Sir William Meyer, and Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E.

On March 8, a paper was read before the *Royal United Services Institution* by Colonel W. M. St. G. Kirke on "Communications in the Middle East." The lecturer drew a somewhat gloomy picture of the present state of British influence in Persia, which, he said, had been supreme at the end of the war. He attributed it to various causes, viz.: (1) Our vacillating policy; (2) the withdrawal of our troops; (3) the refusal to advance further loans. Orientals, he added, did not understand the needs of economy in England, and they had never heard of the Geddes Report.

Consequently they attributed our policy entirely to weakness. As regards Iraq he was more optimistic. There a Government had been established and was working as well as circumstances permitted. In Palestine there were undoubtedly the seeds of serious trouble, caused largely by the influx of undesirable emigrants of Jewish race and with Bolshevik tendencies. The lecturer held that political conditions must needs effect the choice of means of communication. He could not say that he was in favour of counting on the Bagdad Railway as the means of communication between Europe and India. He preferred to rely on a railway line from Haifa to Basra, keeping as far south as possible in order to avoid the proximity of the Holy Cities. From Basra it had been proposed to build a line via Teheran and Ispahan to Quetta, thus joining up with the Indian system. The lecturer pointed, however, to the enormous technical difficulties and the political objections. He preferred to look forward to a railway following the Persian Gulf and passing through Baluchistan. Similarly with regard to air routes he advised a southern course.

General Brancker (in the chair) described the great advances made with regard to the air routes. There was a fortnightly service from Cairo to Bagdad every two days, and a 'plane left almost daily from there to Basra. He thought that at an early date this route would be extended to reach Karachi in another two days.

There was a Meeting of the *Central Asian Society* on March 9, when Air Commodore Brook-Popham, of the Royal Air Force, delivered a lecture on "Some Notes on Aeroplanes with Special Reference to the Cross Desert Route from Cairo to Bagdad," illustrated by lantern slides. He described in detail the conditions in the desert between Ammam and Bagdad. Although this was described as the Arabian desert, it was in fact more like a Russian steppe with certain areas covered by lava. The aeroplanes always followed the track across the desert which enabled them to keep their bearings. The landing-grounds in the desert were chiefly mud flats, which, however, were hard enough to prevent the wheels from cutting into the soil. The landing-grounds were marked by circular furrows which were specially traced by causing a Rolls Royce armoured car to describe a circle around a man guiding the car with an outstretched rope. Turning to equipment, the lecturer said that the most important item was undoubtedly the wireless apparatus. This enabled rescue parties to be summoned in case of break-downs. The aviator could set his watch from the Eiffel Tower in Paris. He reminded us that the defence of Iraq had now been entrusted to the Royal Air Force, and from the information so far available it would appear that this has been a wise decision. It was not true to say that this form of defence was in any way more barbaric than others. As a matter of fact it saved many lives, both among the English and among the Arabs. Moreover, the flying-machine appealed to the romantic side of the nomad Arab's character. Among the slides was one showing the remains of a Roman villa at Ammam, and of a Persian Castle at Azrak.

Mr. Sydney A. Armitage-Smith, c.B., late Financial Adviser to the Persian Government, lectured on March 13, before the *Persia Society* on "the Bakhtiari Khans and the Bakhtiari Road." He explained that a generation ago there were only two Bakhtiari chieftains; the present Khans were their sons, and consequently all were brothers or first cousins. Special reference was made to the happy life of Armenians in the Bakhtiari country. They were good cultivators, and absolutely no religious prejudice existed. The lecturer's remarks were illustrated with an interesting series of slides showing the "Bakhtiari road," and the "chateaux" of the Khans, all built with due consideration for defence. The importance of this stretch of country lay in the fact that it bordered on important oil-wells. The Khans shared in the profits of the yield and were on excellent terms with the officials of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Mr. E. H. Keeling has now been appointed Hon. Secretary of the Persia Society, and there will be a regular series of lectures during the season. The address of the Society is 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, where full particulars concerning the objects of the Society can be obtained.

Mr. Lee Shuttleworth, i.c.s., delivered an interesting lecture on March 14, on the subject of "Some Peoples and Religions of the Panjab Himalayas," before the *Royal Asiatic Society*. His remarks were illustrated by a series of lantern slides which gave a very fair impression of the religious fairs which are a regular feature in Kulu from March to October. He said that these fairs were ostensibly for purposes of worship, but the underlying idea was that the local gods paid visits to each other and were accompanied by their adherents. The greatest religious meeting of this kind was always the last in October, and was held at Sultan Pur, when all the gods, with the exception of Mount Gepen (who was considered too lofty and remote) and another peak, Jamlu, paid their respects to Vishnu. The whole was an interesting example of how Hinduism has been superimposed on the local cults.

On the same evening Colonel L. S. Amery, m.p., spoke at the *Royal Colonial Institute* on "Migration within the Empire." Of particular interest to those who study Asiatic affairs were his remarks regarding the strategic position in the Pacific. He explained that the removal of the one serious foe on the Continent had changed the whole problem of naval defence. Owing to the progress of modern scientific inventions the outlying parts of the Empire had become extremely vulnerable. The only solution to this state of affairs was that these outlying parts should obtain a large increase of population from the Mother country. That would enable them to look after their own defence by increasing the number of combatants and broadening the basis of taxation. Nothing was more ruinous than the present system of doles which provided no permanent cure.

"The Muhammadans of China" was the subject of an interesting lecture by Mr. Isaac Mason at the *China Society* on March 15. He explained that the white stripe in the Republican Flag of China represented the Muhammadan element, and added that though statistics were conflicting there was probably about eight million. The date of their first arrival in China was wrapped in obscurity. Between the years 960-1018 twenty Arab missions visited the country. Small communities were then beginning to form themselves, and consisted chiefly of traders. In 1262 they had become sufficiently assimilated to be asked to undertake military service. Altogether the arts of war had a special attraction for them. Civil administration did not appeal to them, and brought out the real differences between them and the other Chinese subjects. Although in the past there had been friction, recently there had been no trouble, particularly as they eschewed all religious propaganda. About fifty visited Mecca every year, and these pilgrims were always held in great honour by their co-religionists.

The *India Society* will hold a meeting early in May at the Victoria and Albert Museum, when Dr. Vogel (late Indian Archaeological Survey) will read a paper on the influence of Indian art on the Dutch East Indies. The Society is making a special study this year of the expansion of Indian culture to other Asiatic countries. Subsequent lectures in this curriculum will include one on Indo-China and one on the Far East.

The recently founded *Anglo-Egyptian Union* held its inaugural meeting on March 23. The Executive Committee consists of Sir Henry MacMahon, Sir Rennell Rodd, General Lord Edward Gleichen, Sir Valentine Chirol, and Mr. J. A. Spender. Headquarters are at 31, Lennox Gardens, S.W. 1.

On March 14 Prince M. Soumbatoff, the Georgian Minister, delivered a striking address to the Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee of the National Liberal Club on "The Georgian Question."

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I. THE PARIS CONFERENCE

As we go to press, the proposal for a three months' armistice has been telegraphed to the Greek and Turkish Governments by the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, and Italy, now in conference at Paris. The Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople have been asked to secure the earliest possible reply from the Turkish Government. Meanwhile the Ministers are proceeding with their task of the practical revision of the Sèvres Treaty. It is almost certain that the Greeks will accept the decision of the Powers. Any scheme which should provide for the administration of Asia Minor by the Turkish Nationalist Government, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, must safeguard the interests of the non-Muslim minorities. In the event of the transfer of Smyrna to its former rulers, the happiest solution of the question would be to place the said minorities under the guardianship of the League of Nations.

Greek administration replaced Turkish rule in Smyrna in August, 1920. In order to render the new régime acceptable, little change was made in the existing services, except that in educational and sanitary directions great ameliorations have been effected, and this notwithstanding the urgent military needs of the time.

II. THE GENOA CONFERENCE

Fortunately for the nations of Europe, the British Premier insists upon going to Genoa, thereby manifesting that gift of vision for lack of which the peoples are perishing as surely, if more slowly, than during the war.

The Genoa Conference promises to be the largest and most significant ever convened. Forty-five invitations have been issued, and every nation in Europe has been summoned save Turkey. Its originator, Mr. Lloyd George, although he terms it an Economic Conference, puts in the forefront "a general European peace pact," and is confident that he and his co-workers will succeed in "bringing back something substantial from Genoa." In this he proves himself the statesman and seer as opposed to the mere politician and partisan, for in the words of Dr. Frank Crane, the prophet of American journalists:*

"All that the world needs is to get together. . . . The deepest root-cause of war is unacquaintance. . . . Germany would never have begun the last war if it had understood the rest of the world. It was so locked up in crazy nationalism that it bristled with hates, and hate is always blind. . . . 'Internationalism' is not a happy term.

* *Current Opinion*, March, 1922.

World consciousness sounds better. The intelligent optimist, therefore, has sufficient warrant for expecting the end of war in the not distant future by the only means which will ever end war—that is to say, by the development of a world consciousness, by 'The Conference Habit.'

III. THE GREEKS AND THE MUSLIM CLAIMS

Under the above heading, the Anglo-Hellenic League has issued a manifesto criticizing the effects the Indian Muslim claims would have on the future of the Near and Middle East were they recognized. It declares that the vast majority of the inhabitants of India have no interest in the matter, and that the attempt to dissociate the war between Greece and Turkey from the Great War of 1914-18 is unjust.

"Greece went to war with Turkey and the Allies of Turkey. We accepted Greece as our ally . . . for her services in the war Greece was granted the provinces of which the Indian Muslims now seek to deprive her. . . . Greece does not deserve desertion or ruin, and the Christians of Thrace, Ionia, and Armenia do not deserve to be left to slavery, expulsion, and extirpation."

The manifesto concludes by stating that England cannot discharge her responsibilities to India by doing wrong in the Near East, and is signed on behalf of the Anglo-Hellenic League, by W. Pember Reeves, Chairman. A statement of the Indian Muslim point of view will be found on p. 204.

IV. THE TRANSITION OF VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M., 1838-1922

"Fulness of years was his, a stainless scroll
Of high achievement: and men loved in him
That ardour of the indomitable soul
That time could never dim.
The vanished frontiers of a world obscure
To him were as familiar walks of home
And his swift spirit trod with footsteps sure
Byzantium and Rome."

These lines from the "In Memoriam" verses by D.M.S.* express the thoughts of many who mourn the loss of Lord Bryce. It was in the cause of Armenia that I first met Mr. James Bryce. The last time I saw him was at a joint meeting of London Associations working for Armenia. Lord Bryce was then so spent with overwork that it seemed too cruel to expect his aid, but when the discussion became vital he threw himself into it with all his accustomed vigour.

The United States, as well as Great Britain and her Dominions, had come to regard Lord Bryce as a mutual friend and trusted leader, and by his death Armenia loses one of its most valiant champions, since he was for many years the counsellor of American teachers and missionaries throughout Turkey.

"In Bryce lived a man who faced the worst in history—the wars, the atrocities, the secret treaties, the oppression, and yet dare still to believe, not in a dogma, merely, but in mankind. . . .

"The earth might be without form and void, and darkness might be on the face of the deep, but to this apostle of the genuine the

* *Punch*, February 1, 1922.

need was not for cynicism, not for pessimism, not even for sympathy. Over the chaos Bryce still flung the watchword by which he lived: 'Let there be Light.'*

V. GREECE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Even *The Near East*, so well-informed in Near Eastern politics, is puzzled by the internal condition of Greek politics, and regards the reformation of a Gounaris Cabinet as a temporary arrangement pending the decision of the Near East Conference.

Despite the disturbed conditions due to bitter political strife, Dr. Platon Drakoules is continuing his constructive social work, inspiring and informing the crusade on behalf of the Officers' Widows League, organizing celebrations of the Centenary of the passing of the Richard Martin Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and investigating the deplorable housing conditions which afflict beautiful Athens no less than other cities less favoured by natural and historic associations. Greece was represented at the recent International Town Planning Association which held its Conference under the auspices of the *Daily Mail* Ideal Housing Exhibition, but owing to postal irregularities, Dr. Drakoules' report was not received in time to be presented to the Conference.

THE RESTORATION OF JERUSALEM†

By H. V. LANCHESTER, F.R.L.B.A.

From the moment that General Allenby entered the Holy City steps were taken to improve its condition from the standpoint of health and amenity, and the zeal and intelligence of the military staff ensured that the more detrimental activities were promptly checked. Of course it was clear that something more was needed if constructive effort was to carry further the work of re-organization merely foreshadowed by the preliminary regulations, and the formation of the Pro-Jerusalem Society in September, 1918, with the sympathy and support of the Governor, Ronald Storrs, provided the motive force for these activities. As defined by him the Society became "the Military Governor civically and æsthetically in Council," and its objects were "the preservation and advancement of the interests of Jerusalem, its district and inhabitants."

The book before us is a simple and straightforward description of the Society's operations during the military control of Jerusalem—i.e., for rather more than two years from the spring of 1918. On the Council of the Society all races and interests are represented, Arab, Jew, Armenian, and European—Muslim, Zionist, and Christian—with Sir Herbert Samuel as Hon. President and Ronald Storrs, the Governor, as President.

* P. W. Wilson, *The American Review of Reviews*, March, 1922.

† "Jerusalem, 1918-20." Edited by C. R. Ashbee. (London: Murray.) £2 2s.

At the commencement of its work it was so fortunate as to secure the services of C. R. Ashbee as Civic Advisor, who has been chiefly responsible for compiling and illustrating, in so vivid and graphic a fashion, this record of his activities, and those of his coadjutors, in cleansing, reconstructing, and embellishing the Holy City. Though, of course, in this short time only an instalment of what is needed has been carried out, yet, taking into consideration the difficulties to be surmounted and the fact that the limited funds at the disposal of the Society are mainly contributed by well disposed friends, the progress made is amazingly great, and what is even more satisfactory, it has been on lines so imaginative, and at the same time so sane and conservative, that even the hypercritical could find no grounds for objection.

Mr. Ashbee has long been recognized as a craftsman of individuality and as a keen student of social life; his previous writings display a penetrating insight into the relations between the arts and social development; he has not yet solved these problems—who has?—but he has come as near to the goal as any one, and is indubitably the man among all others who is in exactly his right place in re-organizing Jerusalem. Ashbee is helping Jerusalem by means of his keen interest in the craft methods of all times; it is not inconceivable that Jerusalem will help Ashbee by defining more clearly to him the relations between production, the arts, and the people, enabling him to find further guidance as to the co-ordination that makes fine the man as well as the product.

This is not, however, our chief concern at the moment, but rather what is being done, and what is proposed, for Jerusalem. The work of the Pro-Jerusalem Society falls under two main heads—the restoration and embellishment of the city, and the re-organization of social life and productive crafts. Taking the first of these it is necessary to form a general idea of the topography of the area being dealt with. Ancient Jerusalem stood on an irregular hill, measuring rather more than a mile from north to south, and over half a mile from east to west. The present walled city occupies the northern two-thirds of this area, the southern part, including Mount Zion, being mainly garden ground covering the ancient ruins. To the south-east lies the pool and village of Siloam, to the east the deep valley separating the city from the Mount of Olives and Mount Scopus, and to the north-west the modern suburb containing most of the large hostels for pilgrims. The railway coming from the south has its terminus outside the south-west angle of the existing city.

The Military Government in 1918 called in Mr. McLean to suggest possible developments, and he advised that a broad zone should be reserved to the east and south in which very little building should be permitted, and that the city should be extended only to the north and west. Mr. McLean's sketch plans for such extensions were not appropriate to the site or requirements, but the demarcation of the two areas has been more or less accepted by Professor Geddes and by Mr. Ashbee, though subject to the variations in detail that their successive studies on the ground have indicated as desirable.

Not only are these large areas to the south and east to be kept open,

but a narrower strip right round the existing city wall is to be treated as an encircling park, and as a commencement towards this, Mr. Ashbee is clearing the line of the rampart and opening a walk along it, with gardens at all vacant places. The portions near the citadel and from thence to Mount Zion have already been completed, and when the work has been carried right round the walls, these will be disengaged from many accretions and show themselves as one of the most perfect mediæval enceintes in existence. It is not proposed that the open ground outside this enceinte shall be treated as a conventional park. The bulk of the land will, it is hoped, always remain under fellahin tillage, or even in its present wildness, but a certain amount of terracing will be done, and fertilizing refuse deposited on the rock plateaux. A fair amount of tree planting is in hand, and this will be extended to the city development areas, where most of the streets will be fringed with trees.

Another important undertaking is the clearing of the bazaars within the city, some of which had been allowed, under the Turkish régime, to become choked with refuse to such an extent that they were inaccessible. The most important of these, the Sûq el Qattanin, is now being reoccupied, and others are in course of reorganization; beyond this a general restoration of the more interesting buildings is in hand, having careful regard to the traditional methods of construction and decoration.

Mr. Ashbee's second sphere of activity links up with this work in providing decorative tiles and other necessary embellishments. Here the main effort is the re-establishment of various artistic industries. Two of these are already in operation, weaving and tile-making, and negotiations are on foot to revive glass work also.

During the war the American Red Cross provided refugees with looms and started weaving, spinning, etc. The Pro-Jerusalem Society took over these looms, and has established the industry in the Sûq el Qattanin already referred to.

The revival of tile-making stands on a different footing; here Muslim Wakf funds have been employed, and, after some unsuccessful experiments, tiles are now being produced that compare favourably with the early tile work on the Dome of the Rock.

The Society hopes also to revive on a basis of good standard the industries of carpet-weaving, metal-work, and cabinet-making, believing that a re-establishment of the crafts is, from every point of view, the most vital need in Palestine at the present juncture. As Mr. Ashbee puts it: "Work with the hands, the creative work, the work of the imagination applied to a man's personal labour, keeps men from empty political speculation. For every craftsman we create, we create also a potential citizen; for every craftsman we waste, we fashion a discontented effendi."

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1922

THE REFORM IN INDIA

BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, M.P.

I HAVE been asked to give the readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW some account of the impressions which I formed during a brief visit to India during the last cold weather. Five years had passed since I had been in the country—years of change and movement everywhere, and of serious social and political disturbance in many parts. It may be interesting to people in England, with whom it is an article of faith that all the trouble we have had in India has been generated by the declaration of August 23, 1917, and the constitutional changes which have been developed from it, to know that at the time of my previous visit, the end of 1916, there was already widespread expectation of change in the legislative institutions of the country. And these expectations were not by any means given expression to only by impatient demagogues. Men of eminence and influence in the governing hierarchy were by every mail urging upon the Government at home that the Morley-Minto constitutional system had served its purpose, that its defects were manifold and manifest, and that a new departure must be made in a direction to be frankly indicated. No one who was in India at the end of 1916, or at the beginning of 1917, could fail to hear on all hands a recognition of the need for a definition, *urbi et orbi*, of the goal towards which the constitutional expectations of the political classes might be turned. I had many opportunities of discussing the situation with all sorts and conditions of men, and in not a

single instance did I find a belief that a steady persistence in carrying on things as they were was all that was needed. The assumption to-day of English reactionaries that you had only, in Melbourne's comfortable phrase, to "let it alone"—even with the addition of gaol for everyone who did not keep quiet—must seem hopelessly erroneous to anyone who saw for himself what the conditions were in the early years of Lord Chelmsford's viceroyalty. It is true that one heard louder complaints concerning the regulations by which practical application was given to the principles of the Morley-Minto reforms than concerning the reforms themselves. But those who looked for a system of legislation and government which should open out the way to a real participation of competent Indians in the government of their country recognized the fundamental shortcomings of the scheme. Beyond the fact that it had for the first time introduced the principle of direct election of parliamentary representatives it was not really a progressive measure. For it in no sense provided for an advance on the way to responsible self-government.

The differences between the system that was working in 1916 and that which was set in operation at the beginning of last year are, of course, fundamental. But I am not sure that they are fully recognized by public opinion in India, even amongst men who value the Act of 1919, and are determined to work it loyally. The action of the Legislative Assembly last year in passing a resolution asking for the introduction of responsible government in the central administration ignored the frankly experimental spirit in which the Act was framed, and when the difficulties of the situation were aggravated early this year through the action of the non-co-operators, and the measures taken by the Government of India and some of the Provincial Governments in consequence, it was surely in forgetfulness of the measure of the advance provided for in the Act that a number of honest and sober-minded politicians urged that the best remedy for the troubles of the moment would be

to increase the number of subjects transferred from executive control to the control of ministers and the popular vote. The remedy was not suited to the ailment. Further, it took no account of the dimensions of the functions already transferred to the ministers and the legislative majorities whom they represent. The word "concessions" almost fell to the rank of a "blessed word" of the Mesopotamian order. Everybody was ready to urge them, but no one was able to show that they could possibly have any curative relation to the difficulty of the hour, which was to ensure the maintenance of internal peace and order without having recourse to extra-judicial measures. I believe, notwithstanding, that outside the ranks of the frankly malevolent opponents of the Government there was a genuine appreciation of the immensity of the advance that has been secured under the Reforms Act. The success of Mr. Sastri's missions, the near approach that India has made to full Dominion status in the councils of the Empire, and, above all, the concession of fiscal autonomy, are in a daily increasing measure impressing Indians with the fact that she stands in the Empire for far more than she did in the days before she was initiated into the ways of self-government. But there are clouds upon the prospect opened out to India by the Act of 1919. Wherever I went the newly-awakened national self-consciousness of the Indians appeared to me to be hurt and irritated by recent experiences in other parts of the Empire. The name "Kenya" carries with it the exasperating implication that, while the Empire means everything that is inspiring to an Englishman, to an Indian it may mean a lower status than that of his fellow-subjects, disabilities in the acquisition and holding of property, inequality in franchises and civil rights. Men for whose loyalty I can vouch said to me, "If Government let us down in Kenya we can no longer support them." The widespread antagonism which I found in the Indian mercantile community to the contemplated transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office is derived from the same source.

The Colonial Office, because of the Kenya trouble, is very much under a cloud in the view of Indians, and Mr. Churchill's strange indiscretion at the East African dinner has darkened and deepened the cloud. Those who cherish the ideal of India as an integral part of the Empire, in duly co-ordinated partnership with the Dominions, will do well to recognize the dimensions of this problem of the status of Indians in the British Commonwealth.

I have been asked many times since my return if I thought the reforms were working successfully. The question is not easily answered—certainly not by an abrupt "yes" or "no." They are now in their second year of operation, and we must wait until at least the next General Election before passing a comprehensive verdict upon them. If at many points the new legislative bodies are not doing as well as a good citizen would wish, let us at least remember not only the novelty of the enterprise, but the bitter hostility with which they have been confronted. Apart from what Ireland may have to show us, history supplies no parallel to the malignancy with which the non-co-operating faction worked to bring about their failure. (I wonder, by the way, how the enemies of the reforms in this country reconcile the Ghandyite boycott of these bodies, with their favourite delusion that the non-co-operation movement and all the violences associated with it were the result of the Chelmsford-Montagu policy.) Notwithstanding the terrorism to which the followers of the Mahatma resorted in order to prevent candidates from coming forward, there were 1,957 candidates for the 774 seats to be filled in the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly, and the eight Provincial Legislative Councils. There were contests for 535 of the 774 seats, and for these seats 1,718 candidates braved the hostility of the boycotting factions. In view of the persistent efforts that have been made in England to show that as an experiment in democracy the elections were a failure, it may be well to point out that the percentage of votes polled in contested elections was, on the

whole, remarkably high. A parliamentary paper issued last year shows that in Madras City and two Madras districts over 50 per cent. of voters went to the polls, the poor results in the southern districts of the Presidency being attributed mainly to severe floods at the time of the elections. In the United Provinces one "general" rural constituency polled 66 per cent., eleven over 50 per cent., and eight between 40 and 50 per cent. In Behar and Orissa the general average in contested elections was 40 per cent. I quote a passage from the same paper, which may well be set against recent attempts to show that the Councils have no democratic basis :

"The general average of rural voters (who form the great majority of the voting population) is considerably higher than was commonly anticipated, having regard to their previous almost total inexperience of elections in general, and to the not inconsiderable distances which had frequently to be traversed between the voter's home and the polling station. In Behar and Orissa it was noticed particularly that rural voters displayed marked interest in contests where the real interests of the cultivating classes were stirred and an appeal was made by a candidate of their own."

I was lately confronted at a political meeting with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's argument that the new Councils could not be considered to be democratic bodies since so few of the electorate had voted for them. I was not at the moment able to produce figures on the other side, but I was able to supply a useful substitute by telling my critic that however reluctant Indian electors might be to exercise the franchise, it had not yet been deemed necessary in India to introduce a Bill like that which a respected "Die-Hard" member of the House of Commons had recently brought in to make failure to vote a punishable offence in England.

There seemed to be a general belief in India the other day that at the next General Election the polls would be larger than those in November and December, 1920. There will be no repetition of the attempt to boycott the elections,

but there is the possibility of the undesirable alternative of an attempt to swamp the Legislatures by extremists. The moderate parties are fully alive to this contingency. I should be glad to learn that they are everywhere taking the appropriate measures for preventing it.

When the reforms were in preparation it was the fashion to condemn them in advance, on the ground that no representative system could work fairly in India because caste predominance would certainly vitiate the best scheme that the wit of man could devise. Errors in anticipation may be pardoned, and it is easy to excuse the non-Brahmins who pleaded so anxiously before the Joint Committee for protection against the Brahmins in Southern India. But there is no excuse for people who still try to "crab" the reforms by alleging in Parliament and the Press that not only are the new Councils a sham, looked at from the democratic point of view, but that they have handed India over to the tender mercies of a Brahmin oligarchy. Had the enemies of the new constitution been less enamoured of a group of stereotyped fallacies they would have abandoned this long since disproved pretence. The Under-Secretary of State was asked in the House of Commons a few weeks ago if he would supply a statement showing how many Hindus had been elected to the respective Councils, and what proportion were Brahmins. The information was not at once available, but it was promised in due course. In the meanwhile a partial answer has been provided, which I may commend to the notice of those who still think that representative institutions in India are bound to be Brahmin preserves. In the return from which I have already quoted there is a reference to the remarkable success of the non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency—the province in which the fear lest Brahmins should carry everything before them was loudly expressed amongst the other castes, and echoed by the enemies of the reforms in this country. "Although," we are told, "they constitute the great bulk of the population, the non-Brahmins expressed grave appre-

hension as to their position under the Reform Scheme, in the belief that they would fail to secure adequate representation on the Provincial Council, and that the twenty-eight seats reserved for them to safeguard their interests would prove wholly insufficient. On this Council seventy-four seats were open to all Hindus, of which non-Brahmins secured no less than fifty-four." To complete the story it should be added that the whole of the Ministers in Madras are non-Brahmins, Lord Willingdon, in the true spirit of a constitutional Governor, having chosen all his Ministers from the majority of the elected Councillors. We may be sorry for the Brahmins of Madras, amongst whom there are many men of character and capacity. But it is encouraging to see a great constitutional enterprise set on its way, unhindered by those special influences which, we were told, must prove inimical to the working of representative institutions in India.

It is too early to pronounce judgment upon the working of the scheme as a whole. Some of those who have been in most responsible contact with it would probably say that it has succeeded in proportion to the extent to which pure diarchy was departed from. Certainly the working of diarchy has not been hampered by attempts to attain mechanical uniformity. One hears in one province that the Executive Councillors are not as much given to ready co-operation with Ministers as they are in others. I shall refrain from indicating where greater harmony of action is to be found, and where less. But there is nothing invidious in saying that in some provinces there had been no marked readiness to comply with the injunction of Lord Selborne's Committee that while Executive Councillors with their reserved subjects, and Ministers with their transferred subjects, should faithfully bear responsibility within their allotted domains, there should be free exchange of ideas between the two halves of the Provincial Governments. In others co-operation and joint consultation have been carried so far that the lines of demarcation between reserved and

transferred subjects have, in the field of deliberation, at all events, become faint. This does not necessarily imply that the separate responsibility which rests upon the two parts of the administration has been obscured. Much, as was foreseen, depends upon the way in which the Governor fills the part assigned to him under the Act and the Regulations.' He is empowered to make rules for the conduct of business, and I was told that if I were to ask for a copy of these rules from each province to be laid before Parliament some marked divergences would be revealed. The machinery of diarchy has not yet been subjected to all the strain to which it is liable. The Governor's power of "certifying" votes rejected by the Legislature has still to be brought into operation. May it be long before any Governor has to resort to it! The Viceroy prefers an open deficit of nine crores, or twelve crores, or whatever the disastrous figure may ultimately prove to be, to certifying the additional taxes which the Legislative Assembly have rejected. In this way a constitutional crisis is staved off, and harmony—of a sort—is maintained between the Executive and the Legislature. But the situation is painfully unreal, and it is made none the more tolerable by the widespread belief that the big military budget, which is the cause of the deficit, represents, not the deliberate view of the Government of India concerning the limits of necessary army expenditure, but an irreducible minimum forced upon India by military authority at home. If that belief should be warranted it is clear that no retrenchments in civil expenditure, or the operations of the "Inchcape axe" next winter, will bring about financial equilibrium. It is the hard fate of the new Legislatures, Imperial and Provincial, that they should have had to start on their career burdened with deficits resulting from growing expenditure and diminishing revenues. When I was in Madras and Bombay I heard much of the grievances of those two Governments against the Government of India, and Mr. Patro, the Minister of Public Works and Education in Madras, has since, as a

counsel of despair, pleaded for the sympathy of Parliament in behalf of the Provincial Governments crippled by the claims of the Central Government on their diminishing revenues. But the whole of the contributions which they are called on to make does not exceed the nine crore deficit in the central budget, which probably represents half the real shortage which must be faced. The new Legislature have before them splendid opportunities of showing how far an Eastern democracy can be infused with the spirit of economy.

And there will be opportunities not less testing. From many quarters there come demands that India should at once march forward to the goal of full self-government. This demand was submitted to Parliament three years ago, and was then deliberately rejected. I venture to put it to my friends in India who have so far dealt in the counsels of moderation that they will do well to take the Act of 1919 as it stands, and to work loyally and patiently for the attainment of its declared purpose. Dominion self-government is the ultimate goal, but it is fundamental to the policy embodied in the Act that the advance shall be made in stages, as it has been made in all the great self-governing communities in the world. The working of the Councils so far has not been so smooth and easy that new demands can be made upon the political capacity of the Indian democracy, and upon the not too abundant administrative resources which the country is able to supply. At the time the Act was passed I wrote in the pages of this REVIEW, "India will have quite enough to do in the next decade in developing and educating an electorate, and in learning how to choose the best men for the Legislative Councils, just as the Councils themselves will have enough to do in developing a parliamentary spirit and parliamentary aptitudes, and in learning how to get the best work out of the men selected to serve it in the ministries." As one who ardently desires to see the Councils of to-day filling their destined place as training-grounds for the self-governing institutions of the future, I venture to repeat the advice which I tendered to

my fellow-subjects in India three years ago. I shall certainly have with me some of the most distinguished of the progressive politicians in India in again asserting the need for developing and educating an electorate. Bombay, as I learn from the report of the recent conference of Indian Liberals, has made a beginning. But there are provinces in which nothing has been done to supply this crying want, and it is little more than a year to the next General Election.

GENOA AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S.A. IN CHINA.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

It remains to be seen how much of the "Special Correspondence" at the Washington Conference will be worth re-reading a year hence, or what value we can ascribe to opinions expressed as to a permanent settlement of the Pacific question. In these days the world moves like a kinema show. Events flash before the eyes. Hardly have three-quarters of an audience grasped the significance of a picture than it has vanished, to give place to a fresh incident.

Such a kaleidoscopic passing of events as we have been accustomed to may suit Europe and America, but it does not represent normal life, the life which the majority of human beings, especially Orientals, desire to live.

In these ancient civilizations such methods have not worked. It is only necessary to note the present state of events in China and India to realize this. True it is that the old order passeth, and how extraordinary the change that has come about in the East since pre-war days is, few people in Europe and America understand. But the East will not be hustled. If Western nations persist in enforcing on Asiatic races European and American methods of life, thought, and material conceptions, Europe and America will have to answer for the cataclysm that may ensue.

In the West we have arrived at what some are pleased to call the height of civilization. To many who know the East, its ~~past~~ history, psychology, and codes of life, it remains to be proved, if, in so arriving, we have not discarded some of the most priceless possessions which life

has to offer. To mention only two: Leisure, with the opportunity to understand what life really means; contentment with simple things. Not that the leisure referred to is incompatible with a strenuous life. But it is not to be found in conjunction with the endless, aimless, seeking after material success or pleasure characteristic of so much post-war social and business life. Nor is the East less happy than the West because of its contentment with a simpler life. Who that knows would affirm that the poorer classes in Europe and America are one whit happier than the still poorer millions of China or India—at least, as these latter were while still left in peace to evolve their own destiny?

It may be of interest to turn for confirmation of the above reflections to a book just published. It is from the pen of an American writer. Dr. Paul Reinsch, late U.S.A. Minister in Peking, has collected the experiences of his six years of office under the title of "An American Diplomat in China." Though unacquainted at first-hand with the Chinese, their age-long problems, political, ethical, and economic, Dr. Reinsch has thoughtful words to utter of both people and Government. In China the people are vastly more important than the Government. As a student of wide culture, and as an authenticated observer of men and things, Dr. Reinsch's review of his life at the Chinese capital should be of value to all thoughtful Americans.

In the Introduction to his book Dr. Reinsch demands pertinently: "When we ask ourselves what are the elements which may constitute China's contribution to the future civilization of the world, what are the characteristics which render her civilization significant to all of us, we enter upon a subject that would in itself require a volume merely to present in outline. . . .

"The secular persistence of Chinese civilization has given to the Chinese an inner strength and confidence which make them bear up even when the aggressiveness of nations more effectively organized for attack seems to

render their position wellnigh desperate. Can the world fail to realize that if this vast society can continue to live according to its traditions of peace and useful industry, instead of being made the battle-ground of contending Imperial interests, the peace of the world will be more truly advanced than it may be by any covenants of formal contrivance? Declarations, treaties, and leagues are all useful instruments, but unless the nations agree without afterthought to respect the life and civilization of China, all professions of world betterment would be belied in fact. If China is to be looked upon as material for the Imperialistic policies of others, peace conferences will discuss and resolve in vain."

It is right that we should remind ourselves of the fundamental differences between East and West before passing on to a consideration of America's future interests and activities in China and the Pacific.

Setting aside as beyond the scope of this article the resolution adopted by the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments, let us briefly consider the treaties directly concerned with the Pacific and Far Eastern questions which were definitely agreed to and signed.

What are these treaties worth? Have either the Four-Power or the Nine-Power treaties concluded at Washington done more than reiterate catchwords current for the last twenty years in the Far East? The open door in China; the abolition of *likin*; the safeguarding of China's sovereign rights; equality of opportunity; no spheres of influence. To quote Dr. Reinsch once more: "International action as seen from Peking during this period (1913-19) did not have many reassuring qualities. In most cases it was based upon a desire to lose no technical advantage of position; to yield not a whit, no matter what general benefit might result through mutual concessions. Each ~~one~~ was jealously guarding his position in which he had advanced step by step. Some were willing to make common cause with others in things that would not always

commend themselves to a sense of equity, in order that they might take still another step forward."

Again, the honest enquirer after results is bound to ask: Have all or any of these international difficulties been definitely settled? It is only necessary to study carefully the final report upon the Washington Conference to realize how much care and discrimination has been given to the drafting of every word of each individual article composing the treaties. What, on paper, could be clearer or more definite than the intention expressed in Article 1 of the Nine-Power Treaty (*vide* p. 44, British White Book Miscellaneous, No. 1, Washington, 1921-22)? But as Mr. Reinsch in his book (p. 335) declares with emphasis in discussing the action of Japanese militarism in China: "What is needed to cure such evils is not lip-service to political liberalism, but a change of heart." And the same remark applies with equal force to most of the articles contained in the Four and Nine-Power treaties.

Observance of the spirit, not alone of the letter, of the various treaties can make them live.

But there is one achievement of great potential value. Allusion is made to the institution of the "Board of Reference," to which any questions arising in connection with the general policy of the contracting parties concerned may be referred for investigation or report. This Board is designed "to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity."

In this opportunity for frank and free discussion of opposing policies at any future period of international strain lies the hope of permanent settlement of Far Eastern problems. So far, the discussion of the value of the treaties signed at Washington has been confined mainly to the allied Powers concerned. Let us now ~~give~~ briefly at their value to China. For, however it may have been camouflaged at the time, to save China from disruption,

also from herself, was the *raison d'être* of the Washington Conference.

One of the extraordinary traits comprising the national character is the Chinaman's ineradicable habit of *laissez faire*. So long as an individual Chinaman is guaranteed peace and the opportunity to go about his own or his family business, he is utterly callous to the fate of fellow-provincials who inhabit other portions of the so-called Republic. That this national characteristic is slowly being eradicated, thanks to the pressure of outside forces, is true. Not until this has happened can there be any hope of a united and self-reliant China—in other words, of peace in the Far East.

A very shrewd observer of Chinese character has lately written as follows of this national failing.*

"PEKING, March 8.

"The inter-provincial and inter-factional feuds which have been raging in this country for ten years have made it apparent, after raising many high hopes and successively blasting them, that the unity of China cannot be achieved through an agreement among the factions upon a division of the spoils. All such agreements are made to be broken. All such agreements are made within limited corporations and leave outside scores of disgruntled folk, whose only hope of sharing with the parties to the agreement lies in rebellion. All such agreements are designed to perpetuate the traditional rights of officialdom to the exploitation of the people, and, though they include every recognized official clique in China, never fail to conjure up out of obscurity champions to oppose them, champions of the people, real or bogus.

"In the immediate present one can conceive of no more than two forces that could unite China with any degree of permanency. One might be a 'cause,' a *t'i-mu* the Chinese call it, so much bigger than the selfish interests of the factions that they would be lost in it, and the other might be the force of an overwhelmingly strong man, good or bad, who would give all the factions such a terrific drubbing that respect for authority would be newly engendered in the Chinese official bosom. The only 'cause' which

* Rodney Gilbert, in the *North China Herald*, March, 1922.

could possibly be big enough to obliterate party causes throughout China would have to lie in aggression from without. Internal reform cannot be expected to appeal to the officials whom it would disarm. The cause of internal reform has never even made a sufficiently strong appeal to the demonstrative students to elicit a demonstration except when internal mismanagement could be traced to external aggressive influences.

"If the reader will think back over the movements which the students have inspired since they first began to demonstrate he will realize this. It is particularly apparent in the present official and popular attitude towards Shantung. While the Japanese were extending their influence in that province, and appeared to be there to stay, there was profound and sustained interest in China's 'holy land.' The very moment that assurance was given that the Japanese were going to withdraw, and that it was to be added to the field of native official exploitation, the whole interest lapsed absolutely. Official corporations, organized with the deliberate purpose of exploiting the restored railway, salt-fields, and other public properties, so that they will be rendered nearly or wholly useless to the people, attract not the slightest attention unless someone suggests that these Chinese corporations for exploitation propose to sell their acquired rights to the Japanese—then some degree of interest is revived.

"So long as the outsider is excluded from the game, official monopolies might tear up the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway and sell the rails at auction (a good many patriots would be there buying them in); they might reduce Tsingtao to a fishing village again; they might steal the marbles from Confucius' tomb and incorporate them in their palaces of refuge in the foreign concessions, and you could not get three Chinese to meet together and cry out against it in any public highway in China. They might meet in the back room of a tea-house and whisper about it, and the upshot of their whispering would be a scheme for forcing their way into the privileged corporation."

What, then, is America's particular task in China?

Dr. Reinsch supplies one answer as to American policy. "The difficulties I encountered," he writes, "arose from the fact that a great deal was expected from a country so powerful, which had declared and always pursued a policy so just to China. . . . But America had no political aims,

and desired to abstain particularly from anything verging on political interference, even on behalf of those principles we so thoroughly believe in. I had learned to have great confidence in the ability of the Chinese to manage their own affairs when let alone, particularly in commerce and industry. That was the first desideratum, to secure for them immunity from the constant interference, open and secret, on the part of foreign interests desirous of confusing Chinese affairs and of drawing advantage from such confusion."

Here, in outline, was the aim of the Washington Conference.

It remains to enquire into the capacity of America to carry out such a policy. As has been well said, the Chinese are a nation of individualists among whom as yet there is no unifying national sense. Americans, on the other hand, are described by a keen observer* as being "very national in their sentiments and seeming to have no taste for internationalism as a form of government. In fact, they resent it strongly. They work for themselves first, and for America next and all the rest of the time."

So far as the Chinese as individualists can be inoculated with the virus of American nationalism, these contradictory characteristics may eventually fuse and help China. But a nation like America, so strongly national in its bent to the exclusion of more international views, may not be able to offer the kind of support best calculated to help China to throw off her individualism.

American Republicanism in no sense represents Chinese democracy. Truly democratic, in the best sense of that much-abused word, China has been for centuries past; but virile American hustle, together with this particular brand of Republicanism—totally unlike that of France—is a dangerous foundation upon which to try and build an Oriental Republic. It is unwise to forget that the new wine of Republicanism is a heady compound to be taken in

* Colonel Repington in his new "Diary."

small quantities. As Dr. Reinsch found from his own experience, "one of China's best assets is still the retention among all classes of loyalty, piety, and that sense of the fitness of things which gives meaning to the otherwise out-of-date ceremonial of Chinese social life. This innate courtesy is more than etiquette, in that it embodies faith in visible form in everyday observances and the relations and duties upon which society rests."

To endeavour to do away with these inherent traits in the national character, or to supplement them by Western methods of thought and action such as universal franchise for both sexes, steel-trusts, etc., will not tend to help China. *Festina lente* is no bad motto for any country suddenly endowed with a new form of government. Nowhere is such a motto more applicable than in China's case, where three thousand years of monarchical control preceded the meteoric fall of an almost semi-divine ruler and the institution—on paper—of a full-blooded Republic.

There is a new factor which bears, indirectly in one sense, directly in another, upon the results of the Washington Conference. It is the dramatic conclusion of the Russo-German Treaty at Genoa, a treaty which, when its full terms see the light of day (at the time of writing, May, they are not yet given out), may be one of the most epoch-making the world has known. There are two methods of regarding the Rappalo Treaty. If we accept the view given expression to by a well-known weekly,* we may see in it "the model on which the trade and comity of Europe will be built up"; also as an attempt on the part of the only two sensible nations left in Europe to wipe out irrevocable debt and start again.

The other view of the treaty may be briefly expressed as "hell let loose." To any careful student of European politics it has for long been evident that some such *rapprochement* was inevitable. For if ~~both~~ Russia and Germany are to be outlawed from the comity of nations, as

* The *Nation*, and the *Athenæum*.

so far has been the case, they must in self-defence combine to save their political and economic lives. And such combination was made all the more inevitable by the fact that Russia and Germany at present each lack just what the other can give. Industrial support of every kind in all branches of her economic life is Russia's vital need, not to mention the military assistance of an highly-trained personnel and modern war equipment. Germany lacks, first, economic markets for her manifold reviving industries. Secondly, and what is, perhaps, the chief temptation to Germany, cannon-fodder for the inevitable *revanche*. Where better can this be found to hand than in the millions of homeless, hungry, unemployed Bolshevik Russians, careless how they live if only they can live?

If this "outlaw policy" is pursued to the bitter end there can be small doubt that the Russo-German Treaty will form the jumping-off ground for another balance-of-power war in Europe. Russia and Germany will sooner or later be joined by other States inimical to the Treaty of Versailles and to the Allies, in all probability by Turkey. If this should happen the world's Muhammadan population becomes ranged with Russia and Germany, and what this would mean to French and English interests in the East no serious follower of Asiatic politics will need to be reminded. The future action of the Russo-German Treaty cannot, therefore, be confined to Europe. It may be used eventually to set the torch to the smouldering fires of Bolshevism already honeycombing the East and Far East. It may well form also the basis of an open split between East and West, already nearer than an overstrained and self-occupied Europe imagines. Russia, it should not be forgotten, is, and always has been, at bottom a semi-Oriental State; and as such can easily assimilate Oriental ideals and adapt herself to Oriental ways. What a powerful Russo-German-Turkish league might mean to American interests in the Far East it is hardly necessary to discuss. Any such combination must give Japan "furiously to think"; and

when Japan is thinking on such lines it behoves America to go warily.

Though unrepresented at Genoa, America can help. Should anything unforeseen interfere to loosen the close ties between England and America which bound them together at Washington, President Harding will have toiled in vain. The Russo-German pact will then supersede the Washington Conference as arbiter of the world's destinies.

THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

BY THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.

THE failure of the Treaty of Sèvres and absence of any alternative peace with Turkey constitute the chief cause of trouble to the world in the Near and Middle East. The present unsatisfactory position—unsatisfactory from everyone's point of view except that of the Khalifat extremists in India and of the Soviet Government of Moscow—is the chief underlying cause of difficulty throughout the Balkan Peninsula, in the Arab provinces, in Central Asia and India, in Egypt, and is proving a fruitful seed-bed for Allied dissensions. The first question to be answered is whether Turkey—the Angora Government of course—wants peace with the West at all. There are good reasons for believing that many of the most powerful people and forces behind the Angora Government would reject peace on any terms however favourable. We have to remember that the Angora Government relies for its very existence on the support of the very large number of Turkish officers, more particularly junior officers, who have everything to gain and little to lose by the continuation of the present state of affairs. With peace, any real peace, their occupation, hopes, and prospects would be gone. Then there is Moscow. Moscow uses Angora very cleverly as a useful pawn in its game against Western civilization and against the Western League of Nations. Moscow is now the dominant military power of a potential new league of Asiatic nations arrayed against the West. Communism is, after all, not the end of Russian policy, but merely a means to an end. Fundamentally Bolshevism is a violent reaction against Western conceptions of religion, law, freedom, and social evolution.

In this it bears no little resemblance to Gandhi's view that all Western Governments are inherently satanic, that railways and machinery are evils, that democratic ideas about political equality are all bunkum, and that the only hope for mankind is "back to the Vedas."

Similarly Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali wanted not Indian constitutional reforms on a European model, but a restoration of Muhammadan rule in India something on the lines of Arungzeb. Now Turkey, by reason of its historical and geographical situation, plays a very important part in this conscious or more often subconscious Asiatic revival against Europe. After the Huns of Attila and the Golden Horde of Genghis Khan came the Turk with his great military achievement in the sixteenth century, whereby from the leadership of a small tribe of nomad warriors the Ottoman House became the head of a great European and Asiatic Empire, and by right of conquest the temporal head of the Sunni faith. The Turk has therefore behind him a proud military tradition and still possesses great religious prestige as the sword of Islam. He occupies in Asia Minor a unique and almost unassailable geographical position, and in Asia Minor he remains unconquered. The loss of his Arab provinces in the Great War has, so far from weakening the Turk, been in many ways a source of strength to him. He has been able to obtain a concentrated and intensified national spirit in lieu of a not very successful imperialism.

The Greek landing at Smyrna in 1919 made modern Turkey, and enabled her leaders to turn defeat by the Western Powers in 1918 into something indistinguishable from victory in 1921. The return of Constantine to Greece, the divergence of view between Great Britain and France in regard to all Near Eastern questions, the differences of view even in the British Cabinet revealed by Mr. Montagu's enforced resignation, all played Turkey's game; but just as in the past Russia was Turkey's most formidable opponent, so Bolshevik Russia has been and still is her most useful friend. On March 1, 1922, Mustapha Kemal Pasha

announced to the Turkish National Assembly that the consolidation of their friendly relations with Soviet Russia was the first essential of Turkish foreign policy. Russia is represented at Angora by one of the ablest of revolutionary Russia's very able and very realist agents, who can with the help of some of the old C.U.P. organization do much what he likes with the Turkish officers who rule at Angora.

Nevertheless, the position is not hopeless. The older men in Turkey would like peace with the West, and cannot bring themselves to face with much satisfaction the vista of years of travail through which the Bolshevik leaders would have them go. There are a good many Turkish officers even who are remembering that Constantinople is about the only Turkish city fit for an educated Turk to live in. The average Turk is beginning to doubt whether by backing the new Russian against the West, and more particularly against the Englishman, he is not backing the wrong horse. Whatever Tchicherin may say to the contrary at Genoa, Russia still stands, like Gandhi, for non-co-operation with the West. For propaganda purposes, it is called non-co-operation with "capitalist" states. The Turk is beginning to doubt whether he individually or his country is going to get as much as he thought out of this non-co-operation. Quite a few Turks would like to see Turkey represented at the League of Nations at Geneva—the final anathema of every true Bolshevik. The older Turk wants peace, but he is prepared to hang out for a stiff price unless the Western Allies are going to be strong and back their views with force—a contingency which the Turk regards as remote. After all the Allies had not the troops to send to Smyrna themselves and sent the Greeks instead. Even the French have to send black troops to Syria, and the British have only Indian troops in Palestine. The spectacle of the rôle played by England in Mesopotamia and Egypt and Ireland since the Armistice is not lost on the Turk. In Turkish eyes English liberalism has always stood for English weakness.

There are those—even of the Western Allies—who tell the Turk that he has only got to hang on and sit tight, and all, and more than all, the national pact of Angora will fall like a ripe apple into his mouth. France and England are now too divided ever to enforce any peace treaty like the Treaty of Sèvres. Greece cannot go on much longer. Greece faces internal political strife, a tired and disappointed army, financial difficulties, and has few (if any) friends among other nations just now. Greece is paying dearly for preferring Constantine to Venezelos.

The pious aspirations of the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy have been effectively rejected. For Near Eastern purposes the so-called "Supreme Council" has always been a failure. Nobody in the East ever thought it meant what it said or was prepared to back its "recommendations" by effective action. If peace by agreement between Turkey and the West is to come about it can only come about through the League of Nations, or by a series of separate treaties with individual nations. Mr. Lloyd George's "rich and renowned lands of Thrace" will be the great stumbling-block when the time really comes for settlement. Any land frontier between Greece and Turkey is likely to mean another war fairly soon. The best hope lies in a neutralized separate state under a League High Commissioner between the Maritza and the Rodosto Midia frontier, wherein Turk, Bulgar, and Greek are treated as equals, and no one put over the other two. In the Thracian question—Eastern or Western—the future of Bulgaria is more important from a world point of view than that of either Greece or Turkey.

The recrudescence of "massacre propaganda" on both sides is one of the inevitable sinister features of the existing situation, just as the massacres—on both sides—will go on till there really is peace. The massacres are ugly facts that cannot be condoned or excused. But their exploitation for purposes of propaganda has most sinister results, particularly when religious and not political motives are attributed.

War in the East among people of different races cherishing the memories of bitter feuds and hatreds is a very ugly business, especially for the non-combatant population. Western Europe and America are so self-conscious that they have given little thought to what is going on at the gates of Europe. The English voter thinks Turkey a long way off, and the American Senator is indifferent, but the world can ill afford to stand by much longer. Above all, does Britain want peace in the Near and Middle East? And if so, is she prepared to make some effort to get it? And if she is prepared to make the necessary effort, will her present statesmen deliver the goods? Turkey is not an unimportant country, and on which way she finally goes much history will depend.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE, CHIEFLY HINDUISTIC

BY K. N. SITARAM

INDIAN architecture, like Indian poetry and religious thought, is a product of the climate, the geographical conditions, and the genius of the race. For all practical purposes India is a continental unity by herself, bounded by the sea and mountains which shut her out more or less completely from the rest of the world. Therefore her architecture, like her sculpture, mythology, and poetry, is very national, and possesses a splendid isolated unity of its own, which marks it out from the achievements of the other branches of the human race. Foreigners might come, plunder her shrines, ruin her temples, massacre whole populations of inoffensive folk, and compel the rest to embrace an alien faith; hordes after hordes might do this, some barbarously and some in a more civilized way, but still she remains as she ever was—a universal mother unto all, stretching out her hands of welcome, taming down their ferocity, and, finally, Indianizing them. The tendency to absorb an alien culture, and to so thoroughly Indianize it that the foreign element can scarcely even be suspected, is as true of her religious thought as of her achievements in architecture.

No other man loved his native land—her streams, mountains, plains, and skies—so passionately as the Indian, nor felt to such an extent that he was only a link in the grand necklace of Prakriti, or mother Nature, as the Indian. This love and devotion to her is reflected, not only in the Suktas of the “Rig-Veda,” but has been a continuous tradition echoed down through Valmiki, Kalidasa, and Bhavabhuti, down to Bankim and Tagore. This

passionate love of the surroundings, this deep feeling of being one with all Nature, is again and again not only echoed in poetry and religion, but finds its utterance in sculpture, architecture, and painting. Sita, when she is about to leave her hermitage on the banks of the Godavari, exclaims "That where the very trees and the animals were like her own kith and kin," and Sakuntala is moved to tears on taking leave of the trees and deer of Kanva's hermitage. This inspires some of the sublimest teachings of the Upanishads, and lies at the root of the Jain and Vaishnavite ideas of "Ahimsa," as well of the Karmic theory of the Brahmin and the Buddhists, and can be traced as well not only in the sculptures of Amaravati, Sanchi, and Boro-Budur, in the frescoes of Ajanta and Sigiriya, but also to a limited extent in architecture as well.

Architecture in India is only a prayer in stone, and a due appreciation of it is impossible without her poetry and sculpture. Though it may sound rather curious, it is none the less a fact that the Indian genius was more fond of sculpture than of architecture or painting, and that, even when they execute to perfection, still the vision that guides and inspires is more that of sculptors than of architects or painters. The process by which they reduced whole mountains into monolithic temples, like the Kailasa or the one at Kalugumali, and fashioned Viharas and Chaitya halls from the living rock of the Western or the Eastern Ghats, or cells and caves like those of Ajanta, is the same which produced in a later age statues of the Thirthankaras at Sravana Belgola, Yenur, Karakala, as well as on the rocks of Gwalior. This tendency to reduce rocks to architectural constructions, as in the case of the Rathes of Mahabalipura, is, like sculpture, producing forms through subtraction, and not, like architecture, producing forms through addition. The Gopurams of the so-called Aryavarta style appear so kneaded as a whole out of clay, and the Sikharas and Vimanas of the Dravidian style appear lost in a forest of figures.

In the treatment of the specimens that survive to-day greater attention will be bestowed on the Hinduistic types, Brahmin or Hindu, Buddhist and Jain, than on the types which were erected in India after the advent of Islam, and labelled "Indo-Saracenic." Hindu shrines generally are either Vaishnavite, Saivite, Saktic, or Saura; Buddhist ones belong either to the Mahayana or the Hinayana, and the Jain ones were erected either by those belonging to the Svetambara or the Digambara sect. For the purposes of this lecture, not only buildings that survive in India proper within the limits defined before, but also those found in Greater India, as Ceylon, Java, Burma, and Cambodia, will be taken into consideration.

No country in the world has been so unfortunate as India in regard to her history and architecture, or suffered so much at the hands of foreigners. Foreign invasions and foreign vandalism perpetuated from the sixth century till recently, the climatic conditions of a scorching sun, heavy rainfall, and destructive thunderstorms, and the encroachments of a dense tropical vegetation, have all combined to destroy more than even the pathetic neglect of her own children.

If the early Muhammadan invaders saw to it that no ancient Hindu building of any architectural beauty was left standing above the ground level, when once it had met their sympathetic eye (north of the Vindhya), the roots of the banyan tree and a dense vegetation sufficed to reduce to ruin temples at Somnathpur and Anuradhapura and Polonurawa. The representatives of an enlightened Government equally saw to it that the sculptures of the Gangai-konda-cholapuram found a place in the construction of the grand anicut of the Kaveri, the marbles and remains of some at least of the Krishna stupas found a due place in furnishing lime and road-paving, aided successfully elsewhere in road-making by the remains of Orissa temples, not to speak of covering up and building in to what extent they could, or restoring Vellore, Gwalior, and many a

similar fort or fortress. Indigenous greed had also its share of the spoils. The story of the achievements of the Andhra zamindars in utilizing the Krishna stupas as building material, of the use which the site of the ancient Ayodhya served in the erection of Fyzabad, the use which Gaur and many a similar capital served, even in modern times, need not be told.

Of those buildings that remain, or have been uncovered by excavation, none go back beyond the Mauryan period, excepting the walls and dwellings of old Rajagriha, "all built of rough cyclopean masonry." This old city, celebrated as the capital of Jarasandha, played a part in the Mahabharata, and contained a rocky fortress whose cells served to imprison captive princes until Krishna and Bhima set them at liberty. King Bimbisara, a contemporary of the Buddha, is said to have removed the Magadhan capital to the new or Nava Rajagriha, and to have thus indirectly caused its desertion and consequent ruin.

Of the buildings of this pre-Mauryan period, though as yet few have survived or been excavated properly, enough can be gathered from literature to give us a fairly good notion of what they must have looked like, in spite of the descriptions being more poetical than architectural. So much is clear, that cement, bricks, and wood played a greater part in construction than stone, and the first fine stone building that was erected was probably the audience hall of the Pandava princes designed for them by the half-mythical Maya. However, allusions are to be found in plenty throughout the Vedic literature, as well as in the Ramayana, to the existence of stone buildings, and to the use of stone as a building material.

The early schools of architecture probably originated in India because of the Sattras, or sacrifices. The exigencies of erecting the Vedic altars of the various kinds and dimensions, of providing huge covered places where the spectators could be fed and discussions held, may have furnished the models for many an old royal palace, as that of King Sudas,

Janaka Trasadasyu, Mandhata, and others. Here, at these sacrifices, were witnessed the recital of the Puranas, the redaction of many an old text, and here probably originated the Silpa Sutras, which later on developed and became a part of the still wider science of Vastu-Vidya. In these constructions wood must have played the chief part, and the huge halls with rows of columns must evidently have been imitated from Devadaru forests which clothed the Himalaya, and the white colour which seems to have been the favourite for spires must have been suggested by the snow-capped peaks of the same. "A building white as Mount Kailas and as lofty" occurs again and again in Sanskrit literature. So Chunam or Sudha must have been employed to a very large extent, and even the audience hall of the Pandava princes, with its crystal floors and beautiful gardens, is said to have been of the colour of a new-born cloud, or white. Early Buddhist literature alludes to palaces with many floors, to "Upari, Prasada Tala," etc., and contains plenty of allusions to the architectural creations of the period. The white colour stood out far better against the sapphire blue background of an Indian unclouded sky, or against the jet-black of a thunder-clouded monsoon sky, than any other colour, and hence no wonder that most of Kalidasa's palaces are of this colour; so also the inimitable Taj, to admire which fully one should see it in the beautiful flush of an Indian dawn, in the burning midday sun, as well as when the whole sky is flooded by an autumnal moon, with the lilies in the tank opposite in full bloom.

From this very early period books were written on architecture, which continued to develop as a Silpa-Sastra, a branch of the larger Vastu-Vidya, and formed the original from which the latter books on the same as the Kamikagama, Yantrasara, Mayamata, Manasara, the scattered fragments of the Puranas and of the Niti and Artha Sastras treating about architecture, were developed.

If one really cares to work at the subject, not only does the

Sanskrit literature furnish us with valuable data, but also Tamil and other vernaculars of India.

Buildings were erected with more than ten floors, and the various kinds of temples were classified as Vimana, Meru, Kailasa, Mandara, etc. Mandapas were erected with varying number of pillars in various shapes and styles, so as to resemble the lotus closed and open, the water-lily, the creeper gourd, palm-leaf, water-pot, and various other designs, surrounded or set in the midst of gardens and parks with aviaries, fish and lotus tanks, fountains, artificial hillocks, summer and winter pavilions, and picture galleries (*chitra-salas*).

With the advent of the Mauryas to sovereignty, and especially with the accession of Asoka, we find a glorious period of architectural activity, when more use is made of stone as a building material than at any previous period. Even the fortifications of Pataliputra, as described by Megasthenes, were of wood (*i.e.*, during the days of his grandfather, the first founder of the dynasty). The buildings in stone of this period (besides the few brick ones) and other monuments in stone comprise "a series of isolated columns erected by the Emperor (Asoka) at various places in North India—the remains of a pillared hall at Patna, which probably formed part of a royal palace designed apparently on the model of the Achæmenidean palaces of Persepolis (according to Dr. Spooner and Sir John Marshall); a group of rock-cut shrines in the Barabar Hills in Behar; a small monolithic rail at Sarnath; a throne in the interior of the temple at Bodh-Gaya; some portions of the stone umbrellas at Sanchi and Sarnath; three structures in the round—two in the Indian museum at Calcutta and the third at Mathura."

The technique of these monoliths and of the huge faces of rock polished to receive the inscriptions, the interior of the dedicatory caves polished almost like glass, the carting of the pillars to long distances and their erection surmounted by capitals and animal figures, betoken a very high

degree of architectural and engineering skill. The animal sculpture of this period is perfect, and the art is indicated by a spirit of frank naturalism as fresh as that which inspired the Dawn hymns of the Rig-Veda, an art thoroughly human, a perfect mirror of the social and the religious life of contemporary India, full of gaiety and a real pleasure in life, a period as yet unspoiled by foreign invasions. To take only one instance, the Sarnath lions form the finest animal sculpture in the ancient world. The combination of vivid and realistic modelling, ideal dignity, and the flawless accuracy of every detail, would do credit even to a Landseer. The architectural fecundity of that period is well represented by the tradition which attributes to him (Asoka) the erection of 84,000 stupas, and may not be a mere exaggeration, but may have included small and even insignificant structures in wood and brick erected to commemorate holy events. The ruins of his palace, still standing during the visit of one of the Chinese pilgrims, was considered to be a marvel of art and to have been built by genii. Of another type of building, the stupa, which the Emperor Asoka is said to have favoured considerably, several examples have come down to us, differing in dates from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D., scattered over such places as the banks of the Krishna, Bhilsa, Barhut, Sarnath, and the frontier, the seat of the ancient Gandhara kingdom, and even across the frontier in Afghanistan and Central Asia. Probably those at the frontiers and beyond India were a little later than the third century A.D. But anyhow, all the stupas conform to a general rule of architectural construction, and are semispherical or dome-shaped mounds, surmounted by umbrellas, generally of stone, enclosed by railings or Pradakshina paths, and entered by gateways, one at each of the four directions. The circular dome or mound was probably covered with fine plaster or chunam, and decorated with frescoes depicting the life of the Master and the history of the local stupa; the stone umbrellas were full of the most beautiful chiselling, overhung with banners and garlands;

and the toranas, or gateways, and the railings as well contained the best specimens of the art of the sculptor depicting Buddhistic stories and the ordinary life of the people.

Later on Ceylon, Burma, and other countries which borrowed the religion of the "enlightened one" from India, borrowed his relics as well as those of the other holy personages of the Doctrine and enshrined them in stupas, otherwise called Dagobas (from the Sanskrit *Dhatugarba*), in similar circular mounds evidently following the models of the Mother Country. Of the stupa railings those of Amaravati, Buddha Gaya, and Bharhut serve as good examples, and of the toranas, those of Sanchi, the most beautiful being the northern (though the eastern has received so much admiration from Europeans as to find a place in the museums at London, Paris, and Berlin), afford a good illustration. Most of these stupas were evidently built to enshrine a relic of the Master or of his disciples, as is evident from the discoveries already made, or to commemorate a sacred occurrence. It is a fact familiar to every student of Pali and Buddhism that after the Parinirvana of the Master even the higher powers sought to obtain his relics so as to enshrine them in suitable stupas.

The origin of the stupa has been a matter of controversy, some deriving it from the earthen tumulus or burial mound, and others from a bamboo structure, or aboriginal hut, like that of the Todas. Certain it is that, as they are now found in a perfect form of development, the link massing and probably the stone structures were modelled after or replaced earlier prototypes in wood. In Vedic literature the word stupa means "the crown of the head," and in the South Indian architectural parlance, the topmost part of the building, generally dome-shaped. The sculpture that adorns some of these early works, especially those of the Gandhara country, Amaravati, Bharhut, and Sanchi, is of a very high order, and the same must have been the case in Ceylon, as evidenced by the existing remains. Among these Sanchi occupies the first place and Amaravati the second. At

Sanchi we find the Indian animals, and especially the wisest among them, the elephant, chiselled to perfection, and Indian men and women in their overflowing gaiety and vigour move in typical Indian surroundings, in spite of the large amount of supposed Persian influence. They have never a look of detachment, as in a Western sculpture, but form part or are only a page in the grand story-book of surrounding nature, a unity with the bud, the animal, and the creeper, feeling like a Sita or a Sakuntala an innate and close relationship; of the Amaravati stupa the site is now empty, and the fragments are either in the British or the Madras Museum, and from these remains of white marble and from the stupas chiselled on them it is quite possible to say how the Amaravati structure must have looked before the hands of the British and the Andhra zamindars began to meddle with it. The area is just like the Bhilsa district, and must have consisted of a whole wilderness of stupas, as the many at Ghantasaila, Bhattiprolu, and Gudivada testify. In the Gandhara country and Ceylon also their number must originally have been legion, and since they generally conform to a general architectural pattern, need no further mention. Mention was made earlier in the paper of the pillars erected by Asoka, their exquisite finish and technique. Followers of Hinduistic faiths other than the Buddhistic did the same, and erected pillars, either dedicatory or votive, to mark important events, or as dipadanas or lamp-posts, or as flag-staffs or dhvajastambhas. Among these the Garuda pillar at Besnagar and the iron pillar near Delhi are the earliest, while the dhvajastambhas at Ellora and Badami are mediæval, and the graceful columns and dipadanas which adorn South Canara, as at Mudebidri, Yenur, etc., the work of the Digambara Jains, still later. From this time the practice of erecting flagstaffs or dhvajastambhas became an integral part of Hindu temple architecture, though the material in which they were built differed. That of the Kailasa is in stone, while the later South Indian temples

began to substitute wood for stone, and as a compensation to cover it with gilded copper plates, so as to look like gold.

Besides the stupas the early Buddhists excavated caves, chaityas, and viharas, hewn out of living rock. Of the chaitya halls the largest number are found along the western coast of India in and about Poona, as here the mountains furnished the most favourable material. Among these may be mentioned as the most important those at Bedsa, Bhaja, Kanheri, Nasik, Kondane, Pitalkora, and Karli.

The chaitya hall of Karli is the largest in size, and has exquisite pillar capitals. Caves are found in the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri, rendered doubly important by their inscriptions. The caves of Ajanta—at least the earlier of the twenty-nine—fall within this period. Not only from the point of view of painting do these (of Ajanta) occupy a prominent place, but architecturally also they mark an important epoch, and the chaitya hall stands next only to that of Karli in grandeur. Of the frescoes it may be said that they are not only interesting as a mirror of the social and the contemporary life of the time, as a picture story-book of the Jatakas, as a central point influencing the art of later India, of the Gandhara country, of Turkestan, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon, and Java, but are of the greatest value to a botanist, zoologist, and ethnologist; for here not only every tree, shrub, and animal found in the valley is depicted in its natural surroundings, but the different races who followed and revered the tenets of the "Sacred Master" find a place.

If the sculptures of the gateways of Sanchi prove that they are more the work of ivory carvers or embossers than of stonemasons or sculptors, these early caves, such as those of Lomasa Rishi, Ajanta, Nasik, and others, prove that they are only literal imitations of wooden prototypes, and the earlier the caves are, the more they are enslaved to their traditions of wood. It is curious that in some places

stone has been cut away and actual beams of wood inserted. Here, at the end of the seventh century after Christ, one may say that for all practical purposes Buddhistic architecture ends, and the Brahmanic and the Jain begin their heyday of glory, which they have maintained until to-day. For about this period, or shortly after, Buddhism, which had become diluted into Mahayanism already by many a Brahmin, though Buddhist born, teacher like Nagarjuna and Kumarajiva, was absorbed by Puranic Hinduism, and ceased to exist as a separate faith. The buildings of the Gupta and Harsha periods of Hinduistic revival, which witnessed the birth of a Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Varahamihira, Samudragupta, Harsha, and Bana, the period so very enthusiastically described by the Chinese pilgrims, the period which produced a sculpture such as that of the Buddhas of Sarnath, did not achieve great gems of architecture. To surmise from a few isolated examples what old schools of style might have been is too daring, and so, till better and more material is available, it is wise to confine our remarks to discovered specimens.

The caves of Elephanta, the Kailasa Temple, and the Sabhas at Ellora, the earlier temples of Badami, Pattadakal, and Aihole, may have been finished before the eighth or ninth century. Elephanta, within an hour's reach from Bombay, though it has suffered much at the hands of the foreigners, especially the Portuguese, and from the climatic conditions, still contains some splendid sculptures, of which the so-called Trimurti is familiar to many.

The Kailasa Temple is a masterpiece of architectural skill, a hill being chiselled away to make a temple, and contains some very fine sculptures. Besides this Brahmanic creation the Buddhists and Jains executed beautiful shrines and halls out of living rock, the chief of which may be mentioned: the Indra-Sabha. Badami Temple contains some of the most spirited ever executed by the Hindus, and at Aihole one can see an unbroken sequence of styles from the fifth century to the fourteenth, from the earliest

Brahminical cave to the latest medieval temple. The rathas of Mahabalipuram, thirty-five miles south of Madras, must have been erected during this period; for inscriptions record therein the Pallava kings under whose patronage they were executed. Here one can see all the stages from the time that the chisel was first applied to the rock, to the most perfectly finished ratha—the Dharmaraja ratha.

Beside the rathas (Sanskrit, "ratha" a chariot), dedicated to the five Pandavas, there are other rathas, like the Ganesa ratha, which might have served as a model or at least a source of inspiration for the gigantic creations of the Chola Emperors. Besides these architectural triumphs Mahabalipuram contains some very fine sculptures, among which may be mentioned the penance of Arjuna, the descent of the Ganges, its Naga, bull, and monkey sculptures. Other Pallava buildings of this period erected at Kanchi, the Pallava capital (mentioned in the conquests of Samudra-Gupta and by Hiuen Tshang), are the temples dedicated to Kailasanatha, Muktesvara, and Vaikuntha Perumal. The earlier temple of Sangameswar, and the slightly later one, the Virupaksha at Pattadakal, clearly show the South Indian influence, although to designate the temples of Dharwar and Mysore, the name Hoysala, or the still more incorrect description "Chalukya," has been invented. Sangameswar is now partly in ruins, while Virupaksha, like most of the temples of Mysore and Dharwar, is still dedicated to divine worship.

From the tenth century onwards building activity ceased definitely in Upper India, though it still continued unabated in Central and South and in Greater India.

The medieval temples which have come down to us can be divided locally as Orissan, Hoysala, Dravidian, and Jain, though the classification regarding Dravidian and Jain is far from being correct, as some at least of the temples in South India were originally Jain and became converted thereafter into Hindu uses. The Jain architecture of the northern branch, the Swetambaras, differs

considerably from that of their southern brothers, the Digambaras, and in its latter phases has borrowed much from the building canons of the so-called Indo-Mughal and Rajput schools. Further, some of their structures have a very close resemblance to those of the Orissan or the so-called Aryavarta school, so that it is absolutely impossible to say which is which from architecture alone without the aid of iconography. The Hoysala is only another variety of the Dravidian, and the Dravidian has not only influenced temple building throughout Mysore and Dharwar, but has located some of its temples even at Brindavan. Its influence, not only in sculpture, but also in architecture, can be traced even in Ceylon, Java, Bali, and Cambodia; for of all the Indian races the Tamils are the greatest colonizers, and they are found to-day not only in Africa, the islands of the Pacific and India Oceans, but also in Central America and the West Indies.

Of the temples of Orissa, the best representatives of the so-called Aryavarta or the Indo-Aryan style, those that stand to-day, in spite even of the kind attentions of the Public Works Department, the English Army officers, and tourists, were erected between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. The Navagraha Temple, the Bhuvaneswara Linga Raya, the Rayarani, the Konarka, the Mukteswara, and the white pagoda of Puri, are the best representatives of this school. Many have expatiated on the merits of the Mukteswara and the Linga Raya. Rajaram contains some very fine sculptures, and possesses with the Konarka the special merit of offending, if not shocking, European taste. Konarka, or the black pagoda, is a vimana constructed to represent a chariot—the chariot of the sun—and was dedicated to that deity and might have drawn its inspiration from a similar and earlier one at Tanjore. The temple of Chidambaram contains a vimana shrine, and Vijayanagar possessed one till recently, a stone car, till the attention of the local collector was drawn to it. To the white pagoda additions have been in progress, and, though the site of

Jagannath is very ancient, it is difficult to say whether originally it was Hindu at all.

The earlier of the Jain temples at Parswanath, Satrunjaya, Ranpur, and Mount Abu belong to this period. On the Mount Abu Temples a special monograph might be written. The Vimala Saha and the Tejpal temples are real gems of Upper Indian and Jain art, in spite of their stiff and conventional sculpture, unnecessarily stereotyped by strict religious canons. The interior of these temples is a perpetual feast and a delight to the eye, in spite of their sometimes cloying richness, and reminds one rather of the highest accomplishments of a jeweller or of a filigree-maker than of a sculptor or architect. Not only is the inside of these Jain temples, their arches being some of the most graceful and exquisite in the world, such as to charm an onlooker, but their exterior appearance also leaves a delightful impression. Another beauty of Jain architecture is their artistic grouping of temples on holy hills and the perfect place they assume in the lap of Mother Nature—a true monument and architectural symbolism of the silent, deep, meditative spirit of the Tirthamkars—"Ahimsa." No one can easily forget the impression that Satrunjaya makes on him. The holy hill is ascended in the morning with a pure body and a pure mind. No food is permitted to be cooked on the hill, no noise, no turmoil, and one should not sleep on the holy hill, nor take a horse or a pony. There amidst its forest of temples a calm prevails and a peace which one can experience in no other place of worship. The temples of Ranpur also form a striking group, and the same may be said to a limited extent of other holy hills of the Jainas. One wonders whether the Hindus borrowed this beautiful grouping of their temples with such exquisite effect amid the cocoa-nut palms and other trees,—as so successfully achieved at Madura, Chidambaram, Conjeveram, Srirangam, and many another temple city of South India, as well as at Benares, Mathura, and Bhuvaneswar,—from the Jains or the Jains from them.

Their co-religionists of the South produced some of their finest buildings in Mysore and South Canara, and chiselled out the huge Tirthamkara statues, as those of Sravana Belgola, Karikala, Yenur, and many another place, which, even to-day, strike one with awe and wonder at the deep, imperturbable calm majesty of these figures, the loftiest of which, the Gomateswara statue, stands to a sheer height of 58 feet—a greater proclamation of the Jain faith than anything else. Their dipadans, or light-carrying pillars, among which may be mentioned those at Mudabidri and Yenur, are graceful and lovely in the extreme, and form an ornament to the skies of South Canara.

The Hindus of Mysore, not to be outdone by this neighbouring Jain activity, produced some of the gems which are even to-day the pride of Mysore—the temples of Halebid, Belur, Somnathpur, Sringeri, Nuggehalli, and Devanhalli—and adorned them with sculptures which excite the admiration of architects. These triple or double temples, and the sculptures that adorn their plinths, are masterpieces of human ingenuity and patience. Few there are who have not praised the friezes of Halebid and Belur—friezes larger and more ornate than anything else of their kind in the world.

Turning now to greater India, Ceylon, Java, Bali, and Cambodia, we find that their greatest period of building activity, though begun a century or two earlier than the tenth, practically ends with the thirteenth or the fourteenth. The Indian colonists, first Brahmin and then Buddhist, carried with them the South Indian building traditions, and, drawing nurture and inspiration from the same source which had erected a Brihadiswara, "Minakshi" and Nataraja temple, did the same to enrich Polanurawa, Angkor Thom, Angkor Vat, Bayon, and the innumerable temples of Java, Buddhist and Hindu. Inscriptions record that a Chola king of this period gave land to a Buddhist temple, and the connection of Buddhism with South India is too well known to need mention. The Buddhist influence is clearly trace-

able even in some of the ancient Tamil classics like the *Manimekhalai* (mentioned often in the *Jatakas* as the goddess of the ocean) and the *Silappadikaram*. From South India hailed many a Buddhist teacher, adventurous enough to leave a mark even on China and Burma.

The pagodas of Angkor Thom, Angkor Vat, Bayon, and others in Cambodia, are purely Brahmanic, and have not yet been fully investigated; still, enough has been done to give us an idea of what they look like. The walls of some of these are the story-books of Hinduism, and depict the chief episodes of the *Ramayana* and other Hindu works belonging to the *Itihasa-Purana* group; though many of the sculptures have, as usual, become the prey of European rapacity and enrich the various Continental collections, still we think enough may still be left for a proper study. The peculiarity of these sculptures is that they are the only specimens of Hindu achievement in sunk relief sculpture—an art which was rarely practised in the Mother Country. In Java Buddhist architecture claims our attention equally with the Brahmanic, and the temples of Boro Budur, Parambanam, as well as the numerous fanes of the Durig Plateau, were finished before the fourteenth century. Not only is this island rich in architecture, but some of its sculptures are exquisite. From here, as well as from Ceylon, building traditions were carried out to Burma and Pagan, and gave rise to some of the splendid pagodas there, as that of Shwe-dagon. In this, as in everything else, the Tamils played a considerable part. In the early centuries of the Christian era their ships reached "*Chavakkam*" (the name for Java in Tamil) and many another island in the Pacific, and Tamil literature is replete with allusions to distant sea voyages. The ships of Rajaraja the Great threatened Burma, Pegu, Ceylon, and most of the islands of the Indian Ocean, and planted pillars of victory in these foreign lands. Kashmir escaped the violence of the Islamic cyclone till the fifteenth century, and developed an architecture of its own and began to erect buildings in an indigenuous style,

which was a product of the Greco-Roman and Perso-Indian influence of the frontier. The best example of this style, to which the name of Indo-Doric has been given by some scholars, is the ruins of the temple of Martanda. Nepal, however, continued to escape the storm till the last, and consequently developed an architecture mostly of wood, the most important examples being scattered throughout the valley, as at Khat-mandu, Bhatgaon, Pasupati, etc. It has been remarked by many an observer that Nepal contains more shrines than houses, and that the valley is the only place in India, except Malabar and some portions of Travancore, where the Hindu culture is found without admiration of Islam, and hence no wonder that the building material of the extreme South as well as of the extreme North should be chiefly of wood and their architectural styles have so much in common.

Buddhism, banished from the rest of India, finds here its last resting-place, and has a bitter struggle to maintain itself from being swallowed by aggressive Hinduism in its Tantric Shakti form, and mirrors to one the days before Sankara began his religious campaigns. The religion of the enlightened one, though now it has only a few followers in the land of its birth, still is the religion of most of the Singalese in the neighbouring island of Ceylon, of the Burmese, Cambodians, Chinese, Mongolians, and Japanese, and Tibetans, and, in fact, of more than two-thirds of the population of Asia, to whom it brought not only the forms of this Hinduistic faith, but also Indian cultivation, culture, and traditions. Jainism, which was once supreme in the South of India, and produced the earliest works of the Tamil and Canarese literatures, and was enthroned at Madura, Tinneveli, and Kanchi, was forced to retreat to Mysore and Canara, permitting its temples to be converted into Saiva shrines. Even here it is fast losing ground, through the aggressive onslaughts of the militant faiths. However, in Guzerat and Rajputana it continues a very glorious and useful period of building and charitable activities. Thus we

see that of all the forms of Hinduistic faith Brahmanism or Hinduism, especially in its Puranic form, became the dominant religion of India—a faith which through the vigorous onslaughts of a Kumarila and a Sankara, not only established its Sannyasis and Maths at Kumbakonum, Madura, Dvaraka, and Brindavan, but also perched them on the heights of the Himalayas at Badarinath and Kedaranath and influenced the thought of Benares, Mathura, and Kashmir. In the South Tirujnana Sambandar expelled the Jains from Madura, and the religious Chola rulers, following the cue, dedicated villages in Ceylon and in Burma to maintain the Saiva temple at Tanjore, not disdaining even to extend their spite to Vaishnavism, many of whose temples they converted into Saiva shrines, the character which they still retain to-day, and consigning the idols found there to the sea, sarcastically remarking that, since the birthplace of Vishnu was the sea, he would be far happier there than on land.

While such was the state of things in the North, in the South one Hindu power had risen and been shattered on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and another was rearing its head, like a forest conflagration, on the Sahyadri hills. The Empire of Vijayanar, during its brief period of power, took up the building traditions of the Chola period, and its viceroys in the different provinces worthily added to the already existing fanes at Tanjore, Chidanbaram, Madura, Tinnevely, Kanchi, and many another South Indian temple city. They endowed afresh the revenues of the already existing temples, as the Brihadiiswara at Tanjore, Minakshi at Madura, and Nataraja at Chidambaram; Srirangam and Kumbhakonam owed some of their additions to the patronage of these monarchs or their viceroys, and so did Jambukeswaram, Rameswaram, and others. But the chief building activity centred in Madura, the capital of the Pandyan kingdom, and here Tirumal Nayak erected his palace and choultry, and probably added a Mandapam or two to the temple. At Rameswaram their work was

seconded and continued by the Setupati rajas, and later on by the Nettukottai Chettis, who are still the greatest patrons of building in South India. Every South Indian shrine grew up by degrees, and even to-day additions are being made, or old parts replaced or built over; so much so that it is not possible to give definite dates without running great risks. They all grew up from a central shrine, now generally the Garbha-griha of the chief idol, and received additions gradually. The major ones contain, besides the principal shrine, several other less important ones, each with a small Gopuram or Vimana of its own, and contain at least two Prakaras, or procession paths, lotus tanks, mandapas for the housing of temple paraphernalia, as well as for dancing or recitals, or special autumnal or spring festivals, a Mulasthan where the original deity stays, an outer shrine where the Utsava Vighraha or the processional deity stays, two or three more outer enclosures, and at the end the dhvajastambha, or flagstaff, and beyond it the entrance gateways surmounted by huge Gopurams. Beyond the Gopuram there are what are called Asthana Mandapas, and generally the smaller temples have their lotus tanks. Inside the outer wall several have Mandapas, covered and running through at least a part of the way where pilgrims may rest or be fed during the temple feasts. Such is, in short, the description of a Southern temple, of which there are three kinds—major, middle, and minor.

If the temples of Madura and Jambukeswaram contain the most graceful lotus tanks, the temple city of Srirangam has the biggest and the largest number of Prakaras. Rameswaram and Chidambaram have the most graceful and the largest halls. In particular that at Rameswaram is the largest hall in the world, and strikes one with awe at the amount of human labour and love expended upon it. The temples of Tinnevely, Tadpatri, Vellore, Tenkasi, and Burmadesam belong to the middle class, and most of these are complete without the tank, which is a feature only of the Tinnevely temple. This form of temple construction

did not stop with South India alone, but was carried also to Northern India, where one finds the best effects produced by a combination of the North Indian and South Indian style, as at Brindavan, whose present Swami hails from Srirangam. Tirupati and Vijayanagaram also borrowed this style, and the miscalled Chalukyan was only a modification of it. At the remains of Hampi or Vijayanagaram only a cursory glance is possible, as it deserves in itself a monograph. The descriptions of Nuniz and Paes tell us it must have been one of the grandest and richest cities of the East ; but of this the chief remains now are only the Vitthalaswami's temple, the Garden Pavilion Council Hall, and the elephant stables. It only remains now to add that besides these temples the Rajputs and the Marathas built many beautiful palaces, as well as some graceful bridges, embankments, and lakes. Especially the Rajputs had a most artistic eye, not only for architecture, but also for Nature, and erected their palaces either in the midst of an artificial lake or other sheet of water, or at least with a water front. In this respect Udaipur, the last stronghold of Hinduism—a house which boasts of never having given its daughters to the Mughals—the house which has made the name of Indian womanhood live for all time—the place adorned by a Padmini and other great daughters of India, justly boasts of having the most beautiful buildings. The Jagan Mandir, in the midst of the lake, the palace of Udaipur, the temple of Ekalingi, the Chattris, the Mahasatis, the tower of victory at Chitor, and other buildings, were due to this royal house. Besides Udaipur Jodhpur, Dig, Datia, Gwalior, and Mysore, have their palaces as well as their private buildings of extraordinary beauty, several of them erected quite recently. So we find that sculpture and architecture is still a living, though fast dying, art in India, and seems to survive in the South at least, in spite of the Public Works Department. The recent additions to the Rameswaram, Chidambaram, and Tiruchundoor temples, and the erection of new temples, as at Kaladi

and Sringeri, show that the master architects of the South, like their brothers of the North, know their business and the requirements of their country and climate far better than the architect who refuses to understand the needs of a tropical climate, or of a conservative people, but goes on building triumphantly practically flat structures, or monstrosities. Instances can be picked out, province by province, though one is sufficient to throw light on the matter. Let us take the High Court of Judicature at Madras and the Presidency College. The former owed its inspiration chiefly to an Indian master-builder, and the latter, the Presidency College, to the æsthetics of the Public Works Department. What a contrast! The High Court is an ornament as viewed from the beach, and a thing of beauty, with its light rotating and flashing, and its domes scintillating against a glorious tropical sky, and the Presidency College—the less said about it the better.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, April 24, 1922, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, when a paper was read by K. N. Sitaram, Esq., entitled "Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic." F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A., PH.D. (Librarian of the India Office) was in the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Lady Barrow, Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., and Lady Jacob, Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Colonel Warden, Colonel Dantra, I.M.R. (retired), Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. R. Sewell, Colonel Lowry, Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Robertson, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Rev. W. Stanton, D.D., Mrs. Drury, Mr. Walmsley, Captain Skeeles, Mr. V. R. Ranganathan, Mr. Salmon, Miss Bate, Mrs. W. G. Mantler, Miss Wiseman, Miss R. Powell, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. I. N. Thakore, Mr. Mubarik Ali, Miss Chomley, Mr. F. W. Westbrook, Major Gibbertson, Mrs. Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. Giles, Mrs. Rowley, Mrs. Drakoules, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is my privilege to introduce to you the lecturer, Mr. K. N. Sitaram. Perhaps Mr. Sitaram hardly needs an introduction, since he has already introduced himself to this Association in an interesting speech which he delivered on the occasion of Mr. Cotton's lecture. However, I may go so far as to mention that Mr. Sitaram is a Tamil Brahmin; and I venture to say that, if he were to give us an account of the manner of his education and bringing-up in all the strictness of the Brahmin doctrine and training, he would be able to provide us with a lecture not less interesting than that which we are hoping to hear this afternoon. Mr. Sitaram's preparation has not been in any respect a narrow one. He has travelled, I believe, practically all over India, and has visited most of the temples and the edifices which he is going to describe and illustrate to us. He has been in England and Europe for a time limited to a comparatively few months, and the manner in which he has absorbed European ways of life and European languages has been rather an eye-opener to those who have witnessed the process. He is the first of his countrymen, I think, who has taken up the subject of Indian architecture in general, and he has many European predecessors in the study of it. But I am sure that he will shed new light

upon it. Without further preface I will call upon him to deliver his lecture, entitled "Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic." (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, in his paper Mr. Sitaram necessarily covered a very wide area in space and time; in space especially, because we have always to remember that the civilization of India was not confined to India, but, just as there was a Greek sphere which dominated the eastern Mediterranean, just as there was a Roman sphere which dominated the whole of the Mediterranean and the surrounding lands, so there was an Indian sphere of civilization, the influence of which extended far beyond the limits of India. Mr. Sitaram has illustrated this from the architecture of Java, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. He might have given illustrations from a still wider field. He might have shown how the architecture of India influenced in early days the countries of Central Asia, and how it was felt in China, and to a certain extent, perhaps, in Japan and the Malay countries. This is a point which I think we should never lose sight of, that the civilization of India was an extensive thing, the particular effects of which we always may expect to find very widely spread. It is also a very ample extent of time which Mr. Sitaram's paper covers. He tells us that there is evidence of buildings and of skill in architecture going back beyond the Mauryan period. Of this earlier architecture, he informs us, very little remains. Indeed, he mentioned only the rough Cyclopean masonry of the old city of Rajagriha; and, of course, the question to what extent architecture in stone existed in ancient India prior to Asoka has always been a puzzling one. Perhaps some contribution to the solution of this question will be afforded by the continuation of Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila, which have disclosed a settlement which is probably pre-Asokan. The excavations have shown the foundations of buildings of rough-hewn stone. Of course we have always to reckon with various possibilities. No doubt it was often the case in the oldest architecture of India that just the foundations were of stone and the actual upper structure was of wood and plaster only. If the extent to which architecture in stone existed in early times in India is thus a matter not absolutely free from obscurity, there is no question of the perfection of workmanship with which the surviving remains of the Mauryan period and the architecture associated with the name of Asoka presents us. The polish and finish of the stonework are really marvellous. It is, no doubt, the fact that in all the earliest architecture of India we can trace a strong influence from Persia and Assyria; but, all the same, the perfection which Hindu architecture bears at its very commencement is something extremely striking. It is not possible to follow Mr. Sitaram through the whole of his disquisition and to note points of interest or points of agreement or disagreement. I observe that he demurs strongly to the recognition of a Chalukyan style of architecture, and he is determined, like a patriotic Dravidian,

to claim that it is merely an offshoot of the Dravidian school. How that may be, no doubt, experts will discuss; but all of those who have had opportunities of seeing the architecture of Western India, more especially in Mysore, will agree that the prize is worth contending for, since of all the works of Hindu architecture this is the triumph and the greatest achievement. I shall leave Mr. Sitaram to settle the question with the experts. I am somewhat interested in Mr. Sitaram's attitude to his subject, and I should like to obtain a little further illumination on that point. To most of us nowadays art is a matter of intellectual interest, and æsthetic is identical more or less with the study of the beautiful; but at the same time there is a not universal limitation. It is quite possible æsthetically to deal also with the ugly, with the curious, with the artificial, with the interesting, and a great number of other ideas belonging to the same domain. I should like to ask Mr. Sitaram whether the question which he asks himself in the presence of a Hindu temple is, Is it beautiful or not? and I should like to hear the opinions of speakers on this occasion as to whether Hindu architecture presents itself to them as beautiful, or whether some other attribute would more aptly express their sentiments towards it. Of course there are differences of opinion. On my way to India in the course of a recent visit I met an enthusiast for Muhammadan architecture, who was quite firm in the view that Hindu architecture did not exist. He said the Hindus are quite skilled in putting stones on stones, but there is no construction in it, there is no idea. This gentleman was engaged in the profession of architecture, and he was quite firm in his opinion. At the same time I did not assent to that myself, and I have subsequently met people who hold that the Muhammadan architecture of India, with the exception of certain pieces which cannot be denied, is not in the front rank of the representation of Islamic architecture in the world, and that in India, if you wish to be in contact with real architecture and the real spirit of architecture, you must devote your attention in the first place to the Hindu art. I should like to ask Mr. Sitaram what is his attitude to the great temples, let us say, of his own Tamil country. Does he regard them from the æsthetic point of view? Does he ask himself whether they are objects of successful artistic creation, or has he a different feeling towards them? I myself will confess that I could not help but be impressed by the spectacle of those aspiring gopurams rising into the blue skies of south India amidst the palm groves and so on; all that I found extremely impressive. Then, of course, when we turn to the architecture in detail, when we turn to the marvels of sculpture and decoration, we cannot withhold our unqualified astonishment and admiration for the achievements of the Hindus. There is something in the saying that the Hindus approach the subject of architecture and work in stone partly in the spirit of jewellers. However, one feels that that cannot be the real explanation, and one asks oneself whether at all times we sufficiently realize what the purposes are that are served by a temple in India; just as by

the temples in ancient Greece and Rome. We should always remember that the temple plays a great part in the life of the people. It is not coldly shut off from their daily existence. It performs the duty not only of a place of worship, but also of a place of meeting and a museum, a place where the people go to become acquainted with the legends and the history of their country. I feel that in view of this fact we can realize more completely what is meant by this magnificent variety and complication of sculpture and carved scenery in the temples; and I shall be grateful to Mr. Sitaram if he can convey to us a sense of the feeling which is entertained in regard, let us say, to the great temples of Chidambaram and Tanjore by those who live in the immediate shadow of them. There is one other point where I should like to raise some little demur to what was said by Mr. Sitaram, and which I daresay has been in the minds of more than one of you. Mr. Sitaram appears to have his knife into the Public Works Department. No doubt the Public Works Department has not been impeccable in either the destructive part of its operations in connection with the Indian temples or in the constructive part. But, although I had no brief for that department, I cannot help thinking that Mr. Sitaram ascribes far too much to the influence of the department when he compares it with the depredations of the Indian sun and rain, or when he puts it on a level with those inroads of the Muhammadans which, for instance, turned the town and fort of Deogiri into the Muhammadan stronghold of Daulatabad, in which every temple had been demolished to provide materials for mosques and other edifices. I cannot think that the Public Works Department can ever have done anything compared to what was done in the fifth century by the Hun invaders, whose brief activity is attested by great areas of ruins, where immense quantities of broken statues and other débris are revealed by a slight disturbance of the soil; and I think he will admit that in some places the major part of the devastations effected was due, not to any department of the Government, but to the volunteer efforts of the people in connection with the construction of new temples, houses, and buildings of every kind. I am sure we shall be grateful if those persons who are interested in the subject, or have experience of India and are acquainted with Indian architecture will give us the benefit of their impressions. I myself shall especially welcome impressions relating to the æsthetic aspect of Indian art and to the emotional attitude which the people bear towards the monuments of their religion. (Applause.)

Mr. R. SEWELL said that it was a pity that accusations of vandalism should be launched against British administrators without due proof in support. He was personally in a position to contradict several of the assertions and innuendoes made by the lecturer; but as time was limited he would only at present refer to one of these—namely, the charge that the Collector of the Bellary District had destroyed the stone car at Vijayanagar. He himself (the speaker) was the Collector in question, and so far from destroying the car he

had done his utmost, with the assistance of the District Engineer, to save it. When visiting Vijayanagar about thirty years ago, in company with that officer, he noticed that the stone framework of the car was disintegrating and cracking in all directions, partly owing to centuries of weathering and the neglect of the local Brahmins and Hindu authorities to attend to it, and partly because it seemed that the recent addition of a brick superstructure, carried out by way of restoration by the Archaeological Department, was more than the enfeebled framework could hold up. Permission being obtained from Government, the engineer, a highly experienced officer of long standing, removed the newly-added superstructure, and by careful underpinning and the use of metal ties saved, for a time at least, the body of the car from destruction. If the car had since fallen to pieces, the misfortune was due simply to natural decay. Mr. Sewell asked whether any sensible person could call him a vandal for his action in the matter.

In answer to Mr. Sewell, the lecturer said that the car at Vijayanagar was not now in existence.

Mr. RICE did not think Mr. Sewell could have been Collector at Vijayanagar when the stone car was removed, because he (Mr. Rice) was Collector there in 1903, at which time it was in perfect order. Referring to the Chairman's question as to whether the temples of India struck one as being interesting or beautiful, one had to remember, in dealing with an oriental nation like India, their æsthetic ideas were totally different from those of Englishmen, and one must first of all try to put oneself in the place of the Indian. The same thing was true with regard to music; to him Western music was entrancing, and to a certain extent he was able to appreciate Indian music. The same thing was true of the Indians. Indian music was entrancing to them, and when they took the trouble they were able to appreciate European music to a certain extent. In like manner the European had to educate himself into an atmosphere of Indian architecture. Referring to the difference between Muhammadan and Hindu architecture, he thought the reason why the chairman's friend was so much impressed with the Muhammadan architecture as compared with the Hindu was because he was more familiar with the Muhammadan style of architecture. For instance, he might have travelled in Europe and seen the Moorish architecture in the Alhambra near Granada, or in the cathedral of Cordova and in similar structures which were to be found in Spain. There was nothing that he knew of in Europe like the Hindu architecture, but with the Taj one was more or less familiar, in the same way that one was familiar with the Gothic style in England. It was difficult for an Englishman to approach the subject from an entirely impartial point of view. (Applause.)

Mr. G. D. ROBERTSON thought the domestic architecture was as important as temple architecture. They admired temples and churches, but desired a comfortable fireside. The lecturer had said

nothing about domestic architecture. He (the speaker) had travelled in India for thirty-five years, most of his experience being in the Punjab and on the western frontier. There were some excellent buildings there. The lecturer had said that the buildings of India had been spoiled by foreigners, but the buildings in the north of India which attracted the admiration of all had been put up by foreigners. When travelling in the Punjab he had seen houses, particularly in the villages, in which the people spent their lives, which were not fit to live in.

Mr. THAKORE said that in connection with vandalism the use of ancient buildings for courts, etc., turning them into a hideous mixture of old and new, had ceased after 1900. He also said that it was no compliment to the British to compare favourably with the Muhammadan vandalism about 1100 A.D.

Regarding domestic architecture, he said that the houses, except where poverty prevented, were essentially hygienically constructed. Hindu architecture was beautiful also.

The LECTURER, referring to the question of the beauty or otherwise of Indian buildings, pointed out that Indian architecture appealed to an Indian just as Western architecture appealed to an Englishman; it was the product of the country, and it reflected the spirit and genius of the race. Hindu and Mussulman architecture must necessarily be different from Western architecture. In Western architecture the idea was to bring in light and exclude cold, whereas Eastern architecture was designed to shut out light and bring in coolness, so that the principles governing the two kinds of architecture were different. With regard to the Public Works Department, they had not created a single beautiful building in the view not only of himself, but some Englishmen as well. He had not dealt with the question of domestic architecture in his paper owing to the length of time it would have occupied.

Mr. RICE proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

INDIA IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: WHAT SHE GAINS

BY SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

IF asked what is the conspicuous event which has made the year 1919 a great landmark in the constitutional history of India, most people will naturally reply that it was the passing of the Government of India Act, which laid the foundations of responsible government in India, and substituted for an essentially autocratic, if paternal, system of government the beginnings of a democratic system based, though still only partly and subject to many restrictions and safeguards, on the responsibility of Indian ministers to elective legislatures consisting mainly of Indians. On the merits or demerits of that momentous statute I do not propose to dwell. I only wish to point out that, whether wise or unwise, it merely gave effect in the sphere of Indian governance and administration to the profound change which had been introduced earlier in the same year into the constitutional relationship of India to the rest of the Empire, when she was admitted to sign on her own behalf the Peace Treaty of Versailles, and became an original member of the League of Nations under the Covenant embodied in that Treaty. The status of India until then had been merely one of dependency—a great dependency, no doubt, but still only a dependency of the Empire. At Versailles she was formally lifted out of that status into a new status of partnership, which placed her on the same level as all the other nations of the British Empire who affixed their signatures to the Peace Treaty, and became original members of the League of Nations. This change had been already foreshadowed during the war when in

recognition of her great war services India had been for the first time drawn into the inner councils of the Empire, and represented not only by the Secretary of State, but by distinguished Indians who took their seats at both the Imperial War Conferences held in London side by side with British ministers and with the prime ministers of the self-governing Dominions. It had been foreshadowed also in the famous declaration of August 20, 1917, in which it was laid down on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that the purpose of British policy in India is "the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." But it was at Versailles—not merely in a British Act of Parliament which after all only has force of law within the Empire, but in an international treaty no less binding on all the other signatory Powers than on the British signatories—that the recognition of India's new status in the Empire was placed for the first time on record *urbi et orbi*, and in no way more formally and solemnly than by her enrolment as an original member of the League of Nations.

From this point of view alone the position of India as a member of the League deserves, I think, more attention than it has generally received. But equally deserving of attention seem to me to be the part which India has actually played in the activities of the League and the reaction of those activities upon India herself. Both have been far more important and beneficial than the general public, either at home or in India, has probably hitherto realized, and it seemed to me that at a time when a certain sense of disappointment has for various reasons succeeded to the perhaps over-sanguine hopes originally based all over the world on the creation of the League, and also in a narrower field, on the enactment of India's new constitutional charter, it might be useful to show that, in connection at least with the subject I am putting before you this afternoon, there is no reason whatever for discouragement.

The League of Nations, as you know, created during the

Paris Peace Conference, was composed originally of all the powers allied or associated in the Great War, the United States alone having ultimately held aloof from it, as the American Congress declined to ratify the Treaty of Versailles in which its covenant was enshrined. Many of the Powers that remained neutral during the war have since then joined it, as well as two of the ex-enemy Powers, Austria and Bulgaria, and the admission of the other ex-enemy Powers, and even of Soviet Russia, is probably only a question of time and expediency. As at present constituted, the League consists of a Council and an Assembly, and it has a permanent Secretariat. Its seat is at Geneva. The constitution of the League has no analogy in ordinary constitutional law. It is equally impossible to consider the Council as an upper and the Assembly as a lower chamber, or the former as invested with the executive power and the latter with the legislative. Under its covenant the League exerts its action through the instrumentality of both the Council and the Assembly, though their respective rights and duties were on some points left vague, and still are. On the Council, which is the smaller body, Great Britain represents the British Empire. India and the self-governing Dominions have their separate representation in the Assembly which for the time being meets yearly. Two sessions have been hitherto held, in the autumn of 1920 and 1921 respectively, and I hope you will agree with me that the share taken by the representatives of India on both occasions in the proceedings of the Assembly, and the impression which they have produced upon their colleagues of other countries, have fully vindicated India's title to membership of the League.

Our Indian Empire, I need hardly remind you, is composed of two very distinct parts, the larger part under direct British administration, the lesser, but still very considerable, part with nearly one-third of the whole area, and more than one-quarter of the whole population, consisting of native States enjoying, in varying degrees, an

always large measure of autonomy under their own hereditary rulers, who are feudatories of the British Crown, and whose relations of rights and duties with the Supreme Government of India are based upon treaties and engagements in many cases more than a century old. In the two sessions of the Assembly of the League the Government of India was on both occasions represented by Sir William Meyer, its High Commissioner in London; the native States on the first occasion by the Maharajah of Nawanagar, probably best known to the British public as the great cricketer, their beloved Ranji, and on the second occasion by the Maharao of Kutch; and British India on the first occasion by Sir Ali Imam, at one time a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and on the second occasion by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, probably one of the most remarkable, and certainly one of the most respected, of Hindus, now a member of the Council of State at Delhi, and a representative of India last summer at the Imperial Conference in London and, last winter, at the great Washington Conference. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, I may add, has succeeded the late Mr. Gokhale, for many years the leader of Indian sober and progressive opinion, as the head of the Society of "Servants of India"—a society founded about twenty years ago by Mr. Gokhale for the promotion of the social and moral, as well as political, advancement of the peoples of India, whose members are pledged to devote to that cause not only all their energies, but the whole of their private income, and all the public emoluments they may receive, beyond a modest allowance for their own subsistence and for the maintenance of their families. In London and in Washington, as well as in Geneva, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's dignity of bearing, his thorough mastery of our language, his rare eloquence and elevation of thought, combined with modesty and self-restraint, showed to Englishmen and to foreigners what India at her best is capable of producing. He had unique opportunities, and he rose to them.

The great work of the first Assembly of the League was the final establishment of the permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. It had also to fix its own rules of procedure, and to define the relations between itself and the Council. It set on foot machinery for obtaining amendments to the Covenant of the League, where these might be found necessary; it expressed weighty views as to the limitation of expenditure on armaments, and it pointed the way to the restoration of real peace in the world by the admission to the League, with the general assent of the British Empire delegations, of two ex-enemies, Austria and Bulgaria; lastly, but not least, it took some measures for the introduction of economy and method in the expenses of the League itself. In all these important questions the Indian Delegation took a worthy and, in some cases, as, for instance, in advocating economy, a leading part. The Indian representatives have borne witness to the cordial relations and, indeed, complete unanimity of views which prevailed amongst them, and though they failed to obtain an immediate assent to their appeal for India's representation as a great industrial Power on the governing body of the Labour organization, they attracted universal attention to the danger of an undue predominance of European representation in a body which deals with matters affecting the world at large, and not least the Eastern world, at a time when it is being rapidly drawn into the great world stream of industrial competition. In 1921 the League rendered to the cause of peace an invaluable service which has not, I think, yet received anything like the recognition it deserves. I allude to the settlement of the Silesian Question, which the Governments of the Allied Powers, confronted with the menace of the gravest disturbances, and even of armed conflicts in Silesia, owing to their own failure to arrive at an agreement, were finally driven to refer, however reluctantly, to the Council of the League of Nations. The solution at which the Council arrived was bitterly and most unfairly criticized at

the time, even in this country, but it has been fully justified by the event. The Governments of the Allied Powers had agreed in advance to accept the recommendations of the League. They were carried out on the spot with little real difficulty, and the settlement has worked satisfactorily and established peace where there was no peace before until the League was called in aid. The Assembly, working on parallel lines with the Conference at Washington, renewed its plea for the reduction of armaments, placing itself thus in line with the great American people, whose refusal so far to join the League has, unfortunately, so seriously curtailed the prestige and authority of the Society of Nations. Whilst it was unable to follow up Dr. Nansen's request for Government credits for the alleviation of famine in Russia, it gave its fullest support and sympathy to his appeal to philanthropic generosity. The Indian Delegation continued its crusade in favour of economy, and obtained the adoption of a proposal which it had made unsuccessfully in the preceding year for an outside committee of control over the estimates and accounts of the Secretariat and the International Labour Bureau.

But it was on a question closely affecting the interests and sentiment of India—viz., the treatment of Indians outside India, and especially in other parts of the Empire—that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's intervention produced the deepest impression. His opportunity came with a discussion in regard to the administration of the mandatory territories. The Powers that had received mandates and had been charged with their execution on behalf of the League were, he said, quoting the language used in another part of the Covenant, "duly instructed to regard the liberties of their subjects as a sacred trust of civilization." But he was alarmed at certain indications of a tendency, already made manifest in some of their Dominions, to introduce a colour-bar, to make invidious distinctions between white and coloured races, and even to subject coloured populations within their areas to deplorable hardships and even

indignities. He was anxious, therefore, to take time by the forelock, and to request these mandatory Powers to discharge the trust committed to them with discretion, and with a due regard to its sacred character. He appealed in particular to his friend, Lord Robert Cecil, and his distinguished colleagues in the representation of South Africa on the League, so to use their undoubted moral authority and influence that neither he nor his successor in the representation of India, nor Japan, the Asiatic Power permanently represented in the Council of the League, should ever find it necessary to come on to that platform and tell the Assembly that Asiatics were worse off under the trustees of the League than under the Germans themselves, who had, at least, never proclaimed a colour-bar, or imported invidious racial distinctions into their colonial laws and regulations. This was a courageous and dignified appeal to which the members of an assembly recruited from nearly all parts of the world could not remain indifferent. It was at the same time a reminder to ourselves, and to all other parts of the British Empire, that, if we should ever be faithless to our duties in this respect towards India, she is now, as a member of the League of Nations, in a position to lay her case before a great tribunal whose moral authority neither the Imperial Government nor the Governments of the self-governing Dominions can afford to disregard.

I have dealt so far with the great and dignified part that India has played within the League of Nations. I will now say a few words about the reaction of the League of Nations upon India herself. This has made itself felt most conspicuously and usefully in the sphere of Labour, and at a particularly important juncture for India. Labour, in the sense in which we generally use the word in this country, is a force that has only come into existence in relatively quite recent times, for only in quite recent times has the introduction of great modern industries, and especially the rapid development of a great cotton industry, led to the concentration in the principal centres of large bodies of

industrial population. Until then agriculture was practically the only great Indian industry, and it is upon the abundance of agricultural labour that the modern manufacturing industries have drawn for the labour that they in turn require. To the present day the industrial workers in the cities are for the most part primarily agricultural labourers, attracted by the prospect of more lucrative employment from their own more or less distant countryside, where at certain seasons of the year there is little work to be done on the land. It became the custom for rural districts to send their men into the towns, where they work for a few months, going away again after they had put by a little money, and returning once more after they had exhausted their hoard. These migrations became more and more regular, and took place on a larger scale as the demand for labour increased. This is the feature which has hitherto markedly differentiated the problem of Indian labour from that of British labour. There has not yet grown up in India an industrial population permanently rooted in the towns, but Labour has begun to be conscious of its power, and with that consciousness labour troubles in the form with which we are familiar at home—namely, disputes between employers and employed, strikes and lock-outs—have grown ominously frequent. There have been strikes, not only in the big cotton mills and jute mills and other large manufacturing industries, but also amongst postmen, and amongst railwaymen on State, as well as on private owned, lines, amongst tramcar drivers and conductors, and even amongst city scavengers. Lightning strikes without any notice are of growing frequency. Some are short-lived, others very obstinate, dragging on for weeks and months. Some are grotesquely frivolous, others by no means lack justification or excuse. Intimidation, often not unaccompanied by violent assaults on non-strikers, is an ugly feature common to most of them. They sometimes lead to very serious riots and bloodshed. They have played a prominent part in the worst disorders of the last

few years. Nowhere have they assumed at times a more threatening shape than in the Bombay Presidency, for in the cotton mills of Bombay itself and of the Ahmedabad district, which employ over 200,000 hands, are collected the largest agglomerations of factory workers in India.

These new labour troubles may have been caused in part by legitimate discontent with the conditions under which the Indian factory operative has to work and, perhaps, even more to live during his non-working hours, in congested Indian cities. In Bombay, for instance, he lives for the most part in huge overcrowded blocks known as "chawls"—ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, in a foul atmosphere and unspeakable dirt. Vast city improvement schemes are being carried out now by Government, and with the steady increase of wages the amelioration of the conditions in which the working classes will be able to live may be expected to produce greater general contentment. Unfortunately, it is an ominous symptom that labour troubles have so far been scarcely less rife in the best than in the worst conducted factories, and whereas, on the whole, European employers have been more prompt than native employers to recognize their duties in promoting the material welfare of those whom they employ, labour troubles have tended to assume on many occasions a distinctly racial character. In Calcutta, the British jute-mill owners have set a splendid example to Indian employers of labour, and the mill-hands, now largely imported from other provinces, not only work under the best possible conditions of light and air, but are housed in spacious quarters specially built for them, well ventilated and scientifically drained, with playing-fields and elementary schools for the swarms of children, who certainly look healthy and well fed and happy. The Buckingham Mills in Madras are recognized to be, from the same point of view, second to none in the world. In the Taba Steel and Iron Works, at Jamshidpur, and in Mr. Bezouji Dadubhoy's great cotton mills at Nagpur, enlightened Indian captains of industry have not

lagged one whit behind the best European employers of labour. But the most humane and generous employers—whether European or Indian—are as liable as the most grasping and callous to see their workers suddenly carried away by a great wave of unreasoning discontent and passion. Political agitation has undoubtedly found in the discontent of Indian labour a fertile field of exploitation—all the more fertile in that for a long time scarcely any attempts were made to promote any sound organization of labour, which was left at the mercy of astute wire-pullers, who stepped into the breach for their own purposes. Factory legislation, too, it must be admitted, had failed to keep reasonable pace with the growth of industrial labour. Nor was this surprising, for, to quote an extremely interesting article by Sir Ernest Low, formerly a member of the Indian Board of Industries, “on a rural economy resembling that of a mediæval country has been superimposed a modern, highly developed system of transport and commerce, together with large organized industries, which, though much more extensive than in some European countries, are yet relatively of small importance compared to the scores of millions employed in agriculture. The administrative responsibility for all this lay with a Government, still mainly foreign in personnel and principle, which, however profoundly it had affected the ideals and culture of the country, was yet not itself deeply rooted in popular sentiment. The factory legislation in force had been passed in the year 1911, and at that time represented the utmost that public opinion, so far as it was effective, would accept, and perhaps a little more. It did not protect labour engaged in the smallest and, therefore, the least efficient, industries; nor did it apply to mining and transport. The law affecting these said very little about the hours and conditions of labour.”

The Government of India and the Provincial Governments have now taken these matters seriously in hand, and official action has unquestionably received a very powerful

impetus from the proceedings of the Labour Congresses and Conferences already held under the auspices of the League of Nations, and from the admirable work done there by the Indian delegations. At the Washington Labour Conference of 1920 the Government of India was represented by Sir Louis Kershaw, of the India Office, and by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, now Secretary of the Department of Industries in India; the employers by Sir Alexander Murray, Chairman of the Indian Jute Association, and one of the most liberal and progressive employers of labour in India; and Labour itself by Mr. N. M. Joshi, of the Servants of India Society, to which I have already referred in connection with Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. This Conference covered an immense field, a far larger one than the time at my disposal allows me to explore, and the Indian representatives applied themselves throughout to placing before their colleagues, unfamiliar with Indian conditions, the special bearing of those conditions on the varied problems brought up for discussion.

Before I proceed to explain briefly some of the chief points which affected India in particular, and the difficulties with which the Government of India was confronted in bringing Indian legislation into harmony with them, I may mention that India was represented also at the International Seamen's Conference held in July, 1920, at Genoa, but the proceedings at that Conference need not detain us, as it was fully recognized that the conditions affecting the employment and recruitment of sailors in India were altogether different from those obtaining in other countries.

The recommendations of the Washington Labour Conference were ultimately embodied in Draft Conventions to be submitted by the different delegations to their respective Governments. To bring national legislation as far as possible into harmony with those recommendations was not an easy task for any government, and least of all for the Government of India, confronted with it at the very beginning of the great constitutional change effected by the

lagged one whit behind the best European employers of labour. But the most humane and generous employers—whether European or Indian—are as liable as the most grasping and callous to see their workers suddenly carried away by a great wave of unreasoning discontent and passion. Political agitation has undoubtedly found in the discontent of Indian labour a fertile field of exploitation—all the more fertile in that for a long time scarcely any attempts were made to promote any sound organization of labour, which was left at the mercy of astute wire-pullers, who stepped into the breach for their own purposes. Factory legislation, too, it must be admitted, had failed to keep reasonable pace with the growth of industrial labour. Nor was this surprising, for, to quote an extremely interesting article by Sir Ernest Low, formerly a member of the Indian Board of Industries, "on a rural economy resembling that of a mediæval country has been superimposed a modern, highly developed system of transport and commerce, together with large organized industries, which, though much more extensive than in some European countries, are yet relatively of small importance compared to the scores of millions employed in agriculture. The administrative responsibility for all this lay with a Government, still mainly foreign in personnel and principle, which, however profoundly it had affected the ideals and culture of the country, was yet not itself deeply rooted in popular sentiment. The factory legislation in force had been passed in the year 1911, and at that time represented the utmost that public opinion, so far as it was effective, would accept, and perhaps a little more. It did not protect labour engaged in the smallest and, therefore, the least efficient, industries; nor did it apply to mining and transport. The law affecting these said very little about the hours and conditions of labour."

The Government of India and the Provincial Governments have now taken these matters seriously in hand, and official action has unquestionably received a very powerful

impetus from the proceedings of the Labour Congresses and Conferences already held under the auspices of the League of Nations, and from the admirable work done there by the Indian delegations. At the Washington Labour Conference of 1920 the Government of India was represented by Sir Louis Kershaw, of the India Office, and by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, now Secretary of the Department of Industries in India; the employers by Sir Alexander Murray, Chairman of the Indian Jute Association, and one of the most liberal and progressive employers of labour in India; and Labour itself by Mr. N. M. Joshi, of the Servants of India Society, to which I have already referred in connection with Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. This Conference covered an immense field, a far larger one than the time at my disposal allows me to explore, and the Indian representatives applied themselves throughout to placing before their colleagues, unfamiliar with Indian conditions, the special bearing of those conditions on the varied problems brought up for discussion.

Before I proceed to explain briefly some of the chief points which affected India in particular, and the difficulties with which the Government of India was confronted in bringing Indian legislation into harmony with them, I may mention that India was represented also at the International Seamen's Conference held in July, 1920, at Genoa, but the proceedings at that Conference need not detain us, as it was fully recognized that the conditions affecting the employment and recruitment of sailors in India were altogether different from those obtaining in other countries.

The recommendations of the Washington Labour Conference were ultimately embodied in Draft Conventions to be submitted by the different delegations to their respective Governments. To bring national legislation as far as possible into harmony with those recommendations was not an easy task for any government, and least of all for the Government of India, confronted with it at the very beginning of the great constitutional change effected by the

Statute of 1919. It was decided in accordance with the democratic principles which formed that Statute to obtain, in the first place, the general approval of the Legislative Assembly, in the form of Parliamentary resolutions. The most important of the Washington recommendations was that which limited the hours of work, in industrial undertakings in India, to sixty in a week. The definition of an industrial undertaking, and an agreement as to the age of children to be lawfully employed in factories, involved also a great extension of Indian factory legislation. The Government of India recognized, too, the desirability of including the smaller factories, in which abuses are most apt to arise, though little information existed as to their number, nature, and situation. Analogous difficulties presented themselves in regard to the Draft Convention dealing with unemployment in a country where labour has constantly to be sought far, and often very far, afield by employers who have even in many cases to provide for its transportation to the factory. Nor has Labour itself, owing to its lack of organization, any machinery for the collection of statistics required by the Convention which in other countries are mainly collected by the Trades Unions. So long as Indian industries draw on the surplus of agriculture for their workers some special form of statistics differing essentially from those obtained in more highly organized countries would therefore be required. In ordinary seasons, moreover, there is no unemployment in India, where the demand in most factories as a rule outruns the supply, whilst in famine years Government has itself to provide employment for numbers which often run into millions, and does provide it under the existing Indian famine codes, economically, efficiently, without pauperization, and, as a matter of course, whenever the need arises. In spite of all these difficulties the Legislative Assembly, on the advice of Government, decided to ratify this Convention as well as the Conventions regarding the employment of women and young persons

during the night, which involved no change in Indian law or practice. With regard to the employment of women before and after childbirth, Government had merely to carry out a resolution of the Conference requesting them to study the questions and to report in the following year. A similar request had been made by the Conference in regard to the minimum age for the employment of children, as to which one great difficulty arises in India out of the imperfect and often deliberately misleading declarations of birth, so that the age of the child desiring employment in a factory can often be determined, and only approximately, by separate medical inspection. Nevertheless, though this Convention was the only one to which any serious objection was taken in the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Government was able to offer ratification with only two very reasonable reservations, and it proposed on its own initiative a very desirable extension of the maximum age for the special protection of children, which had found no mention in the Washington Conventions.

The official report of the International Labour Conference, held last autumn at Geneva, is not yet available, but the proceedings again redounded to the credit of the Indian Delegation, which consisted on this occasion of two Indians, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, who had been one of the delegates in the preceding year at Washington, and Mr. J. N. Gupta, with British advisers, one of them a lady, Miss G. M. Broughton of the Labour Bureau of the Indian Department of Industries. They were able to show that India, conscious of the leeway she had to make up, was prepared to respond to the demands made upon her by the Washington Conventions with a sincerity which has, in fact, put many European countries in the shade. Within the past few weeks both Houses of the Indian Legislature have passed a new Act, which will be known as the Indian Factories Amendment Act, 1922, and marks an immense stride forward in Indian legislation for the protection of labour. India has not even sought to shelter herself behind the flexibility allowed to Eastern countries by the Wash-

ington Conference on account of their peculiar local conditions. It applies to all factories using mechanical power and employing twenty persons or more, and contains authority for its extension to still smaller factories and even to those which do not use mechanical power. Hours of labour for adult workers are reduced from seventy-two to sixty a week, with a maximum of twelve hours in any one day, while for children the maximum is fixed at six hours per day. The legal minimum period of rest for refreshment is increased from half an hour to an hour. Subject to special exemptions (in which cases compensatory rest time must be allowed), Sunday work in factories is forbidden. The minimum age for juvenile employment is raised from nine to twelve as from next July, subject to exception in the cases of children legally employed before the Act comes into force.

Legislation is also impending for the registration and organization of Indian Trades Unions on sound and practical lines. Trades Unions of a sort have grown up rapidly within the last few years, and early in 1921 a Congress, which called itself the first "All-India Trades Unions Congress," met in Bombay, and claimed to represent no less than ninety-two Trades Unions. Most of these unions are, however, at present little more than embryonic. Their spokesmen have not risen to the leadership of labour out of its own ranks by superior industry and knowledge. Their organization has not been a spontaneous growth from within, but artificially promoted from without. The vast majority of unskilled workers are illiterate, and even amongst ordinary skilled labour the level of education is still extremely low. The actual workers are, therefore, quite unable to organize, or even to think out, the simplest labour problems for themselves, and they easily become the dupes and tools of outsiders—frequently lawyers or professional politicians—who are not always disinterested sympathizers, but more often stimulate and exploit grievances which may in themselves be legitimate for purposes which have little to do with the real interests of

labour. When a deputation from the Bombay Congress waited on the Governor, Sir George Lloyd, and in replying to their address he expressed a legitimate desire for fuller information as to the status of these unions, their method of formation, their constitution, their system of ballot and election, and the actual experience in the several trades of those who claim to represent them, that information was not and could not be furnished to him. Impending legislation will, it is hoped, rescue the organization of labour from such unsatisfactory conditions, and place it on a solid basis in order that both employers and employed shall attain to a clear conception of their responsibilities and of their respective rights and duties. It is of special interest to those who believe in the League of Nations to note that the initiative for such legislation was taken by Mr. N. M. Joshi, the member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, who had represented India at Washington, in a resolution moved by him on March 1, 1921, of which the substance was cordially accepted by the Government of India and adopted by the Assembly without a division.

Legislative provision is also to be made for compensation to workmen for injuries received by them in the course of their employment. Such provision is deemed especially necessary in India, where the great majority of working men are still illiterate, and where few of them have the means necessary to institute and carry on suits for damages against their employers for physical injuries sustained in the course of their employment. The best employers, and these include the railway administrations, largely under Government control, have already adopted the practice of paying compensation on such occasions. The definition of the categories of workmen to whom compensatory benefits shall enure, and the scale on which compensation shall be paid, naturally present special difficulties in a country like India, where industrial development is of recent growth, and conditions vary enormously from province to province—many Indian provinces, it must be remembered, having each a population larger than the whole of Great Britain—

but the Government of India, with the full support of the Legislature, is determined to face them courageously and in a spirit of genuine fairness towards Labour. It is proposed, for instance, to throw, for the present at least, the whole cost of compensation upon the employers. Obviously if Labour is to derive the fullest advantage from such legislation, it must have organizations of its own sufficiently powerful on the one hand to secure its benefits for individual workers who might be unable to do so for themselves, and sufficiently responsible to afford a reasonable guarantee to the employers that it shall not be unfairly exploited against them. Thus, from the economic as well as from the political point of view, the encouragement and recognition of strong and efficient Trades Unions is eminently desirable, and it is a striking instance of the spirit of co-operation between Government and Legislature that this problem, too, is being faced with courageous and statesmanlike sympathy for the needs of Labour.

In all these developments, of such vital interest for the material and moral prosperity and for the internal tranquillity of India, the influence, direct and indirect, of the League of Nations may, I contend, be clearly traced, and it is satisfactory to note that when, during the recent session of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, Mr. Seshagiri Ayar moved a reduction of the grant towards the expenses of the Secretariat of the League on the ground that the provision of five and a half lakhs of rupees (about £40,000) out of the Indian Exchequer, at a time of great financial stringency, was largely in excess of India's proper share in the administrative expenses of the League, the motion, though not in itself unreasonable, was withdrawn as soon as the Legislature realized that its acceptance would involve India's secession from the League, since the League itself is alone competent to alter the assessments originally made. Even granting that the amount contributed by India is unreasonably high, no Indian will deny that she has had good value for her money. Not only has her membership of the League affirmed and fortified her new

status in the Empire, but her association with its activities has borne valuable proofs in the domain of Indian legislation, and just in those fields in which success could hardly have been achieved without the closer co-operation between Government and Indian public opinion which the Government of India Act of 1919 was intended to secure. There are undeniably many unhealthy features in the present state of India. Let us not, at any rate, give way to undue pessimism, and close our eyes to the more hopeful features. For my own part, I remain what I have been all my life—a confirmed optimist as regards both the future of the world in general and the future of India in particular. Periods of excessive exaltation, such as we not unnaturally passed through immediately after the victorious ending of the Great War, are apt to be followed by periods of undue depression. People rushed at first to the conclusion that the creation of the League of Nations would at once bring the millennium within sight, and in the same way in regard to India it was assumed that so generous a gift as the Constitutional Charter of 1919 would at once allay all her discontents and set her feet on a smooth road towards the appointed goal of responsible Government within the Empire. We were apt to forget the imperfections of human nature which moves only slowly and with many regrettable relapses on the long and often difficult path of predestined progress. Well, if we were too quick to forget them three years ago, we have had plenty to remind us of them since then. But, if our optimism has been chastened, that is no reason for us to plunge into the opposite extreme of despondency. I hope I may have succeeded in convincing you that India, at any rate, has been a distinct gainer by her membership of the League of Nations, and that the influence of the League has contributed largely to some of the best and most progressive legislation which stands to the joint credit of the Government of India and the Indian Legislature under the new dispensation. These may seem to be but small straws, but they point in the right direction.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, May 22, 1922, a paper was read by Sir Valentine Chirol, entitled, "India in the League of Nations: What She Gains." Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., O.C.I.E., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Owens and Lady Clark, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., General Chamier, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Lady Barrow, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. K. N. Sitaram, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Drury, Miss Macnaghten, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. M. Maqbool Mahmood, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Miss Thomas, Mr. K. P. Kotval, Mr. G. G. Hope, Mr. Ali Mahomed, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. and Mrs. Khan, Mr. Mubarik Ali, Mr. B. J. Dalal, Miss Fleming, Mr. W. C. Dible, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Colonel F. S. Terry, Mr. G. Inglis, Mr. J. S. Singh, Mr. B. K. Bhagat, Mr. S. B. Singh, Dr. Nundy, Lieut.-Colonel Dantra, I.M.S. (ret'd.), Miss Nina Corner, Mr. Robinson, Mr. A. G. Taylor, Miss Martley, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Miss Price Simpson, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Miss M. Sorabji, Rev. H. Halliwell, Dr. Laurence Fink, Dr. H. J. Augustine, Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Robertson, Mrs. H. George Roberts, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it would be a superfluous formality for me to introduce Sir Valentine Chirol to this or any other audience in England, and I will therefore content myself by asking him to kindly read his paper on "India in the League of Nations." (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: My lord, Sir Valentine Chirol, ladies and gentlemen, I think we shall not misconceive Sir Valentine's purpose in reading to us the most informing paper to which we have just listened in thinking that his object was to interest not only this audience, but in a larger degree to interest India in the League of Nations. There is a need for that, for though India has played her part in the League of Nations, there has not yet been revealed in India that cordial interest in the work of the League that I think we have a right to look for. Sir Valentine has thought that it might be a more convenient and perhaps a more telling way of dealing with that subject, if he presented it to you not by way of a broad view of the aims and operations of the League, but by confining himself to certain concrete matters in which India has been directly interested and helped by it. First of all he reminded us of Mr. Sastri's protest at the Geneva

Assembly of the League of Nations against a tendency to put Indians in mandated territories in an inferior position to other people. We must feel sure that that protest, well warranted as it was, made an impression on the Assembly, and has done a service to India which in due time she will realize. Then, further, and in a larger degree, Sir Valentine has pointed out to us how the League of Nations, acting through the Labour Congress at Washington, has brought about a very notable advance in labour and factory legislation in India. I was wondering in my own mind whether it would be wise to institute comparisons—perhaps it would not—but it did occur to me that through the indirect action of the League of Nations upon Indian factory legislation, Indian industrialism had made a stride almost equal to that which was made in England under the inspiration of Shaftesbury and those who worked with him. You have got industrialism in India; it is of comparatively recent origin. Now that industrialism will benefit from an early stage through the operation of the legislation which has followed the action of the Labour Conference under the League of Nations. Now India, with facts like these before her, cannot long be indifferent to the League and to its operations. It has already profited by them, and the time has come when I think it should show a fuller and more real interest in the League than it has done hitherto. I know that an answer is always ready when we ask: "Why does not India show more interest in the League of Nations?" I have heard the answer and it is something like this: "We admit that the ideal of the League of Nations is a magnificent ideal"—and I think we must all of us feel how fully this beneficent and peace-making and peace-conserving institution is in harmony with the spirit of the Indian peoples at large. They are not a warlike people as a whole; their tendencies are towards peace and goodwill amongst nations. The ideals of the League of Nations are essentially the ideals of the people of India. It has been said "though the ideal is in consonance with our ideas, the time has not yet come for India to make a definite stand at the side of the League of Nations, because India is not yet a self-governing country." Now that argument is founded upon the assumption that during all these years the status of India has not advanced. A greater mistake could not be made. Well, the briefest reference was made by Sir Valentine Chirol to the great constitutional changes which have taken place in India recently. But I wish to point out that in her external relations also the status of India has been raised in a wonderful degree. For instance in the fact that India now enjoys fiscal autonomy—a policy which, in his presence, I should like to say that Sir Valentine Chirol was one of the first men of standing to put prominently forward—in the grant to her of fiscal autonomy her international status has enormously advanced. That has made a change in her status which a few years ago we should never have dreamed of. Now let me quote to you a letter recently published in India by a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, which was written to the present Finance Member:

"There seems to be some uncertainty in this country about Mr. Dadiba Dalal's exact position at the Genoa Conference, and I should be much

obliged if you could give me any information on the subject. Is his status merely that of an adviser, or is he a full representative with same powers as those of other representatives?" And the answer comes: "In reply to your note of to-day I write to say that Mr. Dalal's position at Genoa is the same as that of the Dominion representatives in all respects."

Now we can gather from that what the status of India is, and you must be satisfied and proud to know—you gentlemen especially who represent India—that that status is going forward in an even greater degree. Now just let me quote further a statement made by Mr. Sastri a few days ago, after he had landed in Bombay, when he spoke of his position at the Washington Conference. He said this:

"You will be interested to know that so far as I could observe, and I observed it with the super-sensitiveness of an Indian, no discrimination was made at any time in any circumstance as between the delegates of the Empire. I was a representative of India in just the same capacity as Sir Robert Borden was of Canada."

Just think of that, ladies and gentlemen from India. Your representative had precisely the same status as the Canadian Prime Minister had.

"India did not suffer one whit amongst the Dominions in the treatment accorded to her. I was present at the confidential discussions of the British Empire Delegation, and I had the same access to all the cables that passed between Washington and London that the Dominion delegates had. In talking to friends like you I run no risk whatever of a vainglorious boast. It could be said, therefore, at the Washington Conference India took her place perfectly on a level with the self-governing Dominions."

Now, it is not there alone that we have evidence of the great change and the great advancement that has taken place in India. One after another of the great Dominion Prime Ministers has said the same thing. If the only objection that our friends in India have to taking up boldly the work of the League of Nations is that India has not the status that the other Dominions have, and therefore she cannot work with them, well, that objection vanishes, and I think we may appeal to you with confidence to-day to do what you can—and I am sure many opportunities will present themselves to you—to arouse the interests of your fellow-countrymen in the work of the League. I was in India recently, and I made enquiries in various directions as to whether men of influence in India would make a spontaneous start in popularizing the idea of the League of Nations. As you all know, in this country we have got a League of Nations Union, the object of which is to familiarize the people of England with the aims and purposes of the League, and we have got some hundreds of branches in this country, and in that way we are putting at the back of the League of Nations a strong body of public opinion, rousing the interest of the people, because after all the League of Nations is to be a people's league, and if the people of India could interest themselves and associate themselves in this matter they would be doing more for their country's status, and more to raise the character and dignity and position of India in the world, than all the movements of which we have heard so much in India in recent years have done. I do hope that this meeting, and all who speak here

will have this message carried to India, and that we may in that way arouse a new interest in the League of Nations. I know from enquiries I have made in India that there are in all parts men of influence and character, and men who command the respect of their people, who value the League and its work, and recognize what it is capable of doing for the world. But I found wherever I went that the political discussions of the time fully occupied the field of public interest, and that for the moment it was hopeless to try to start a movement in India. But the situation, I hope, is changing for the better, and I feel sure that the time is approaching when there will be nothing to stand in the way of that attention being centred upon the League of Nations to which it is entitled. If there are any Indians here who can do anything to forward that work, it would be for their own country's sake—not for ours—that I would urge them to do it. The League of Nations is not merely an English institution and we are not going to send missionaries to India to start a propaganda in the interests of the League. It must be spontaneous and self-generated in India, and I believe that there is latent in that country a feeling of deep interest and sympathy with the aims of the League which will soon show itself.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is all I have to say with regard to the lecture, and I now call upon those who would like to contribute to the discussion to-day to do so, and we should be glad if some Indian gentlemen would take part in the proceedings. (Hear, hear.)

LORD LAMINGTON said that after the lecture, as the Chairman had remarked, they had all a better realization of the part played by India in the various Conferences which had been held, and also how much she owed to the League of Nations for her new status. That appealed to him as much more important than the great administrative changes which were taking place at the moment in India, that she should have won for herself such a recognition. That point had been fully brought out in the paper, as well as by the Chairman.

It seemed to be the common custom to decry the League of Nations as being something which would never serve a useful purpose in bringing the affairs of the world more into harmony, but he personally had never taken that view; it seemed to him to be a wonderful opportunity for the nations to come together. It was not only in regard to Silesia, but there were other instances, such as the Aaland Islands, where matters at one time appeared to present serious difficulties, which had been successfully and harmoniously settled by the League. With regard to the remark that Indians who came under a mandatory system should not be placed in a worse position than when they were under the German Government, he was not sure to what that could refer, except to Tanganyika. He would be sorry to think anything would be done to put them in a worse position than under the German Government. In South-West Africa he had always understood they suffered cruel injustice at the hands of the Germans, although there may have been no colour bar established between them and the white settlers.

The great feature of the paper was that India had definitely established

for herself a recognized status in the eyes of the world, and he hoped the League of Nations would develop so as to justify its existence. He would much rather see the League of Nations as the constituted body to try and establish a working settlement of the world than these many conferences we were constantly having. It was a great pity that, at such a critical time as this, such a representative body as the League of Nations should not have been given a greater field of activity; but, at all events, India would be wise if they were to throw their weight into the question, and see that the matter was dealt with in a proper spirit. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. S. S. G. VIRAN said he wished first of all to thank Sir Valentine Chirol, who had played a very distinguished part in helping to establish the policy of India for the benefit of Indians, and in that way they owed him a great debt of gratitude for the work he had done.

He thought they would like to hear a word or two from him, as he came from South India, and knew a good deal about factory life in Burmah. Rangoon was the largest rice-producing district in the world, and round about Rangoon large numbers of natives were crowded together in factories built by European enterprise and capital upon mud-banks of the rivers which were subject to the tides. It was the white people who had taken the lead in establishing the industries of the country—although in that district, at any rate, the natives had never felt the want of food; yet, nevertheless, Indians, who were chiefly agriculturists, were largely employed in the factories, and had to live crowded together in settlements. To the native Indian, who had always lived a free life, with plenty of room for his cattle to graze, nowadays with English laws as to sanitation, and so on, it had done great harm. . . .

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the question was the League of Nations, and requested the speaker to confine himself to that subject.

Mr. VIRAN, continuing, said the matter was very important, as the people were being crowded into towns, and everywhere the conditions of life were becoming very difficult. He hoped that capitalists, both in England and in India, would see that the factory laws were worked humanely, and that the natives should be made as happy as possible under the circumstances.

With regard to the League of Nations, there was at the back of the Indian's mind always the lurking fear that he would not be treated as an equal in the working out of the conditions and ideas. When they considered the great areas, when they considered that each province had more people than the British Isles—and they had many honest and painstaking patriots who were willing to do all they could for the benefit of India, and who would do the work and shoulder the responsibilities—it would be seen they had plenty of material. Some people in this country thought the scheme would not work. They must not go away with the idea that it was due to want of character or capacity. It was not. They had abundant material in India, and the scheme could be worked. All that was needed at the moment, in his opinion, was patience. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. M. MAHMOOD said it was always difficult to speak when the main

speaker of the evening happened to be such a charming speaker, and when he combined with a charming delivery such wealth of thought. It was particularly so when an Indian had to offer criticisms on the views—not of the author of the "Indian Unrest"—but of the new Sir Valentine who recently contributed those sympathetic letters on India to *The Times*. First of all he wanted to make his own position quite clear with regard to the League of Nations. He did not regard the League as perfect; he fully realized its difficulties and limitations, but, in his opinion, with the present world and its national animosities and self-interests, they could not have anything much better, and he gladly supported the League for what it was, but he enthused over it for what it could and would be. As an Indian he found himself in complete accord with the main thesis of the paper.

The guarantee for disarmament for which the League stood was a god-send for India. As they all knew, one of the greatest problems that confronted India was the question of economizing in public finance. Politics, of course, were useful, but politics alone could not do everything; it could only relieve them from the barriers which stood in the way of development. The real improvement must come from the development of the country. That required money, but it was notorious that in the India of to-day there was no margin of taxation. They had, therefore, to tap those items of public expenditure which may least impair the efficiency of administration. One of their greatest misfortunes, in his opinion, had been that 57 per cent. of Indian public money was given over to military finances. It could be cautiously retrenched. But, he submitted, India could not very well disarm while her neighbours around were loaded. The League, however, stood for disarmament, and therefore as such, for the development of India.

He was grateful to the lecturer for the prominent place he had given to the question of the improvement of the Indian labour conditions. Disarmament alone was not sufficient; they must not only attack the instruments of war, but also the causes of war.

He feared that one of the greatest incentives to internal disorder in the next few years was likely to be the trouble between Capital and Labour. That problem was a legacy of industrial revolution, but in the field of ideas there were neither frontiers nor customs houses; what had been the state of Europe yesterday was the state of India to-day, and but for the League of Nations the Indian labourers would have had to fight the old battle over which it had taken generations for English labourers to fight for themselves. Legislation carried to bring the Indian factory laws in conformity with the Washington, Genoa, and Geneva recommendations spoke for itself.

There was one important point which the League had achieved. As the speaker had pointed out, the delegation to the International Labour Conference was a wonderful composition. Every nation sent three delegates—one from Labour, one from the Employers, and one from the Government. Solidarity of Labour was no doubt a great thing, but this solidarity of Labour, Capital, and Government was something much

greater and finer still, and it was that which India was beginning to achieve. He regarded that as the greatest contribution of the League of Nations. Indians to-day fully realized that India was not the whole world, but was only part of the world, and that Indian struggle for liberty was not an end in itself. They were learning something to-day, and they knew they had something to offer in the future, and it was as members of this great world Commonwealth they sought to equip themselves for what they had to offer. India has had a grand past, but she had a grander future before her.

In conclusion, the lecturer asked why it was there was no great enthusiasm on the part of Indians for the League. As he happened to know Indians, and also knew something of the League, he could only come to the one conclusion, that it was a contempt bred, not of familiarity, but of ignorance. The people did not know enough of the League, and he hoped most of those Indians who had heard the paper read would not be found lacking, when they returned to India, in offering as their contribution all they could do to make known the real objects of the League. But the League had also to move in the matter. It could and should address itself to the solution of the immigration problem. India was a mother country, and the treatment of her children abroad touched her immensely. They must not only think internationally, but they must act internationally as well. (Hear, hear.)

Miss SCATCHERD said she would like to say that it had been a great privilege for her to hear Sir Valentine Chirol, and she had always taken a great interest in what he had written. With regard to the League of Nations, when she first heard of it she made a practice of dividing her friends into two classes: (1) Those belonging to the past, who disapproved of the League, and (2) those belonging to the present, who were in favour of the League. (Hear, hear.)

The text of a letter received from Dr. Pollen is given below :

May 27, 1922.

MY DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

I feel very sad at not having sent you notes on the two previous papers, but, as you see, I am still unable to write myself. I have just now received Sir Valentine's very able paper, and I feel I must send you a line. It is one of the best and most thoughtful papers ever received by the Association. You know I am one of those who believe that, in spite of Gandhi and his wild, Tolstoyan theories, and mad revival of the *thug* and *pindari*, India is moving on the right lines to redemption, and though there are many unhealthy features in the present state of the land, I am a confirmed optimist, and have not fallen into the slough of despond.

You remember that, with the Aga Khan, I have always advocated the revival of native princes as constitutional sovereigns (on the limited monarchy principles) as being the change the bulk of Indians chiefly desired, and I daresay you remember how I, with an analogous knowledge of Ireland, implored Lloyd George and Mr. Shortt and Mr. Macpherson to save my native land by restoring the five old Irish kingdoms, as Irish

states, on the American plan, instead of dividing the country into *two* religious parts. I pointed out that it was my old friend Sir John Jenkins who first suggested to Lord Hardinge the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi; and how the King subsequently made peace in Bengal by dividing it into three, instead of the Curzonian two. I therefore urged that the proper course in Ireland was to divide it into five (if it was to be divided at all). Had they followed my advice, we might have had peace there now. In India the proper course is to apply Sir Valentine's sound advice to Indian *nationalities*. He is profoundly right in maintaining that the United States of India should be entitled to take their place, as a member of the League of Nations, in the councils of the world. India, at any rate, has been a distinct gainer by her membership of the League of Nations, and I have always maintained that the proper way of dealing with Indians is to treat them as gentlemen and citizens of the world, unless they have shown themselves unworthy.

With kindest regards,
J. POLLEN.

Mr. RICE expressed the great pleasure of the company present at the treat they had had that afternoon in hearing Sir Valentine's paper, and their gratitude to Sir Thomas Bennett for consenting to preside, and also for supplementing the paper with such an interesting address. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The resolution was put to the meeting by the Chairman and carried with acclamation.

The LECTURER said he was extremely grateful at the way in which they had received his paper, and he was also grateful to all the speakers for the interesting remarks they had made. His one great idea was to help forward the valuable work of the League and to make it better known amongst Indians.

The proceedings then terminated.

JAPAN AND THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT

BY A JAPANESE

ALTHOUGH the status of Japan as a nation has become so familiar of late owing to her participation in a series of conferences of world-wide importance as to evoke no comment, her true significance as a nation still appears to remain an unsolved enigma to the average Occidental mind. The foreign observer perceives little more in the Island Empire than a shadowy and picturesque land, both remote and solitary, his imagination failing to pierce through the veil which obscures her intrinsic reality. It is true that there have been exceptions: one must not forget the considerable number of distinguished writers, who, finding in the intimate and personal study of the arts and crafts of ancient Japan a field worthy of their endeavour, have sought to interpret modern Japan to the world through these *media*. Nevertheless, the appreciative efforts on behalf of their Eastern friends of these trained observers have had no far-reaching effect; the general public has gained only a rudimentary acquaintance with the Japan of to-day.

Modern Japan may be said to have become conscious of herself and to have set her foot for the first time on the path of national self-realization, by means of two wars, both waged in defence of her national interests—the first against China, and the second against the mighty Russian Empire. Particularly the latter event was followed by the growth of a feeling which, in an individual, one would describe as the tendency towards self-assertion. A sensibility that national thought and feeling were strengthening the bonds which united a people that had always been patriotic was a natural outcome of those conflicts, and all Japan was later conscious that the part she played in the Great War had conferred upon her the right to claim that foreign recognition of her national prestige which had not hitherto been universally conceded. As a political force Japan's place in the comity of nations has been recognized; but political Japan is not by any means the whole of Japan.

Why is it that Japan can be said to speak with two voices? Why is it that the more emphatic political voice has sometimes awakened antagonism abroad, and the quieter national voice, asking for sympathy and understanding, has failed even to make itself heard? The answer is that political Japan has out-distanced her slower-moving national counterpart in the rush and hurry to assimilate Western political doctrine, while the national expression of Japan, nurtured on centuries of contact with philosophic doctrine and introspection, has been left gasping and inarticulate. She is conscious that she is misunderstood and resents, without being able to explain, the misconceptions and prejudices which still exist, and are openly expressed, in various quarters. Japan is both young and old: young in the participation in the intricacies of international intercourse, but old in her age-long experience of the philosophies of life.

Japan is, however, animated by an ardent desire to acquire knowledge of Occidental conditions. Every year an increasingly large number of her sons are sent forth, both officially and by private enterprise, to study in Western countries such new methods in science, economics, and sociology as may be adapted for the advantage of their country when they return once more. Thus, Japan has been quick to recognize the benefit she has derived, both directly and indirectly, from the European tour undertaken by the Crown Prince Regent last year. The influence of the experiences which the heir to the Throne was able to assimilate in the countries whose lavish hospitality he enjoyed has made itself felt. The Japanese realized that, through him, they had been brought appreciably closer to the Western peoples and they build high hopes on this for the future.

Under these circumstances, nothing more opportune could have been desired by the whole Japanese nation than the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan. From the moment when the rumour of the projected visit was confirmed by the official announcement, Japan was on the tiptoe of expectation. That the visit was timed to coincide with that period of the year when Japan is at her best,

clothed in the vernal splendour of her myriad blossoms, was regarded by all as a happy augury. The cherished hope of the people was that the advent of their Royal visitor, the Crown Prince of that other land which had long stood in such close relations to Japan, would not only strengthen anew the ties of friendship, but would ensure an understanding of the West for the East by the sure process of personal intercourse.

A significant note was struck in the Japanese Press from the outset. A Tokio newspaper, in alluding to the forthcoming visit, concluded its editorial by urging the citizens to depart from the precedent, hitherto strictly observed, of receiving Royalty in respectful silence, and to let their feelings find vent by acclaiming the Prince of Wales in Western fashion. The waving flags, the fluttering handkerchiefs, and the vocal expressions of joy which greeted the Prince, not only on his arrival, but throughout his tour in Japan, were proof that the people eagerly followed the newspapers' lead.

Immediately upon his arrival in Yokohama, on April 12, it was the youth of Japan, as the English newspapers did not fail to remark at the time, which stood in the forefront of the crowds who were waiting to extend an open-armed welcome to the most popular Prince of the Western world. For young Japan it was an epoch-making event: they had heard and read much of the Prince, and regarded him as the embodiment of centuries-old British tradition, and also as a typical modern young man. His magnetic personality did not fail to impress itself immediately upon the receptive minds and the imagination of the youthful beholders, and the psychology of the rising generation in Japan may be greatly affected by this inspiration. School children in the towns, villages, and out-of-the-way corners of Japan who could see him, and who invariably received his gay acknowledgment of their greetings of welcome, will always treasure their memory of the smiling Prince.

As a tribute to the well-known virile and sport-loving tastes of the royal visitor, no opportunity was lost during the tour of arranging that he should participate himself in athletic pastimes, and also witness those particular national

efforts of skill which the Japanese practise. He was an interested spectator at bouts of Ju-jitsu, of wrestling and of fencing, and also watched gymnastic displays by youthful students. It may be that the Prince contrasted in his own mind the Eastern spirit of "Bushido" with the Western prowess of chivalry, and that his thoughts turned to the joust and to the tournament at which his own ancestors excelled. We Japanese hope that he caught glimpses of something of that inner invigorating spirit of emulation which inspired the rivalry of ancient times, and to-day inspires the athletic youth of both East and West.

Is it a vain hope to suggest that the Prince of Wales indeed found during his visit many points of contact between the two Island Empires of East and West? I hope not, because the appreciation which our Royal guest expressed so often surely shows that his first, and for us all too brief, visit to our shores was a source of enjoyment and pleasure to him. He admitted that our ancient capital, the hill-locked and fantastic Kioto, had captured his romantic fancy, and so much so, that his sojourn there was extended beyond the precise limits of the official itinerary. Among other recollections which the Prince may retain are surely those of Mount Fuji of the eternal snows; unforgettable Nikko, with its treasures of Nature and Japanese art; Nara, the last link between old and new Japan; the placid and miniature-like Inland Sea strewn with romantic islets; the weird fantasy of the moonlight fishing with cormorants—all these are Japan, and the Japan we Japanese desire that the Prince may feel that he knows. Japan, on her part, has learnt much from the Prince: she has been able to appreciate at first hand the frank and democratic bearing, the courtesy and charm which the Prince of Wales unconsciously exhibits. The influence of these characteristics has spread like a flash of light, and has awakened a response in Japan's very heart. The Prince has brought the personal touch of the West to the East; he has made her conscious that she has found in him her desire for a symbol to express her national yearnings for understanding and sympathy.

THE WORLD CAMPAIGN AGAINST OPIUM

BY CHAO-HSIN CHU

(Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London)

THE Advisory Committee on Trade in Opium, which I attended as representative of the Chinese Government, has just met at Geneva, and, to be quite candid, I think the time has arrived when the title of this body should be altered so as to bring it into accord with actuality and the real aim and object of its deliberations. We have long passed the time when opium is the sole or even the chief pre-occupation of the nations of the world. It was so, no doubt, when modern chemistry had not discovered synthetic drugs; but now the Western world is being invaded by products with which the Far East has nothing to do, never had anything to do, nor is likely to have anything to do, unless, like so many other evil things, such as morphia, they are forced on her from the outside.

Now, I am far from deprecating the vital importance of controlling opium production. The world knows, or ought to know, that China has made unparalleled sacrifices to suppress a traffic against which all that is best and wisest in the country has protested with energy, and acted, when opportunity offered, with determination. But I do suggest that manufacture far more than poppy culture is now the peril. Furnished indeed with the reports supplied to me from Peking, I could without difficulty show that much of the criticism of my country's *bona fides* comes from those who are themselves openly concerned in the task of cultivation, but who claim the attribute of moral rectitude because they assert their ability to regulate the uses of what they create while denouncing us for temporary inability to give effect in its entirety to our higher moral code in respect of

absolute suppression. I have, though, no intention to embark on such polemics except to assert that at Geneva I laid it down with what emphasis I possessed that the Chinese Government will not permit interference from without, either in the direction of investigation or suppression, except on lines which are common in potential application to all the nations of the world. In other words, no discrimination must be shown against China, which, let me repeat, has repeatedly shown her *bona fides*.

Attending a conference of this nature would, I fear, soon make one a professed cynic. It is the custom to proclaim that action is above all vital against poppy cultivation because it is so observable, and that in the later stages of the employment of derivatives detection is most difficult. Yet everyone knows that in the West as well as in the Far East the deleterious use of more or less crude opium is becoming rare. People do not bother about it. The derivatives, such as morphia, are easier to handle, easier to take, and far more potent in their effects. Yet it is far less difficult to control the supply of morphia and to check postal smuggling than it is to spy out scattered fields of the poppy. In this matter there is an indulgence in much unctuous humbug, and it would almost seem as if those countries where the denunciation of China for a few possible fields of poppy is the strongest, can, with justice, claim that the morphia industry is most flourishing in their midst. Only of course they do not claim it. They realize it is not "quite the thing" to pose as universal and unrestrained poisoners, yet this they are, because although they may argue the highest motives are behind their output, they know none the less it is employed, in utterly demoralizing fashion, in countries which do not want, but which are lamentably unable to avoid, its exploitation for the vast profits it yields. Hence, the Committee made some little progress in the direction of taking seriously in hand the drug requirements of each country, the system of exportation and international transit, the control of

manufacture, and the possibility of joint action. Nothing can be done until the groundwork of facts whereon we all have to work is definitely ascertained. And far less information will be expected or obtainable from China in most of these respects than from the highly-civilized Western nations. We have, indeed, reached the stage where we are the most unfortunate victims of modern science and commercial greed combined. We are still taxed with having occasional cultivation in our midst, yet all around us opium is produced with official sanction, and smuggling cannot be adequately suppressed. This would be bad enough, and is, but simultaneously our country is swamped with derivatives from opium and synthetic drugs, introduced from abroad, in every case, since we do not manufacture one single ounce.

At Geneva I endeavoured to call attention to the disastrous results of the wholesale importation of morphia into my own country. Years ago I should probably have appealed to deaf ears, but now the Far-Easterner can, without being a cynic, notice that the Western countries are themselves thoroughly alarmed at the spread of the drug evil in their midst. I do not wish to suggest that in the Far East our serious plight has been treated in the past with scant courtesy, but hope for China is far less to be expected from any measures she may take herself, though these are, despite all criticism, very largely effective, than from world action to control the use of drugs which are affecting the West quite as much as the East.

The Geneva Committee, which has just finished, possessed, I am glad to say, a much less academic value than most gatherings of the sort in the past. Those gatherings generally did possess a largely academic value. Nations met, discussed the moral obliquity of China, and seemed disposed, without much consideration for Chinese efforts in the matter, to criticize her methods as incomplete, inadequate, and half-hearted. There is far less of this tendency now. There is not a single Western nation at the present

time whose police authorities know whence comes the vast amount of drugs that is now surreptitiously sold, or even the organizations which are putting it on the market. There is, therefore, a far greater disposition to be honest, fair, and impartial in recognizing China's difficult position. I endeavoured at Geneva to lay stress, as every Chinese delegate in time gone by has done, on the *bona fides* of the Chinese Government in suppressing the opium traffic. It is not helpful for critics to turn round and say that everything is not done which ought to be done. I dare say this is the case in China, but what other country in the world can say that it is doing all it ought to do to suppress the drug evil?

Since the Committee met, I have forwarded my report to Peking, and therein I have urged that the Government should do its best to comply with the resolution, proposed by me and adopted by the delegates, to the effect that the investigations into the alleged cultivation of the poppy should be made by officials together with representatives of the popular organizations, such as the various Chambers of Commerce, the educational authorities, and the international anti-opium associations, all working in close co-operation to achieve the desired results. In addition, I have appealed, through the Press, to the people, with the object of rousing public opinion against the use of opium, just as was the case in 1917 at the end of the period of the Anglo-Chinese Agreement on the subject. Then poppy cultivation was entirely stamped out, a result attested and set on record by the British authorities, who affirmed that the Chinese Government had carried out the Agreement to the fullest possible extent. It was this Agreement the execution of which Sir John Jordan, the then Minister to China, supervised with such conspicuous success, and I venture to think that it will rank as one of the greatest achievements of his career, since by his action he saved four hundred millions of people in China from being poisoned. The debt which, in consequence, the Chinese

nation owes to him is one which it can never repay, though its gratitude will always be shared by posterity, which will cherish the memory of the deed. Sir John Jordan was Assessor to the Committee at Geneva, where his views were just, impartial, and broadminded. Especially was I pleased to find myself in agreement with him with respect to opium smuggling from neighbouring territories into China; also with regard to the poisoning of the Chinese people by morphia similarly brought in from outside. He employed very just and powerful arguments against this nefarious traffic. Such help will enable China to rid herself of all the dangerous drugs by which she is invaded from the outside. Sir John Jordan's great aim and task will be, however, crowned with success only by showing China that not merely will the production of opium be done away with, but that the importation of morphia or cocaine or foreign drugs will be absolutely stopped.

Prince Charoon of Siam was responsible for putting forward the very important proposal that the amount of poppy and derivatives of opium needed for legitimate medical use ought to be reported to the League of Nations, who would then prescribe the world's requirements of production. The League could ensure that only the production of such an authorized amount would be allowed, in order that people should not be poisoned by dangerous drugs. Mr. de Kat Angelino, the Dutch representative, inspired a very generous and just decision, applicable to all nations, that if any investigations were to be made by the League, they should be equally applied to those countries which manufactured morphia and other dangerous drugs as to all countries which were opium producers. By this solution alone could the nations hope to deal with the drug traffic. The Dutch Government should be very proud of its delegate, to whose initiative so much of our progress is due. It must, too, encourage Holland, since it can look back to its first successful convention against opium at the Hague in 1912 with the feeling that this gathering sowed

the seed of the harvest we shall assuredly reap in the near future.

I take this welcome opportunity to express on behalf of my country our heartfelt gratitude for the co-operation shown at the Committee Meetings from all the delegates and assessors. Throughout the proceedings there was shown a spirit of mutual interest and common accord to fight the drug evil. And efforts at its suppression can only be effective if the campaign is made world-wide.

We in China have great confidence in the League ; we appeal to it to do what it can to save the world, and we assure it, in advance, of our heartiest co-operation. We in China are even more concerned than are Western peoples. We have suffered more than they have from the demoralization caused by the drug evil. We have, though, asked for fair play and a proper recognition of our momentary difficulties. I am glad to think our appeal is falling upon ears which are far more friendly and far more justly disposed than used to be the case. The world is beginning to grasp that this problem is a world problem—not a Chinese problem, not a Far-Eastern problem—and with this fact driven home, we may reach some practical result in the direction of suppression, which can only be obtained by common action and a recognition of our mutual responsibilities. I am glad, as I say, to think that opinion is setting steadily in this direction.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.—III

BY J. A. SANDBROOK

(Editor of *The Englishman*, Calcutta)

(Continued from p. 316)

BUT no survey of the past hundred years, however superficial, can omit reference to the Saunders family, who, coming into possession of *The Englishman* soon after the Mutiny, have held the controlling interest ever since, maintaining and increasing the prestige that Stocqueler and men like Hurry had already brought to the paper. The first J. O'B. Saunders, whose father was one of the proprietors of the *Dundee Advertiser*, came to India as an indigo planter. While his friends indulged in polo and pig-sticking, he spent his leisure moments in contributing to the papers, and when the mutineers wrecked his indigo factory he bought *The Englishman*, and soon made of it a great and prosperous property. He became himself, as Sir Richard Temple, one time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, records, "the most influential and popular character of his time in Calcutta." Tall of stature and broad, with a wealth of white beard and hair surrounding his genial face, he carried with dignity the title of the Nestor of Anglo-Indian journalism, and if his style in writing was ponderous and his taste in literature somewhat too refined and heavy for the light-hearted elements of Anglo-India, his wise, genial wit endeared him to the community. He continued the politics that Hurry had so well expressed—the critical side, or opposition to the Government, as he put it. But there was a marked change in one respect. It had been the custom of the Press, probably remembering the official restraints of the early days, to treat officials with contempt. "We no longer," wrote Saunders, "treated a civilian as a

tyrant or a fool because he was a C.S. . . . Our policy has been to treat all questions on their merits to the best of our ability, with a natural tendency to opposition politics. We have always acted free from all money or sinister influence. Whatever the value of our opinions may be, or of our advocacy, it has been our pride to trust for our reward to the public alone. The proprietary has an independent capital, and is at the beck of no man, and no one has power or influence in the editor's room from outside." This, in general terms, has been the policy of *The Englishman* ever since, and its reputation for fair dealing and for the straightforward expression of opinions honestly held was enhanced under the second J. O'B. Saunders, who is still remembered with affection and admiration by many hundreds of Anglo-Indians and by men, scattered now far and wide over the world, who had met him in fugitive visits to India, or in London, or on his travels abroad.

The Englishman, contributed to by men in the highest places, by soldiers and civilians, served by the best correspondents available in India and in England, came to be regarded as *par excellence* the exponent of the views of the European community in India, which, with the rise to prosperity of indigo, the increase in tea plantations, and the development of shipping and mining and engineering activities, had now grown large in numbers and great in wealth. New journals had sprung into existence, but *The Englishman* remained, and still remains, the characteristic mouthpiece of the British race in the East. If it were necessary to seek proofs, one need only refer to the messages of congratulation and goodwill that were sent to it by many eminent men when, on July 2, 1921, it reached its hundredth birthday. When I wrote reminding these men—some of whom, as a paper, we had strongly opposed and severely criticized—of the event, the response was astonishing in its promptness and generosity. The Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in the midst of great and harassing affairs of State, found time to write :

India has just entered upon a new era which is fraught with the greatest possibilities for the happiness and progress of its peoples. It is of the greatest importance that in facing the problems of the future she should be fortified by sound and well-informed public opinion. The Press can render inestimable service in spreading accurate knowledge about current affairs, and in dealing with problems as they arise in a fearless spirit of honesty, tolerance, and fair play, as between all races and classes. I am confident that *The Englishman* will maintain the highest principles of journalism, and continue to merit in the future the high reputation which it has enjoyed in the past.

Lord Curzon, who, as a former Viceroy, remembered *The Englishman* and the support it gave him, wrote :

I am very glad to send a message of congratulation and good wishes to *The Englishman* on the celebration of its centenary. As the recognized and authoritative exponent of British opinion, not only in Bengal, but far beyond, *The Englishman* has wielded a great and powerful influence in the East, stimulating and inspiring its friends, respected by, and itself respecting, its opponents. Long may it uphold these traditions, and work for the combined welfare and glory of the British and Indian peoples.

Lord Reading, but newly arrived in India as Viceroy, was equally generous :

The pages of *The Englishman* during the last hundred years are a mirror of the thoughts and events of that important period in the history of India. It is a striking circumstance that you attain your centenary when India has passed through the open gates and is travelling along the road to full partnership within the Empire. Never was there a period when India stood more in need of a powerful and independent Press, prepared to criticize fearlessly when there is occasion, yet equally ready to lend influential support when there is justification. *The Englishman* has the courage of its convictions, and therefore carries authority even with those who differ from its conclusions and yet appreciate honesty of purpose and calmness of judgment.

I trust that the traditions of the hundred-year-old *Englishman* will be maintained throughout its existence with all their accustomed vigour, and that it will continue its efforts to promote true and hearty co-operation between British and Indian in pursuit of their common object—the welfare and happiness of India.

Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, who has had no severer opponent and critic than *The Englishman*, put aside personal feelings that were natural, and wrote :

I reflect that since the development of free institutions in India owes so immeasurable a debt to the newspaper Press, the centenary of the oldest existing daily paper in that country is an event of profound interest, call-

ing on general grounds for congratulation. In the hope that a word from me in such circumstances may help to promote the union and goodwill for which H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught pleaded in India, and so soften political acerbities, I write these lines. I can hope that now the reforms are in being it will be recognized to be the duty of European and Indian alike to promote their success. I earnestly trust that in the second century on which it is entering *The Englishman* will use its enterprise and influence with increasing determination to promote in every possible way the co-operation between the Indian and European communities on which the future of the country so largely depends.

There were many other messages. Every living ex-Viceroy and every living ex-Secretary of State (with the exception of Lord Morley) sent cordial and generous congratulations. But I cannot trespass upon the space of this REVIEW to quote them here.

Coming, as *The Englishman's* centenary did, at a time when India is entering upon a new era of political development, it is only natural that the thoughts of statesmen charged with her destinies should dwell upon the influence of the Press and its attitude towards these vast political changes. India, from being a dependency ruled by a highly efficient bureaucracy, has broken with a century of tradition and embarked upon the high road that will lead her sooner or later, if it be trodden with care and loyalty, to be a self-governing dominion of the Empire. No greater ambition could be set before a people to be accepted or refused. And no more difficult a course could be set before a people whose faiths and ideals are so alien from our own, and whose standards of civilization and culture and freedom are so different. But if the conception of loyalty and freedom that informs the greatest of India's sons—men like the late Mr. Goakhale and like Mr. Srinivasa Shastri, who now wears his mantle, and like Lord Sinha, and many others that come to mind—be true of the people collectively, the task will not be impossible of fulfilment. It is because the people of India are as yet an unknown quantity in politics, as, indeed, in other things, that most of the important Anglo-Indian journals have opposed Lord Chelmsford's and Mr. Montagu's scheme of

reforms as premature, dangerous, and unwise. Events that have occurred since its inception can scarcely be expected to remove those doubts. But the reforms are now an accomplished fact, and nothing has so clearly demonstrated the loyalty of the Anglo-Indian Press to their principles and ideals as the careful and earnest way in which practically all the important newspapers are trying to help the new governments towards success. Whether they will achieve it is for them to show, not only now, when moderates are in possession of the power, but later when, maybe, the turn of the extremists will come. But of one thing all may be sure—namely, the hearty and steady endeavour of the Anglo-Indian Press to promote and to keep that atmosphere of cordial co-operation between the British and the Indian peoples without which progress, political, commercial, or social, is impossible. No one can have been in India long without realizing her vast possibilities. Her mineral wealth has scarcely yet been scratched. Within her own frontiers she can grow or mine, and some day manufacture, all that man may want in peace or in war. The golden keys of education have as yet opened the minds of only an infinitesimal proportion of her hundreds of millions of people. Let us hope that when education has done its work and the sun shines on the full noon of India's mighty possibilities, they will not be frittered away by the fruitless wrangling that has made a tragedy of the untutored democracy of China and has turned the institutions of democracy planted in the unsuitable and unprepared soil of Persia into a pathetic farce. So appalling a tragedy in India can only be averted if her responsible citizens make sure to-day that the foundations of democracy are solidly and truly built. And in that task the Press of India, English as well as vernacular, must play a great part. Splendid as are the prospects of other industries and professions, the prospects of the Press are no less alluring. The great Anglo-Indian journals of to-day are well equipped with modern plant for the future.

The old hand-presses and flat-bed machines, with their limited output, have given way to rotary presses more able to meet the large circulations that the growth of education and the increase of commerce and industry are bringing. The hunger for news of the outer world is more fully satisfied. A dozen years ago a column, or very little more, would contain the whole of Reuter's foreign cables. To-day a whole page barely suffices, and, in addition, *The Englishman* has acquired the rights for India of *The Times* cable service, supplied by brilliant correspondents in every part of the world. This is one of the many effective agencies at work to-day in the political education of India, bringing to her people and to the thousands of Britons who are helping them to work out their destiny a fuller knowledge of the outside world, and especially of that great Empire to whose free citizenship they aspire.

A hundred years of alternating peace and strife, famine and prosperity, have passed away. It is too much to hope for the years of the new dispensation nothing but peace and prosperity. Already it is too clear that the future holds for Englishmen and Indians alike difficult problems. But the more we try—and the Press is the greatest agency for trying—to understand one another's point of view, the more easy we shall find the solution. And if at times we must differ, let it be in the spirit of true journalism, "as gentlemen, with tolerance and charity."

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA

(Specially contributed from India)

THE educational problems of India are manifold, and extend from the instruction of infants to post-graduate teaching and research. Since the beginning of the current year it may be said that these problems have assumed magnified proportions owing to the advent of the Reforms. India is no longer to be bureaucratically governed. The millions of her population are henceforward to participate in a form of constitutional government. Under this form of government the electoral basis is greatly broadened; a dyarchical system entrusts certain branches of administration to Ministers responsible to popular assemblies; and, even in those branches which still remain the care of the bureaucracy, money-votes are largely dependent on the will of those assemblies, while the highest posts in the official hierarchy have been thrown more widely open than formerly to Indians.

This being so, the intelligence of the masses and an ordered and well-balanced system of public instruction become of vital importance. Before a special enquiry is made into the circumstances which characterize any particular section of the educational organization, it is necessary to grasp four facts which condition the examination of every part of the problem and which will at once throw detailed criticism into proper perspective.

First, according to the census of 1911, no less than 94 per cent. of the population is illiterate; and, according to the latest figures, only 3.36 per cent. of the population is under any form of instruction.

Second, such education as exists is mainly among the male sex; an insignificant fraction of the female population is literate, and only 1.15 per cent. of it is under instruction.

Third, the proportion of males undergoing higher education in English high schools and colleges equals, or even exceeds, what is to be found in most civilized countries. This is remarkable in a country where the educational figures alone point to a backward state of development; the contrast between the numbers in higher and those in elementary education gives food for most serious reflection.

Fourth, the higher education imparted is in the main literary. There are 66,000 students in colleges; 57,500 of these are in arts or law colleges; medicine claims nearly 3,500, teaching 1,000; the small remainder are divided between engineering, agricultural, veterinary, commercial, and forestry colleges. Again, those studying in vocational schools (including schools for training teachers, schools of art and law and medical schools) are to those in ordinary literary secondary schools as one to ten.

The condition of things thus created was tersely described in the last "Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India": "A middle class widely instructed in those arts which qualify for the learned professions; a proletariat of which only a fraction is literate; a whole sex almost totally devoid of any education whatever."

When we turn to elementary education, we find that there are over 155,000 schools. But these contain only slightly over six million pupils. The comparatively small enrolment is due to a variety of causes—the scattered distribution of the 536,000 villages contained in British India, sometimes the poor qualifications of teachers, sometimes the lukewarmness, not yet wholly disappeared, of the parents. In a few of the Indian States, notably Baroda, there is compulsion. In 1911 the late Mr. Gokhale introduced a private Bill for compulsion in British India. The view taken by Government was that there had been no popular demand for such a measure, and that, on the other hand, there was much official and non-official opposition to it. The Bill was rejected by a large majority in the Legislative Council. But Government declared its readiness to consider local Bills. Such local Bills have now been passed in most

provinces. But they leave the adoption of compulsion to local option; in most cases they apply only to municipal areas; and they have hitherto had only an infinitesimal effect. The dead weight of illiteracy needs other levers, besides legislation, to move it. There is need of money and of trained teachers. The caste system in some localities still retards progress. Above all, between 70 and 80 per cent. of the population live by agriculture; the want of education is not obvious to the smaller *ryot* or day labourer; while the want of youthful labour in the busy seasons for the tending of cattle, etc., is insistent.

It is sometimes asserted that the effect produced on individual pupils by the system of elementary education is evanescent. Other critics assert that even the simple vernacular instruction given in primary schools unfits the boy for pursuing his hereditary profession of agriculture, weakens his physique, and sets him longing for a sedentary life. It is true that the length of school life for the ordinary pupil is probably less than four years; and it has been calculated that 39 per cent. of the ex-pupils slide back into illiteracy within five years of their leaving the elementary school. But either view, in its extreme form, is erroneous—the latter especially so. The serious question, however, arises, whether a vocational turn could be given to elementary education which would reconcile the parent to a continuance of his children's schooling beyond the age when they become useful in the fields. The possibility of this was recently explored by a Commission sent by certain Mission bodies in connection with the education of the Indian Christian community. Central vocational schools were advocated. Here again the problem is largely one of funds.

Secondary education suffers from a plethora of cheap private schools, lack of trained teachers, cramming, an over-literary curriculum, and a soul-destroying examination at the close. These influences, of course, operate with varying force in different parts of the country. They are most in evidence in Bengal. The effect of the decision made during

the first half of the nineteenth century, that efforts should be concentrated on Western learning, has, on the whole, been beneficial. But some troublesome problems have been raised. Naturally, the staff employed has more and more come to be Indian. Many of the teachers find difficulty in entering into the spirit of the subjects they are expected to teach. In the high schools, less than 10,000 teachers are trained out of a total of over 30,000. The examinations are held on a gigantic scale, which enforces mechanical methods on the examiner, and encourages defective methods of teaching and learning. The lower classes of the colleges become thronged with unfit students who drop off before the degree-stage is reached, but not before their presence has resulted in sensible lowering of standards and embarrassment to conscientious teachers.

Sir Michael Sadler's Commission has dealt exhaustively with the defects of secondary and University education in Bengal. Those defects probably appear in the most aggravated form in that Presidency. But they are more or less reflected elsewhere; and the Government of the United Provinces, under the enlightened guidance of Sir Harcourt Butler, is adopting the main recommendations of the Commission's Report with enthusiasm. The first problem is the reduction of the size of the existing Universities by the creation of new centres of more manageable dimensions, where local interest can be aroused. The second is the rearrangement of the governing bodies of the University in such a manner as to give freer play to the academic element. The third, and perhaps the most important, is the relegation of the lower collegiate classes to their proper place—the secondary school. Then follow numerous other problems connected with tuition, examinations, residence, etc.

Then again comes the important question of giving a more practical turn to secondary studies, in order to divest some of the students from the purely literary course (for which they are often ill-fitted) to more congenial and lucrative employment following on instruction given in the

technical and professional colleges and institutions. Medical and engineering colleges indeed are full ; and there is need for an extension of the facilities for medical training. But industrial training somewhat lags ; the chances of profitable work are precarious in a country where industrial development is still imperfect.

If education is regarded according to the classes who are undergoing it, or should be undergoing it, the most pressing matter is clearly the education of girls, which, as has sometimes been pointed out, is still a social rather than an educational problem. Interest, too, is being evinced in the education of the adult—a question which gains greatly in importance by the advent of reforms. The education of the Indian army is being vigorously organized. The education of the European and Anglo-Indian population has its own difficulties.

The complex nature of the questions which await solution by the Ministers (to whom education is now entrusted) is apparent. The difficulties are accentuated by various circumstances. India spends no inconsiderable portion of her revenue on Education. But the whole budget is small for the size of the country ; and finance forms the greatest stumbling-block. In a land of various races and creeds the straightforward problems are complicated by important issues arising out of the language (or the medium of instruction) to be used in schools, out of the thorny subject of religious instruction, out of the conflicting interests of different sections of the population. Educational questions are often treated from a political point of view ; and the non-co-operation movement has just shown how ready is the politician to divert (though on this occasion he has been in the main unsuccessful) the energies of boys from study to the excitements of public meetings, processions and picketing. Solid progress has been made. Fifty years ago, the number of those under instruction in India was less than two millions. To-day it exceeds eight millions. But new problems are emerging, and a general quickening is demanded by the constitutional changes.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF CHINA

A NEW POWER FOR GOOD AT WORK—BANKERS AND MERCHANTS

BY T. BOWEN PARTINGTON

CHINA to-day is attracting more attention than any other country in the world. In political circles she has recently been the subject of discussions in Washington between Cabinet officers of World Power governments.

In commercial circles she is also under consideration, and is regarded to-day as one of the great industrial nations of the future. Nature has endowed her with almost inconceivable riches in minerals and metals. Her coal and iron supplies exceed those of any other part of the world, and her deposits of antimony, copper, and tin are prodigious. Within the past ten years the development of her steel industry has been remarkable. Great textile mills, flour mills, and other varied industries, have been developed, and her transportation systems, woefully lacking in extent and effectiveness, are being improved.

More and more the masses of the people are being brought into contact with the current of progress, and they are being educated to need things from the West. Out of the old China there has come a new China, and the differentiation between the new and the old is in the receptivity of the new as contrasted with the self-sufficiency of the old. All of China to-day is receptive, with its face to the future and away from the past, ready to take advantage of all that the West and modern civilization has to offer. And the thing to be noted is that China has no old machinery or ideas in a modern industrial and commercial sense to scrap. It starts in to-day where we are, and is in a position to take the best we have. And, it may be noted,

that what China takes to-day will in a measure determine what she will want to-morrow.

But it is not my intention in this article to deal with China as a great commercial field. It is to be hoped that the reader will admit this. The thing which is occupying the minds of commercial men to-day, men who have this great faith in the enormous possibilities of China, is as to whether there is any powerful influence at work in China to-day, as opposed to the mercenary war lords, which will be able materially to assist in the bringing about of the realization of the development of China's possibilities referred to above.

Even as I write these lines China is in the throes of civil war, and the stage is all set for the play which will show once again the rival military factions in collision . . . with the object, not of bringing about any further good in the country, but rather satisfying their own greed. There was a time, not long ago in Chinese history, when such a collision would have had far-reaching effects. But to-day, even when it comes, it first leaves the commercial and agricultural classes untouched. If anything they resent it all, and because of this resentment the commercial class in China has now banded itself together to oppose the military party in every possible way, and it is in this party, consisting of bankers and merchants, that one sees the new power for good. They represent to-day all that is good—nay, even the best—in China. They are well educated, high principled, and they are coming to the fore. What is more, and . . . what is the all-important thing in China, is that they have the money. This money they are determined to withhold from the militarists, who will thus be helpless, inasmuch as they will have neither the money with which to pay their riff-raff of a soldiery, nor will they have the wherewithal with which to procure arms and ammunition.

This new power was evidently recognized and believed in by Sir Charles Addis, K.C.M.G., Chairman of the Hong

Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation when he was in China just a few weeks ago. He was summoned to Genoa directly he returned from China, and referring to the threatened civil war there stated :

"The gravity of the political situation was exaggerated. No ground for quarrel between North and South China existed. . . . China always emerged from such vicissitudes as a homogeneous nation, and would doubtless do so again. The only obstacle to union was the military governors, who usurped the power of the Government, diverted the State revenues to their own use, and otherwise oppressed the people, BUT THERE WERE SIGNS THAT THE PEOPLE WERE GROWING RESTIVE AND COMBINING AGAINST THIS MILITARY DESPOTISM."

This is the new power which will prove China's salvation and bring about that great development which will place China at the head of the commercial countries of the world.

For the development of any country money is a necessity, and China is no exception. Again and again enormous loans have been made, the money for which should have gone to developing the country. Instead of that, the military politicians of China have played the lowest type of political game with public finance, and have consequently robbed the Chinese of the respect they rightfully deserve from their contemporaries. The financial maladministration of the country has been repeatedly and rightly described as China's most serious Government ailment. It has been considered by many to be the least susceptible to treatment. It is an ague which has penetrated the Chinese body politic and has brought on a palsy more dangerous either than the canker of the Tuchunate (the corrupt governors) or the elephantiasis of inflated militarism. But it has been learned by this time that China's healing must come from within—which is true of any nation—although the process may be greatly stimulated by sympathetic circumstances. And it is the bankers and merchants who have set about this work of healing.

China's ancient dynasties adhered firmly to the principle of paying as they went, knowing no other. Money for any scheme of statecraft, military campaign, imperial luxury, or work of construction, was levied and got in hand . . . then spent. Only in the degenerate days of the Manchus did rulers and chamberlains of the exchequer learn the Western convenience of governmental loans and bond issues. This modern convenience became, as many others to the unsophisticated Oriental, a vice.

Like an opiate providing the delusion of strength without nourishment, it came to be the reliance of the Manchu house, and when withheld at the critical moment, became one of the factors in the Imperial downfall.

Thus we find to-day, in the eleventh year of the Republic, that China is mortgaged to foreign interests to the sum of approximately 600,000,000 dollars, and to its own people, through domestic bond issues, to the sum of 300,000,000 Mexican dollars.

The blame is with the Government. Not only have no reserves been laid up to meet this immense burden of liabilities, but the various departments have been spending more than their income. The Government has only four ways of securing funds—taxation and revenues; currency inflation through withdrawal of specie deposited as security for bank notes of the banks which the Government may control, or the unsecured issue of such notes; and loan and Treasury promissory-note issues.

As to the first, taxes of every possible form have already been imposed to the limit of the Government's deficient ability of enforcement. The Chinese people, in spite of their docility, will only endure a certain amount of taxation, and it is exceedingly difficult to subject them to any levy which has no precedent. Further, things have been made more difficult for the Peking Government by the actions of the many military leaders scattered about who have, in recent years, acquired the habit of retaining for their own purposes such portions of the tax levies as they

consider they require, and remitting the balance, if any, to the hungry Treasury in Peking. This is the true source of China's weakness, and this removed, then there is nothing but prosperity, commercial and otherwise, for the country and the people, for the tens of thousands of dollars which yearly have been wasted in futile military expeditions and the like, to satisfy simply the greed of some particular military clique, will then be spent not only in assisting China to discharge her financial obligations to other countries, but will also be used to the building up of the commercial life of the country and the development of the resources of China, which, when properly developed, will make her the greatest industrial country in the world and, incidentally, one of the wealthiest.

The Consortium has done good. By the Consortium embargo the Chinese Government is cut off from its profligate diet of foreign gold. Immediately the question arises as to where China is to turn. There are, of course, outside the Consortium, banks and co-operations which might loan money. But these latter ones are wary . . . they fear to tread the paths that even the great London-Paris-New York-Tokyo financial pool will not walk. Thus the militarists, the party which has been checking the commercial progress of the country, finds itself blocked. For without money they are unable to get the hired mercenaries to fight for them. With the average Chinese soldier of to-day loyalty is a thing unknown. He fights for the one who will pay him the most. I have seen myself in China, two conflicting armies meet on the field of battle, and after a lengthy conversation one army has stepped over to the side of the other on the promise of better pay!

And at this critical time there has stepped into the arena the very party which is going to effect the salvation of the country. This consists of the bankers and merchants. They have money . . . lots of it, too . . . and they are willing to loan it to the Government, but they are going to have the supervision of its expenditure. For they all of

them believe that the Chinese nation is fully able to support itself ; that its financial difficulties are due to the maladministration and not to poverty. They believe that they can place the finances of China on so sound a basis that not even a certain amount of unavoidable political unrest will greatly impair the Treasury's credit.

For what China is able to do, when there is proper supervision, is seen in the latest return for the Chinese Maritime Customs and the Salt Gabelle. The yield of the former for 1921 is a record, and there is an enormous surplus even when all obligation secured on the customs have been met, and there is a tremendous yield also from the Salt Gabelle. It is as Sir Charles Addis stated the other day, that given stable Government " the trade possibilities would be infinite." Even the railways show a surplus again.

The doctrine of this group is that the Chinese are fully able to finance their Government, provided that the reforms are carried out and guarantees given which are necessary to create public confidence. They are determined that no great quantity of foreign gold shall come into China immediately. And they have organized for an active and leading part in their Governmental finance. They are confident of the ability of the Chinese to finance China, and even provide for its material progress when the confidence of the investing public has been gained, and this confidence they are out to get. At the same time they realize that this progress can be very much more rapid if assisted by foreign money, lent in the spirit of friendly commercialism and untrammelled by political influences. They desire friendly relations with the foreign bankers, and hope for their co-operation in developing China's resources.

The spirit of these men, newly class-conscious and awakened to their responsibility toward the salvation of the nation as well as the protection of their own interests, inspires admiration. If it be true and continue true, that

the people are with them, they are bound to win—not perhaps entirely according to programme—but none the less certainly. There is one thing against which they have to guard and that is the poison of success, which has thus far made every reform movement in China wellnigh as arrogant and intolerant as the rotten officialdom which it has sought to purify.

If the bankers wish to build upon the sound basis of popular support a permanent institution for the encouragement of progress they must avoid every semblance of plutocracy, which, although it might be more mathematically honest, would be as detestable to the Chinese masses as is the present corrupt mandarinocracy.

In conclusion it would be good to quote the closing words of the Shanghai memorandum, which will itself go down in the documentary history of the nation, but the last paragraphs of which deserve to be taught to every class in civil government as an example of the taking to task of a degenerate administration by a group of indignant and determined citizens :

“The above-mentioned plans, although common and simple, are the only means of saving the situation. If the Government treats these suggestions as a scrap of paper, the people will refuse to allow the drainage of their limited sources of capital to pay meaningless expenses. If the Government tries to raise domestic loans to relieve itself, failure will be certain. The banks, to protect their business, cannot but make known to the public the kinds of loans they will float or refuse to float. If the banks decline to take up a loan proposition, merchants will not dare to do so. The confusion of the currency system seriously concerns the financial class. The banks, for the sake of protection, may be forced to resort to yet further means to wake up the Government. In such case it will be impossible for the Government to secure money for them.”

The bankers further add :

“That foreign loans have a tremendous effect upon the finances of the country.. Though it is recognized that in the building up of industries and carrying out of reforms

foreign loans are indispensable, the Government shall not in the least disregard the financial interests of the nation, and shall not get foreign loans as give the nation temporary relief, but lead it to destruction. We, the Chinese bankers, demand that we be allowed to take part in the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of any proposed financial move which concerns the nation before the Government comes to decision."

China is a country of unlimited possibilities and is on the way to the realization of these at a great pace. And if the reader is somewhat sceptical of this and points to the disorder being, and likely to be, a great bar to commercial progress, let him be warned against falling into that very common error so many critics of China commit. That is the Westerner's "ingrained habit" of envisaging the facts and phenomena of Chinese development, since the revolutionary transaction of 1911-12, in terms of purely European thought and achievement.

An historical change, as pregnant in its ultimate significance as the French Revolution, takes place in China, and, because it goes to the roots of national life, disarrays necessarily and profoundly the work of government for less than a decade; and the impatient European fastens on the facts of disorder—the mark and proof of the reality of the change—and forthwith attempts what a great political thinker has declared to be an impossibility: he indicts a nation for its alleged incapacity and convicts the Chinese of racial unfitness to govern themselves and make any material progress. The vice of much of the current foreign criticism and meditations on China to-day is that they are judged from the standpoint of developed institutions in Europe and America with their growth of centuries.

Considering the basic soundness of her social and economic structure, the character of her great population, her varied climate and products, and the almost fabulous riches of her mines, there is no more alluring field in the world than China. What is wanted, however, is a more widespread interest in foreign affairs and foreign countries,

especially China, and a generally more sympathetic attitude on the part of British capitalists, merchants, and manufacturers, both individual and corporate, toward the world lying outside the confines of our Empire. If Great Britain would but capitalize the good-will that China bears for it and all things British it would find in the Far Eastern Republic the greatest opportunities in the history of commerce between nations.

March, 1922.

ARTS AND CRAFTS SECTION

THE BURMESE CRAFTSMAN AND HIS WORK

BY H. B. HOLME

(Director of Industries, Burma)

EVER since the British occupation spasmodic efforts have been made to assist and keep alive Burman art, but the efforts have been fitful and have depended to a great extent on the individual efforts of certain officers. When these officers have been on leave or have retired the efforts ceased. It must be remembered that the homes of many of these arts are far away in the interior, and even the residents of the coastwise towns and certainly the casual tourists had no opportunity of obtaining craft-ware except through friends and after long delays. The craft workers were poor and required advances or loans to purchase material before they could commence work, and even the more affluent needed to sell one piece before they could commence a second. A necessary consequence of this was that with many workers the craft is a secondary occupation, subsidiary to agriculture or petty trading, and the workers are not infrequently wholly in the hands of financiers. In just a few cases the best workers came under the protection of patrons, mostly Europeans, who purchased the whole output or found a market for it among their friends. The transfer or retirement of such a patron might leave the craftsman to fall back into his old position, though frequently he would make a month's journey to find his old patron when he had articles to dispose of or was in difficulty.

It is worth while remembering that in many parts of the remoter confines of Burma the followers of some crafts are still a living part of the national economy. That is to say, they supply the neighbourhood with necessary utensils and they are thus an indispensable cog in the machine. We

are so accustomed to go to the nearest shop to buy a cup and saucer, a water-jug, a glass, a broom, or a garden spade, that we never stop to think of the elaborate system of manufacturers, travellers, wholesalers and distributors necessary in order to put down in one small village shop things manufactured in the farthest towns of the United Kingdom, or in America or other foreign countries. We have to envisage a very much more primitive state of affairs in order to realize a craftsman in his real element. Such primitive conditions still exist in many parts of the East. The rice for daily food is husked in a home-made mill ; the shoes are made by a local cobbler ; the women of the village spin and weave, and in some places grow the silk for the skirts of men and women. Sufficient cotton is saved to provide seed and to furnish yarn and cloth to clothe the household. Food is cooked and water carried in pots made locally all over the province. Drinking-cups are provided by the lacquer workers, if something more elaborate than a half cocoanut shell is required. Almost every man, woman, and child can weave mats and baskets, and there is in most neighbourhoods a blacksmith who can make agricultural implements, including " Dahs," the indispensable knife-hatchet of the jungle-dweller. Here, therefore, the metier of the craftsman is to supply himself or his neighbours with something vitally necessary in their every-day life. For the most part they are not the leisurely followers of a hobby or the difficult devotees of an art.

And even in the more sophisticated parts of Burma the advent of the enamel tin cup and the galvanized bucket, the kerosene oil tin, Manchester cottons and Japanese silks is sufficiently recent for the older makers of the supplanted indigenous article to remember the time when the bulk of their market was purely local for utility articles. Even in the more purely artistic and luxury occupations, such as silver-work, ivory-carving and wood-carving, the native craftsman has suffered from the competition of cheaper machine-made stuff from Europe and Japan. Nowadays

electro-plate and aluminium-ware is frequently used in remote parts for religious dedications where formerly lacquer-ware, basket-ware, or silver-ware alone could have been procured. The goldsmith, too, in a primitive state of society is something of a banker. Surplus revenue is mostly turned into articles of jewellery, which again, in times of stress, are pawned to the goldsmith or sold outright to him. Such crude jewellery mostly changes hands by weight, little being allowed for workmanship. It is frequently broken up and made again into new ornaments, thus ensuring fairly regular employment for the gold and silversmiths. With the advent of banks and the spread of commerce this part of the goldsmiths work dwindles, but he finds compensation in the demand for higher-class ornaments and jewellery calling for more skill—a demand which follows on the raising of the standard of living.

Conditions, therefore, have been operating against the hand workers of Burma for at least two generations. Many of them besides the goldsmiths have met the altered state of affairs, perhaps unconsciously, by substituting higher-class luxury articles for the cheaper and cruder utility articles previously made. The market for much of this has been among Europeans, or among the Burman and Indian population who have attained a higher standard of living and whose tastes have become to some extent Europeanized. This is, perhaps, most marked in the matter of furniture and house furnishings. In the older Burman house furniture in our sense hardly existed. At the present time tables and chairs, and bedsteads and bookcases, are almost universal. It speaks very highly for the craft-worker of Burma, firstly, that his original "utility" articles were so artistic as to attract buyers who used them only as ornaments, and, secondly, that he has so readily adapted his craft to the production of articles not only artistic but useful in a civilization so different to that in which he was trained.

To help him in this transition, no institution has played

so important a part as the Art and Craft Exhibitions held annually in Rangoon for upwards of twenty years. For some years, also, competitions have been organized in connection with this exhibition, and small money prizes and medals and diplomas have been awarded by Government. The exhibition, like Topsy, "just grewed." It has no charter nor legal origin, but the privilege of displaying a medal won at the Exhibition, or the right to put over the small jungle workshop "First Grade Craftsman at the Government Exhibition," has probably done more to keep alive and improve the indigenous arts of Burma than anything else. Another important function of the Exhibition was that it became really a Trade Fair, and this was the only time in the year when a large part of the buying public could come in direct contact with the actual makers of the articles. But the Exhibition only lasted a week, and at other times of the year would-be purchasers could only get things through friends up-country. At the end of the week, too, the workers would often sell off the rest of their stock at a loss to dealers or others rather than cart it back up-country, and their net advantage was thus minimized.

But gradually the individuality and charm of Burmese work was becoming known outside Burma, and at the British Industries Fair of 1920 an attempt was made to find a wider outlet. The few articles sent attracted very favourable attention, but unfortunately it was a time of very high rupee exchange which had fallen before the goods could be delivered, and the sterling prices quoted proved too low. There was also difficulty in getting the makers to fill the contracts within the stipulated time. Hence no appearance was made at the Fair of 1921, though several of those who had been attracted in 1920 made enquiries.

In the spring of 1921 the new Department of Industries was started, and as regards Arts and Crafts its first activities were directed to establishing a Depot in Rangoon

for the sale of Arts and Craft ware. The Depot was opened in the beginning of May in a large room adjoining the office of the Director of Industries which is in the heart of the business part of the town. From the start it was realized that to treat it as a sample-room or museum simply for the booking of orders would render the whole scheme nugatory, for the buying public are largely tourists or casual visitors to Rangoon who simply do not buy unless they can get the things at once. They have no opportunity themselves to go to the makers, nor are they as a rule long enough in Rangoon to wait while the things are ordered from up-country. There is also a considerable number of cases where people will buy on the spur of the moment but will not be bothered to order and wait. Lastly, with craft-workers repetitions are not always successful or exact replicas, and people will buy an actual article which they like, but will not order one like it for fear of getting something not so pleasing.

Equally, it was impracticable to ask the workers to put their goods on commission sale. Most of them are exceedingly poor and cannot afford to lay out their little money. Often they have to borrow to buy raw materials and to live while articles are being made. If not sold at once, they are required to deposit the made articles with the money-lender or to sell them to him at a reduced price in order to get further advances, and this they cannot do if the articles are sent to Rangoon for sale on commission. The Burma Government therefore generously agreed to advance a sum of Rs. 20,000 (£1,333) to enable the Depot to purchase goods outright from the makers. The cost of packing, freight, etc., to Rangoon, if any, was added, and then a further 1 anna in the rupee ($6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.) was added to cover the cost of running the Depot.

The success of this experiment was most striking. Sales in June amounted to Rs. 2,000, and they increased roughly by Rs. 1,000 a month up to the end of the year. The whole capital was turned over in about six months, and at

the end of the year Government increased the advance to Rs. 50,000 (£3,333). It took some time for the workers to realize the advantages of the Depot, and as no advertising was done the general public did not immediately become aware of the existence of the Depot. Gradually, however, these initial difficulties were overcome, and it is already possible to appreciate the many ways in which such a Depot can be of use.

The first of these in importance consists in improving the standard of work. Some of the best craftsmen had taken entirely to other occupations. One reason was that during the war no tourists came and the residents were not spending money, either because money was tight or because they were not going on leave to Europe, or because transport on the high seas was difficult. But a more cogent reason was that the dealers would not pay for good work. They seemed to prefer a quantity of cheap stuff of Burmese character, but poor workmanship on which they could make high profits. The cost of living had gone up enormously, and a rate of remuneration which formerly kept a worker in comfort no longer sufficed to keep him alive. He found that he must increase his output or charge more for his work. When the latter was impossible, he either skimped his work so as to increase his output or simply took up another occupation. This in Burma is easy and is frequently done. The real artist who took a pride in his work would not produce the inferior stuff, and so the ranks were thinned by the loss largely of the more conscientious artists. Several of these have now gladly taken up the work again because the Depot has not been afraid to let it be known that a better price will be paid for better work. In this respect the Depot has attempted to get the workers to price their own articles. It does not bargain with them. It says, "We want you to get a fair remuneration. You know best what that is, but you should remember that if you ask too much no one will buy your things, and you will not get any more orders."

On the whole this has worked extremely well. There is competition among workers, and if a man has placed too high a price on an article, he has been told when he came again that nothing more could be bought as his prices were so high or the work so indifferent that no one had been found to buy the things bought from him before. Advice is given to them not to ask too much, and of course in the last resort the Depot can and simply does refuse to buy things because it feels that they cannot be disposed of.

The second great use of such a Depot is to provide a continuing market throughout the year. It has already been noticed that the annual exhibition was of use in bringing the up-country maker into direct contact with the larger buying public of Rangoon, and this Depot has made this market continuous throughout the year. Many of the Burmese cottage-crafts are seasonal occupations. This is either because one-half of the year is very wet and the other very dry, and some trades can only be plied either in the wet or the dry season, or because the worker is an agriculturist first and a craftsman second. In the latter case he goes to his fields as soon as the rain breaks, and will not follow his craft again till the crop is reaped in the following cold weather. Such a worker will often sell his whole output to a dealer as soon as the season ends, and equally the dealer must lay in his year's stock in the few months when the makers are at work. Demand, however, is mostly even throughout the year, but without a Depot in the central market, which can act as a reservoir for such makers, would-be purchasers can get their wants supplied only during a few months of the year and by casual meetings with the local dealers. Much potential demand in this way never materialized under the old system, and many people who have been long resident in the country never knew of the existence of some crafts in Burma until they saw the products in the Rangoon Depot.

For the makers who work throughout the year the Depot has been a godsend. If they live near they are

encouraged to bring in their wares personally at short intervals, and the purchase of them enables them to commence other work at once without waiting for a sale and without the waste of time involved in hawking the stuff round. Workers who live farther up country are advised to bring their work down monthly or quarterly. Personal visits are recommended, because it enables the workers to study the work of other craftsmen, and gives the officials of the Depot an opportunity to recommend alterations and improvements and to suggest new patterns.

This latter activity constitutes another important use of the Depot. Gradually the Depot acquires a very valuable knowledge of the wants of the public, and by personal contact with the makers can help them to make their articles more in accordance with public taste and requirements. New designs and patterns are much more necessary than is realized by the makers of "fancy" goods. And this applies very particularly to the export market. When they were making "utility" articles for use in Burmese households there was little or no need to change patterns. The same thing perhaps sold better for being the same year by year. Housewives do not follow changing fashions in frying-pans, but when the things are put on the stalls at the White City the position is quite different. An article which will sell readily as a "novelty" in the fancy goods line one year may not find a single buyer next year when the novelty has worn off. To keep a place in the export market therefore it is necessary to have a constant change of pattern and design. Only experience can tell what lines are likely to go well, and the Depot in Rangoon is a necessity as a disseminator of new ideas.

Closely connected with this function is that of establishing standards of work. In connection with the exhibition competitions for different grades of workers were organized, and, as already mentioned, the privilege of calling oneself a "First-Grade Craftsman" is highly prized. But, unfortunately, possession of a first-grade certificate does not

always mean first-grade work when there is no competition. The Depot has already been able to do a good deal in classifying work as it comes in, and by refusing to take over indifferent or slipshod work has been able already to produce a noticeable improvement in many classes of craftware. It is hoped in time to organize juries of craftsmen, who will themselves classify all work sent in for purchase by the Depot.

The work has only just begun, but it may justly be claimed that a good deal has been done in one year. In conclusion, it may be said that the Burmese are a race of artists, and that it has been a continuing delight to work with them and a source of pride if one has been able to help them.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SUITABILITY OF THE PRINCIPLES AND
METHODS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERN-
MENT TO THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF
EASTERN PEOPLES

BY WILLIAM SAUNDERS

I

THE nature of the principles of Representative Government is largely, if not entirely, embodied in John Stuart Mill's famous definition, "that the whole people exercise, through deputies periodically elected by themselves, the ultimate controlling power, which, in every constitution, must reside somewhere. This ultimate power they must possess in all its completeness. They must be masters, whenever they please, of all the operations of government." This is the general political aspect of the idea, but Representative Government implies more than a merely political proposition. There are vast underlying philosophical considerations which, in an investigation of such a character as the subject of this essay necessitates, cannot be ignored. And, again, Mill is found to have forestalled, to a large extent, modern reasoning upon the subject, and has provided us with a statement of the case, which, so far as the philosophical content of Representative Government is concerned, could scarcely be bettered. "All government," he writes, "which aims at being good is an organization of some part of the good qualities existing in the individual members of the community, for the conduct of its collective affairs. A representative constitution is a means of bringing the general standard of intelligence and honesty existing in the community, and the individual intellect and virtue of its wisest members, more directly to bear upon the government, and investing them with greater influence in it than they would in general have under any other mode of

organization ; though, under any, such influence as they do have is the source of all good that there is in the government, and the hindrance of every evil that there is not. The greater the amount of these good qualities which the institutions of a country succeed in organizing, the better the mode of organization, the better will be the government."

As will be seen, when the political and economic conditions of Eastern peoples come to be considered, there are external factors which have a distinct and important bearing upon the question, that are not covered by Mr. Mill's metaphysical description, yet, in dealing with any Eastern question, the psychological aspect is always the phase upon which an ultimate answer depends, and it is to that consideration that primary and chief attention must be directed. The great barriers to any sort of reform in Oriental countries are the ingrained divergences of ideals and aspirations between the peoples of the East and those of the West ; the great prevalence of caste, and the extreme racial and religious antagonisms, all of them psychological in character, and consequently all the more dangerous to combat and difficult to reconcile with the attitudes and beliefs of alien communities. The caste system, so characteristic of our Indian Empire, is the rock upon which all schemes for the introduction of ideas of political equality there must eventually be wrecked. It is the framework of nearly all Eastern civilizations, and its origin and still widely extended prevalence lies deeply rooted in the Eastern mind. So, likewise, are the religions of the East, with all the fatalistic influence they exert, largely mental attitudes. The Muhammadan, Buddhist, and Confucian points of view are different from, even when not positively opposed to, those of the Christian. It is, on the other hand, chiefly upon the ethical structure of Christianity that the principles of Representative Government are built, and to educate Orientals in the doctrines necessary for their reception and application would require not only the greatest possible tact, but an ability on the part of the instructor of effecting a mental

change in his pupils, such as few, if any, Western political thinkers possess.

John Stuart Mill lays down three conditions which are necessary for the perfect working of the political machine, viz. :

1. "The people for whom the form of government is intended must be willing to accept it; or at least not so unwilling as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment.

2. "They must be willing and able to do what is necessary to keep it standing.

3. "They must be willing and able to do what it requires of them to enable it to fulfil its purposes."

He then goes on to explain that the word "do" must include forbearances as well as actual deeds. "They must be capable of fulfilling the conditions of action, and the conditions of self-restraint, which are necessary either for keeping the established polity in existence, or for enabling it to achieve the ends, its conduciveness to which forms its recommendation." All three conditions are essential, and the failure of any one of them renders the form of government, "whatever favourable promise it may otherwise hold out, unsuitable to the particular case."

So far as Representative Government is concerned, it is still highly problematical to what extent the first condition may be held to apply to Eastern peoples. There have recently been indications that seemed to point to a political awakening in Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and China, but investigators have since thrown considerable doubt upon the fact of these so-called revolutions having amounted to more than what may be the equivalent of a mere change of Government in this country. About the unsuitability and unpreparedness of Eastern peoples for the acceptance of the other two conditions in their relation to Representative Government, however, there can be no manner of doubt whatever. John Stuart, Mill himself, to some extent, anticipates the argument of such a case: "A rude people,

though in some degree alive to the benefits of civilized society, may be unable to practise the forbearances which it demands: their passions may be too violent, or their personal pride too exacting, to forgo private conflict, and leave to the laws the avenging of their real or supposed wrongs. In such a case, a civilized government, to be really advantageous to them, will require *to be in a considerable degree despotic*; to be one over which they do not themselves exercise control, and which imposes a great amount of forcible restraint upon their actions."

There we have an all but complete picture of the present-day political conditions of Eastern peoples, and as he proceeds, it is found that the great thinker actually had the peoples of the Orient in his mind when the paragraph was written; he is indeed, rightly or wrongly, quite definite on the point:

"A people who are more disposed to shelter a criminal than to apprehend him; who, like the Hindoos, will perjure themselves to screen the man who has robbed them, rather than take trouble or expose themselves to vindictiveness by giving evidence against him."

The true functions of government are the attainment of order, the administration of justice, and the furtherance of the highest welfare of those under its jurisdiction. Although open to criticism, there is yet much truth in the Benthamite definition of a perfect government, "The attainment of the greatest good of the greatest number," and there are still many estimable people who regard Pope's oft-quoted dictum that "whate'er is best administered is best" as more in accordance with the principles of sane political philosophy than the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's "good government can never be a substitute for government by the people themselves." Whether such is actually the case in the East is a matter upon which there may be differences of opinion. Individuals of the Campbell-Bannerman school, so imbued with the Anglo-Saxon point of view, are too apt to overestimate the political capacities of other

racess whose standpoint may, without being actually antagonistic, be different, a fact which renders them quite incapable, under existing circumstances, of working in a manner likely to prove to be to their highest advantage a system of government which no one disputes is ideally the best, but which, good as it is, may, in certain circumstances, prove decidedly the worst. Mill, in the very opening chapter of his treatise on "Representative Government," lays it down as an axiom that "no one believes that every people is capable of working every sort of institutions." A careful examination of the existing political and economic conditions of Eastern peoples should, however, further demonstrate whether, quite apart from the question of mere capability, they are yet ready to receive the advantages of this ideally best form of government, and whether, even if they are ready, it is the best form just yet for their immediate political requirements.

II

The late Professor Butcher, in one of his brilliantly illuminating works, very truly remarks that "from the dawn of history Eastern politics have been *stricken with a fatal simplicity*." Needless to say, this unflattering description is particularly applicable to the fundamental principle upon which the political and economic fabric common to Eastern communities is built. Commenting upon the assertion made by Professor Butcher, the Earl of Cromer writes :

"Do not let us for one moment imagine that the fatally simple idea of despotic rule will readily give way to the far more complex conception of ordered liberty. The transformation, if it ever takes place at all, will probably be the work, not of generations, but of centuries." Yet there is no lack of intellectuality and potential educative energy among the peoples of the East, while as an aid towards the complete fruition of their native intelligence, all the civilizing influences of Western Europe lie ready to their hands. Nay, further, it is not only in Eastern countries, themselves,

where replicas of our institutions for the primary, secondary and higher education of the natives have been founded and endowed, that enlightenment may be acquired by the natives, but practically all the schools and universities of Western Europe have thrown open their doors to them, and not only welcome them to attend upon an equal footing with Europeans, but in many cases they have gone out of their way to accord them special privileges and facilities for the better acquirement of a liberal education. This should have a vastly broadening influence upon the minds of those to whom such opportunities are open, and they being largely drawn from the governing, journalistic, and professional classes, that influence ought to be continually filtering downwards, gradually leavening the masses and tending to fit them for the reception of such liberal principles as are embodied in the term "Representative Government." And, in point of fact, recent years have actually shown a distinct tendency in the Eastern world in the direction of so-called Republicanism. Turkey, Persia, and China has each in turn had its "Revolution," its "Young Liberal" enthusiasm, and its paper Constitution. But, alas! to the student of Oriental politics it is already too well known that the net result of them all has in each case been simply the substitution of one despotism for another. The past history of the East is full of such upheavals, but it is only with the advent of the twentieth century that it has become the fashion to call the new *régime* by the name of "Republic."

With regard to China, which at present is fairly typical of a liberalizing Eastern community, the opinion of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, who has said that "the East has an extraordinary faculty of assimilating all the worst features of any new civilization with which it is brought in contact," while ignoring its virtues, is amply confirmed by Mr. J. O. P. Bland, whose book entitled, "Recent Events and Present Policies in China," published in 1912, brings the subject practically up to date. "Where Young China," he

says, "has cast off the ethical restraints and patriotic morality of Confucianism, it has failed to assimilate, or even to understand, the moral foundations of Europe's civilization. It has exchanged its old lamp for a new, but it has not found the oil which the new vessel needs to lighten the darkness withal."

And we have it on the high authority of no less a personage than Prince Ito, that "the sentiments of foreign educated Young China are hopelessly out of touch with the masses." Yet, while they have utterly failed to acquire from our civilization anything at all likely to enhance the prospects of the political and economic regeneration of the Empire, they have been ever too ready to adopt much of the evil. "The inauguration of the Republican idea of constitutional government in China," writes Mr. Bland, "can only mean, in the present state of the people, continual transference of an illegal despotism from one group of political adventurers to another, the pretence of popular representation serving merely to increase and perpetuate instability."

Another, and not the least important, factor which must be taken into account in an investigation of this character is the difference of ideals common to the peoples of Eastern and Western nations. No amount of intercourse with European peoples, or study in our educational institutions, with their consequent tendency to the growth of Western culture amongst such as have thus been privileged, has ever succeeded in eliminating from the minds of even the most adaptive Orientals the ideals and points of view of their race, religion, and caste.

And when one considers the fact that popular representation, even in England, probably on the whole the most democratically governed of any nation in the world, is a thing not of to-day or of yesterday, but the material result and survival of centuries of internecine strife, and of long political and economic evolution, and that it is even here still a very imperfect and incomplete philosophical idea, one may be permitted to doubt whether even the

most intellectually advanced portions, not of China alone, but of any other part of the Orient whatever, may be considered as yet being even approximately ready to receive the most modified system of that mode of government. The principles and methods of Representative Government, as we know it to-day, embody the accumulated habits and traditions of numberless generations of individuals in whom the genius for political thought and legislative activity has long been inherent. The Oriental, on the other hand, has never known any other form of government than that of the strong hand of despotism and absolutism, and under it he has developed habits of political indifference and mental passivity, added to which is a spirit of indolence and fatalism, doubly intensified by the peculiar tenets of his religious beliefs. Thus it is, as Mr. Bland so aptly concludes, that with the problematical exception of Canton and the Kuang Provinces, "China, as every educated Chinese knows (unless, like Sun Yat-Sen, he has been brought up abroad), the idea of rapidly transforming the masses of the population into an intelligent electorate, and of making a Chinese Parliament the expression of their collective political vitality, is a vain dream, possible only for those who ignore the inherent character of the Chinese people."

With the simple alteration of the names of the country and people, this passage might well be taken as a description of any Oriental race, the Japanese perhaps alone excepted.

(To be continued.)

"LORD READING'S TASK IN INDIA": A CRITICISM

SIR,

In the April issue appeared, in answer to Mr. Rice, the most powerful, because the most reasonable, attack on Western civilization as it affects India that I have yet seen, and would almost justify Mr. Gandhi's ideas, though not his methods of carrying them out. Mr. Lalitmohan Singh's account of the inevitable result of trade with Europe and the equalization of prices all over the world is a terrible tragedy. I have

always argued that a good steady market, like London, must be a good thing for the ryot who has a real surplus to dispose of; but for the rest—that is, the great bulk—the enormous rise in prices which he describes is a calamity, and apparently the only remedy is a corresponding rise in the wages of labour, as to which he gives us no information. He says that up to the time of our arrival “the Indians were enjoying a sound sleep in their comparative abundance and superfluities.” He does not mention the fact that, owing to constant internal strife after the collapse of the Mogul Empire (only two hundred years ago), and the ravages of Mahrattas, Pindaries, and even Thugs, land in the extreme south, at any rate, had ceased to have any saleable value, because no one could be sure of reaping his crop. It is true that the opening up of India created a world demand for her produce; but the same thing happened to America and Japan, and they are supposed to have benefited enormously by the change, though in Japan, at least, the sudden rise in prices must have been equally disastrous to the poorer classes.

He says nothing of famine in the olden time, when people often died of starvation within one hundred miles of “superfluities” simply for want of any means of communication. He calls the trade which has sprung up between such villages and provinces the “exploitation” of one by the other; but that is an unfair way of stating the case, and “development” is a truer word than “exploitation” even in international commerce. At the same time it is impossible to deny that for the poor such trade produces hardship to begin with till wages rise to suit; and even then it is quite arguable that Mr. Gandhi was right in thinking that it was better for the country when everyone ploughed his own land and made his own clothes. However that may be, it is pretty certain the world will never go back to that Golden Age—if it was so golden—and we must do the best we can with things as they are. I cannot help thinking that his own critic exaggerated the superiority of the English over the Indian merchant. It is some years since I was in Bombay, but I was told that all the best houses on Malabar Hill are occupied by Indian, not English, merchants, much less, too, English officials. I agree with him that it would be better if more of the produce of India were consumed by its own people; but it is unfortunately true that in no country can the poor afford the better sort of food, or even as much as they would like of any food. Its usurers have always been a feature of Indian (and agricultural) life everywhere, and co-operative banks, of which there is no mention in this paper, seem to be the only feasible remedy.

It is not true, of course, that *all* the profits of trade go to Europe or other foreign countries, or that Indians are only employed as “clerks or coolies.” Such exaggerations spoil an otherwise thought-provoking paper; and we ought to have been told something as to the actual rise in wages in the last fifty years.

J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S. (retd.)

[N.B.—For previous contributions on this subject see July, 1921, p. 386, and January, 1922.]

RAI LALITMOHAN SINGH RŌY BAHADUR

"SHINAR OF THE OLD TESTAMENT"

THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN
ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

April 5, 1922.

To the Editor of THE ASIATIC REVIEW

SIR,

The statements of the writer of the article entitled "Shinar of the Old Testament" in the April number of your review, that "most modern Assyriologists with unwarranted licence transcribe these signs of TIN. TIR. as *Bab-ili* or Babylon," and that the late Professor L. W. King "arbitrarily transcribes these signs systematically" (*sic*), deserve some attention: Your contributor states outright that these signs "possess no such values." The Babylonian scribes, whose authority Professor King was content to accept, were quite certain that they did, since they used the "arbitrary" transcription (see Brünnow, "List of Cuneiform Ideographs," No. 9,858; and compare Meissner, "Seltene assyrische Ideogramme," No. 7,484).

The competence of your contributor to pass criticism on scholars like Professor King and M. Thureau-Dangin, whom he also includes in his censure, may be judged from the following facts. The Babylonian scribes themselves believed the signs to be TIN and TIR (see Meissner, No. 7,485). They considered the signs to be an ideogram, meaning "the abode of life." "The great tower of Grain and Wine" is a pure effort of the creative imagination. Babylonian temple towers were solid constructions of brickwork, which could not possibly be used as storehouses. The Hebrews were not the people who first "misrepresented and embroidered with fiction" the origin of the Tower of Babel. The miraculous circumstances which led to the building of Esagila and E-temen-an-ki by the divine Anunnaki are described at length in the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Epic (see Budge, "Babylonian Legend of the Creation," pp. 57-62). A more mischievous and equally groundless assertion is that the city name "She-nir" for Babylon is found in early Sumerian documents of about 2950 B.C. "She-nir" (properly TIR) does not mean Babylon; TIN. TIR. KI is used in documents of the new Babylonian period only, and does not occur in early Sumerian documents. The excellent illustrations which accompany the article have no effect on the argument whatever; the sign TIR alone of course occurs in all periods. The discovery that the sign TIR is a compound of ŠE and NIR is no discovery; it has long been common property (see Delitzsch, "Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems," 136), and is indeed obvious. That it is to be read *She-nir* is demonstrably false. TIN in the practice of Babylonian scribes is always to be read *tin* or *din* if used with a phonetic value. The peculiarities of usage by certain local scribes at Caesarea (Mazaca) about 2250 B.C. have nothing to do with the ideogram TIN. TIR. KI used by new Babylonian scribes from 600 B.C. onwards. Whatever be the origin of Shin'ar, which your contributor quaintly transcribes *ŠA-n-ar*, it is not to be found in the non-existent *Ti-She-Nir* which he has evolved; and to connect the latter with the Hittite god Teshub (not Tishe) is even more fanciful. The Accadian name of Babylon was Bab-ili, "the gate of God" (not "place of

the gate of God"). It was not normally spelt Bab-il-lu, as he supposes; if such a spelling does occur, it is merely a scribal vagary.

Were it necessary to say more, we might explain the excellent and numerous grounds Assyriologists can adduce for being quite certain that **KA. DINGIR. RA** is to be so read, and for holding to the perfectly satisfactory identification of Heb. *Kasdim* with Assyrian *Kaldu*; but we cannot suppose that any of your readers will be misled by a writer capable of the errors already exposed, and of making such errors the basis for censure upon acknowledged experts.

We have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servants,

SIDNEY SMITH,

C. J. GADD.

MR. SITARAM'S PAPER ON INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

(See pp. 386-406)

SIR,

The author of this paper has made some strong accusations of vandalism against British officers in India in the matter of their treatment of Hindu architectural remains—accusations which cannot be allowed to pass without comment. He bases his complaint, apparently, on some special instances which have come to his notice.

In certainly three of his specific instances, as I proceed to show, his assertions are totally inaccurate:

1. He writes: "The representatives of an enlightened Government" [that is to say, the British Government] "... saw to it that ... the marbles and remains of some at least of the Krishna stupas found a due place in furnishing lime and road-paving." I am personally acquainted with one instance of the sort of thing he refers to, since I was at the time of its occurrence, thirty-six years ago, acting as Collector of the Krishna District. I never heard of any other, and I believe there never was another.

At Bhattiprolu, a village not far from the Krishna River, stood at that time a mass of heavy brickwork, almost shapeless, though roughly circular, near to which, lying about uncared for, were a few sculptured marble slabs. An English engineer officer, finding it necessary to repair the sluice of a canal (which was of great value to the agriculturists of the neighbourhood and was in serious danger), and, being in want of material, made careful inquiry amongst the Hindu residents, village officers, Brahmans and elders, and ascertained that, whatever the original structure might have been, it belonged to an age and faith now quite forgotten; that it was looked upon as a rubbish-heap, from which anybody always took what he wanted, and that no one living had any interest in it. The officer therefore thought no harm in taking some of the bricks and some of the stones for the required repairs. No stone was burnt for lime, nor was any used for road-making.

The incident coming to my notice not long afterwards, I at once reported it to Government with some strong remarks, begging that all officers should be warned against acting in similar manner. The necessary orders were accordingly issued, and the disapproval of the Government unmistakably expressed.

2. Another instance of British vandalism referred to by Mr. Sitaram is the alleged destruction of the stone car in a temple at Vijayanagar. His assertion is that "Vijayanagar possessed . . . till recently a stone car till the attention of the local Collector was drawn to it."

Here, again, I am in a position to give a full explanation, since I am evidently the "Collector" whose conduct is found so reprehensible.

This car, which stands in the open, exposed to all weathers, is structural, not monolithic. It originally supported a *sikhara*, or tall superstructure of brick and plaster, resembling the tower of a temple or a pinnacle in stages. This *sikhara* having by the year 1883 almost disappeared owing to centuries of weathering, an engineer officer in the employ of the Archæological Department sought for, and obtained, permission to restore it. A subordinate of that department carried out the work in brick and plaster. Several years later—I think in 1891—being then Collector of the District, I visited Vijayanagar in company with Mr. C. J. Peters, of the Public Works Department—an officer of great ability, long experience, and one who took the keenest interest in the antiquities of India. We were greatly concerned to find that the entire body of the car was disintegrating, and that the stones of which it was built were cracking in all directions. Gaps were widening, and it was evident that this interesting monument was in danger of collapse. After careful examination Mr. Peters decided that it could only be saved by first removing the newly added superincumbent weight of brick, and, secondly, by pinning the slabs of stone together, supporting the heavy roofing stone, and shoring up the whole.

Permission being obtained from the Government, this work was carried out, the supporting metal-work being as far as possible concealed from view; and when I left India in 1894 I had the satisfaction of feeling that I had saved the car from otherwise inevitable destruction. Mr. Sitaram considers me guilty of vandalism for my action in the matter. He is welcome to his opinion, but I am happy to think that not many reasonable people will agree with him.

3. Mr. Sitaram contrasts favourably the buildings of the High Court of Judicature at Madras with those of the Presidency College. He states that the latter are characteristic of the "aesthetics of the Public Works Department. "What a contrast!" he writes. "The High Court is an ornament as viewed from the beach and a thing of beauty, with its light rotating and flashing,* and its domes scintillating against a glorious tropical sky." This magnificent edifice, he tells us, "owed its inspiration chiefly to an *Indian master-builder*." Hence his rhapsody. This is, indeed, news to me. I happen to know that the designer and architect was an Englishman, an old friend of mine, who had deeply studied Hindu and Muhammadan architecture, especially the style called "Indo-Saracenic." His name was ROBERT FELLOWES CHISHOLM, for many years Government architect, Madras, and lately deceased. His designs had been on exhibition in the Royal Academy in London. I am glad that the lecturer so greatly admires this proof of Mr. Chisholm's genius.

R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.).

* What has that to do with the architecture?

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

THE "SIBYLLINE BOOKS" OF INDIA*

BY STANLEY RICE

INDIA is the land of mystery. Out of the darkness of centuries she looms, a veiled, indistinct figure, holding out to us Sibylline scrolls for us to make of them what we can. The riddle, indeed, seemed insoluble. Dark, mystic sayings of ancient sages, interwoven with the sagas of bygone kings and the mythological lore of the gods—all put together with no regard to the orderly sequence of time or even to the insistent demands of probability—presented such a tangled skein of narrative as defied the very Muse of History to unravel. And now at last the patient labours of her sworn servants have to some extent sorted the ravelled threads, and have lifted a corner of the veil beneath which the mystic form of ancient India was hidden. Now at last, with some semblance of probability, we catch glimpses of those ancient States that flourished with a polity all their own; of those ancient sages who wandered through the forests in search of truth, or stood at the king's right hand to advise; of that toiling, patient folk who through the centuries have come down to us almost unchanged, to show us in their lives of every day what were the lives of the dead past; even of those noble women upon whom the shadow of seclusion had not yet fallen in a vain attempt to keep them untouched by the follies and the frailties of mankind; and, finally, of a vast land, with its changing rivers and its unchanging hills, with its widespread plains and its impenetrable jungles.

So hopeless seemed the quest, so inextricable the tangle, that for a long time scholars despaired of obtaining anything so coherent as to deserve the name of "history." Pale shadows of kings that were no more than a name flitted across the page, yet soon so shrouded in the mists of mythology and extravagance that their forms could scarcely be discerned. For such obscurity we have to

* "The Cambridge Indian History." Edited by Professor Rapson. Cambridge University Press. 42s.

thank the chroniclers of those ancient times. The history of India, as of so many other countries, began with the sagas of court poets, whose business it was to praise their patrons, and often to attribute to them, with the exuberance of Oriental fancy, divine and even miraculous origins and deeds of prowess that belonged of right to their ancestors or their successors. And when the records fell into the hands of Brahmins the confusion became worse confounded. We need not blame them over much. The world and its doings were of small account in their eyes; if the doctrine of Maya had not as yet been formulated, at least these ancient sages acted upon its implications, and to them the vast questionings of the Unseen, the instinctive desire of man to investigate both the origin of natural phenomena and the unknown destinies of the future, counted far more than the mere narrative of the doings of ephemeral princes and the structure of the temporary kingdoms over which they ruled. "Literatures controlled by Brahmins or by Jain or Buddhist monks must naturally represent systems of faith rather than nationalities. They must deal with thought rather than with action, with ideas rather than with events." Hence, "as records of political progress, they are deficient. By their aid alone it would be impossible to sketch the outline of the political history of any of the nations of India before the Muhammadan conquest."

That is the verdict of Professor Rapson, and if history had been content to rely upon these records alone and had continued to hold that her only function was to investigate political systems and to record the battles of warring peoples or of ambitious princes, we should have had to rest content with that verdict. Fortunately we have travelled beyond this conception. It is a commonplace of to-day, yet the discovery of yesterday, that the record of ancient documents may be checked and supplemented by the evidence from other sources, chief among them being coins, monuments, and inscriptions. And it is to-day recognized that history is not solely concerned with the military expeditions of conquerors, with the rise and downfall of States, or even with the political problems of their constitutions, but with the structure of society, with the lives, the occupations, the customs, and the pleasures of the people, with the development of their literature and their art, and with the progress of their legal and religious systems.

For some obscure reason the ancient history of India has attracted the ordinary man less than that of the bygone

empires of Egypt and Assyria. One would have supposed that the early development of a people with whose fate our own has been so intimately bound up for 150 years would have been of special interest to the Englishman. For the English have had unrivalled opportunities for such a study. No nation has had such easy access to the records; no nation has lived in such close intimacy with one of the most conservative peoples on the earth—a people whose habits closely correspond to-day with what we know of those habits 3,000 years ago. Yet interest in India, except in times of stirring excitement, has always been weak in England. That which Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee sadly admitted the other day was proclaimed by Macaulay in the House of Commons in 1833. "The House," he declared, "... is as far as ever from being a representative of the Indian people. A broken head in Cold Bath Fields produces a greater sensation among us than three pitched battles in India."

Yet perhaps Macaulay was himself to blame for this apathy and this ignorance of the English people. In 1835, in his famous Education Minute, he poured scorn upon the entire content of Sanskrit and Arabic literature, and by his fiery eloquence he won the victory for the cause of English education in India. Many results have flowed from that victory; many have been beneficial, some have doubtless been harmful. The controversy has not yet ceased, but it has not generally been reckoned amongst the adverse influences that the scorn of such a man as Macaulay, reflecting surely what others felt who were without his gift of expression, must have gone far to discourage the study of Sanskrit and Arabic. "To encourage the study," he exclaimed, "of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved." To Macaulay the sacred literature of the Hindus taught men merely "how to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what text of the *Vedas* they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat." The only History to be extracted was monstrous tales of "kings 30 feet high and reigns 30,000 years long"; the only Geography fairy tales of "seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Can it then be wondered at that the study of Sanskrit has been regarded as the province of the learned who,

if they chose to waste their time over such extravagances, were welcome to do so? Obsessed with the glories of Greek literature, as the musical world was obsessed with the superiority of the German School, cultivated men, to whom Achilles and Agamemnon, Œdipus and Medea were almost household words, were ignorant that embedded in the classical Sanskrit were conceptions of women such as Sita and Draupadi, Vasantasena, and Sakuntala, to whom Antigone and Penelope alone among Greek heroines can compare for tender grace and passionate devotion. Or if they had at least heard the names they were none the wiser and did not care to pursue the subject. Nor was this all. By educating the native of India in English and by relegating Sanskrit knowledge to the pundits, we did away with any incentive to learn the language, and so, except the few who have made it a pleasant recreation, there are now none who know or care to study the classical Sanskrit. Had the Orientalists had their way, had the teaching of Sanskrit prevailed over that of English, who can doubt that professors would have arisen in England eager to preach in Indian schools, and thereby perhaps have created a renaissance in England comparable to the Renaissance of Greek and Latin in the fifteenth century? This is not to say that Macaulay was not right in his ultimate judgment, that the benefits which have flowed to India from the teaching of English have not far outweighed its disadvantages; but it was a shallow judgment, only excused by the ignorance of the time that saw nothing of social and political life to be gleaned by scholarship from the mass of writings handed down to us by Brahman, Jain and Buddhist, and that contemptuously relegated the whole library to extravagant mythology and incredible fairy tale.

Yet if modern scholarship has accomplished much, much still remains to be done. The framework of all history, as Dr. Vincent Smith has pointed out, is chronology; without dates, the bugbear of schoolboys and of loose or lazy thinkers, we are as a ship without a compass. Owen Wister, in a recent book, has put the point fantastically. "Suppose," he says in effect, "someone were to make the assertion that Magna Charta was signed in 1066 by Edward III. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the presence of Sir Walter Raleigh, what should we think of it?" Yet that is the kind of confusion that arises and has actually arisen in Indian History in the absence of dates. Brahman historians have confused kings of the same name, living at periods far apart, they have confounded

historical with mythological persons; they have transferred historical events from one locality to another; and they have freely turned history into fable to point some edifying moral.

Lastly, the very dates of the records themselves are still undecided, and with them the historical value of such records. There was a time when the Puranas were held to belong to so late an era as the eleventh century A.D., but Dr. Vincent Smith tells us that they were authoritative, even in the fourth century B.C., and Mr. Pargiter suggests that some of them may be placed anywhere between the fifth and seventh centuries B.C. It is obvious that a difference in date amounting to a period nearly as long as the Christian era must leave considerable doubt as to the value of the record: a contemporary account of the destruction of Pompeii has a very different value from that of one written yesterday and based upon oral tradition.

The single clear date that stands out in ancient Indian history is that of the rise of the Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta. The happy discovery by Sir William Jones that this emperor was identical with the Sandracottus of Greek historians, has enabled scholars confidently to ascribe to him a date corresponding within a year or two to 320 B.C., and we are fortunate in that "the establishment of a single paramount power in Hindustan, embracing a part even of the country south of the Vindhya mountains . . . supplies a unity which previously was lacking," and with the foundation of this dynasty "begins the period of continuous history in India." We have, of course, in the episode of Alexander the Great—for although the intrusion of the Greeks into the extreme north-west and the border lands of India continued for some centuries, it has had but little effect on the manners, customs, and institutions of India—we have in this episode a far more coherent narrative, coupled with more definite dates, than can be found in anything preceding it. But this episode only takes us back a few years, and we must be content at present to admit that everything prior to 300 B.C. is only in the conjectural stage.

This it is which to some extent detracts from the volume which the savants have just given to the world under the ægis of Cambridge University. So much of the earlier part of the book is taken up with critical dissertations on the value of the evidence, with argumentative discussions of old theories and the enunciation of new ones, and even with lives of saints like Mahavira, that the reader is obliged

to grope for any coherent narrative such as we expect in history. The plan, too, which Lord Acton favoured of writing history in chapters allotted to specialists in particular subjects is not without its disadvantages, for though the interrelation of the chapters is, on the whole, admirably sustained, and there are no violent contrasts of style, yet each is perhaps inclined to dwell overmuch on the detail of his subject, to the injury of the whole perspective. It may be added that, few as are the pages allotted to Ceylon, no Indian would really include that island at all in his national history, while the references to India in Greek and Roman writers, interesting as they are in themselves, do not very materially assist us to a knowledge of ancient Indian history.

What, then, has historical science to tell us of this ancient people? And what are the lessons we may draw from this encyclopædic work? The great central fact which emerges is that India was divided into two great parts, roughly separated by the line of the Vindhyas—roughly, because in that part of India dealt with by the early records certain western states south of that line are mentioned, and the narrow coast strip called Kalinga on the east stretches well into what is now the Madras Presidency. So little do we know of the earliest kingdoms of the far south that the whole stock of scientific knowledge is compressed into some ten pages. Over the north, then stretching from Gandhara on the borders of Afghanistan to Kalinga on the Bay of Bengal, there were numerous tribal kingdoms, warring with one another as the eternal custom of man has been, and coming into prominence in turn as the wheel of Fortune slowly revolved, and brought uppermost now Ayodhya, now Videha, now Magadha. We grope in vain for any clear picture of the political relations of these early States, but emerge into comparative light when we turn to social organization. We are able to trace the gradual development of caste from the war of the fair against the blacks and the early signs of division into priests, princes, and commons, to the addition of the Sudras and the subdivision of the two lower castes into "an ever-increasing number of endogamous hereditary groups practising one occupation, or at least restricted to a small number of occupations."

It was an amazing Society for those early times. At the head stood the king and ruler, if not of an empire as we know it, often of a considerable and well-organized kingdom, with a modified form of primitive village self-government, to which uncritical enthusiasts have sometimes applied the

magniloquent word, "democracy." The principal officers of the household commanded the troops and superintended the treasury; there was also one particular functionary whose duties seem to have combined judicial and executive functions. Agriculture was then, as now, the main pursuit, and irrigation and the use of manure were not unknown. The people lived in houses of wood, and dressed, it seems, chiefly in woollen garments. For the science of medicine, however, they showed little aptitude, and soon sank to the stage of mere superstition and magic.

And apart from, and yet interwoven with, this daily life of the people, with the quarrels and the justice of princes, with the chariot-racing and dice games of the Court, with the ploughing of the peasant and the industries of weavers, potters, and smiths, was the religious life of the ascetics and of the great philosophical thinkers. Life was not all Elysian. The world was seen to be but temporary, superficial, and a great longing arose to know the Unknowable and to find eternal rest from present existence. But it was only to the pure that this was vouchsafed, and for the attainment of purity men must pass through many transmigrations. Hence arose the doctrine of Karma, which determines at death the nature of the new birth.

Later on there are distinct traces of the influence of aboriginal cult. Elaborate rules are framed to appease the goblins of disease and disaster, rules the observance of which at the present day are the marvel of the foreigner. The ancient ceremony of marriage is still performed, and the defilement of caste by eating and touching the unclean, still one of the prominent features of caste, is indicated. In these minute formularies for the orderly conduct of individual life these Grihya Sutras are reminiscent of Leviticus, though they go far beyond it, not only in scope but in respect of magical rites and incantations. The astonishing thing is that much of the ritual and many of the superstitions have persisted to this day. The Sutras, we are told, inculcate the use of amulets; to-day you may see a man who has been bitten by a snake with a bracelet of straw or grass on his wrist, firmly persuaded that this alone has preserved his life at least until he can reach a more substantial remedy.

Truly a wonderful civilization, were we not accustomed to look to Asia for all the best examples of these early civilizations. Yet how far has it progressed? Here is an account of England in the thirteenth century, which might have been written of India to-day or perhaps any time.

during the last 3,000 years, with the alteration of one or two words peculiar to the English social system :

" Picking our way slowly along the road which, if it be not one of the great trunk routes maintained for the passage of the royal armies, is probably a mere track in the forest, we arrive at last at the village of which we are in search. The cottages of the peasants are huddled together in the centre, and we notice at once how roughly they are built and how they all appear of much the same size. Perhaps a larger house, built of brick and timber instead of wattle and clay, and roofed with shingles instead of thatch, marks the dwelling of the bailiff ; possibly another substantial house is the rectory. . . . Mayhap the church . . . stands in the centre of the village. . . .

" The first thing that strikes us is the absence of . . . hedges. In their places we see only great balks or strips of unploughed turf, under which sheep are lazily feeding . . . the fields are left entirely open, being merely intersected by wandering footpaths . . . and all the winter the fields of the village are as open as a chessboard. Beyond the arable . . . there is fairly sure to be a wide expanse of scrub and woodland, which shuts the village off from the outer world, and which provides rough food for its humbler inmates. . . .

" Oxen are cheaper to work than horses. . . . Each villager of the better sort has his yoke of oxen. . . . As to the ploughs . . . there have been ploughs in the village from time immemorial, and when they need repair they are mended by the village carpenter or the village smith, who in turn receives a certain amount of corn from each of the husbandmen. . . . The oxen and sheep of the villagers feed together on the common wastes; and are looked after not by their respective owners, but by officials acting on behalf of the village as a whole. . . . In the rare event of any new departure from the traditional arrangements the matter is discussed by the villagers gathered around the moot-tree."

Yet, perhaps, if we smile at this unprogressive picture, we shall find that we ourselves have not travelled so very far on the road to civilization except in material things. " What doth the Lord require of thee," said Micah, " but to do justly and to love mercy ?" and that has been the ideal of all nations at all times.

When we reach the invasions of Alexander the Great we seem to have emerged from the rocks and shoals and fogs into a clear and open sea. With the compass of

chronology and the chart of ascertained history to guide him Mr. Bevan had a congenial task in describing that wonderful adventure. Like a meteor Alexander rushed across the Indian sky and like a meteor has left no traces behind him. The phrase is used in its broadest sense. For a while no doubt his great Hellenic Empire did remain on the extreme north-west and even extended for some distance into India proper, but so sublimely unconscious were the great Indian kingdoms of the interior that the great Greek conqueror is not even mentioned in the records of the time. Archæologists have shown the traces of Hellenic influence upon architecture and sculpture; critics, especially German critics, have endeavoured to prove, not without indignant opposition, that Hindu drama is indebted to Greece for its form and its conceptions; and the likeness of the ancient Hindu modes to what we know of the Greek has suggested at least a suspicion that there was some affinity in music also, due to the intercommunication of the peoples. But these things are conjectural. Like the Romans in Britain, the Greeks left little impress upon the country, except in the architecture, though to us they have bequeathed in their coins and in their records priceless material for the reconstruction of history.

And so we come to the great Maurya Empire of the north, with the two outstanding figures of Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty, and of Asoka, the warrior saint, converted, it is said, to justice and mercy by the horrors of the slaughter he himself had caused. Here we have reached a stage where we have the invaluable testimony of Megasthenes to guide us, to be used discriminatingly by the critical historian. Civilization had advanced, towns had sprung up; the country consisted of a regular series of human aggregations, from the primitive and everlasting village through country towns, provincial capitals, and great cities, to the climax in the seat of the royal government. Roads there were and even drains, strictly guarded against contamination: even municipal regulations which betoken the complexity of society. Trade was active and merchandize came in from beyond the sea, pearls from South India and Ceylon, muslin, cotton, and silk from China and Further India. We begin to see more clearly the evolution of modern caste with its infinite ramifications determined by occupation; we begin to see the life of the people, much as it is to-day, sober and frugal at most times, extravagant, and even mildly licentious at the time of festivals.

Here we must leave ancient India in the glory of her first political unity. For if the Maurya Empire, including the outlying provinces, could not be called more than a federation of States, attached to the royal nucleus by ties of varying strength, at least it shows us that India was, and therefore still is, capable of political unity. We have said "and therefore still is," well knowing that critics may advance arguments based upon the mighty changes of centuries, the influx of Islam, the extension of the Empire to the south, and the tendency of race and language to split into well-defined branches. And we have not forgotten that undiscerning enthusiasts may fasten upon the phrase with the triumphant assertion of nationality. We cannot ignore these mighty changes which have so deeply influenced the continent of India, but we believe that her institutions are so deeply rooted, and her character so unchanging, that there is no reason to despair that what was possible then is possible now. For amid all the irruptions from the north-west, amid the strife of kings and the speculations of sages, amid the changes of constitutions and of economic conditions, the life of the people has persisted as, perhaps, nowhere else in the world except China. When the famous New Zealander is sketching the ruins of St. Paul's, the Indian ryot will be found placidly tilling his field, perhaps even in the sight of armies as in the time of Megasthenes.

We take leave of ancient India. We have laboriously pushed our craft through the shoals and the currents, and the thickets which abound at the source, and we have emerged upon the broad stream of authentic history. When next we take up the theme, that stream will grow ever broader until it merges at last with the ocean of a World Empire.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE DAYS OF CHARLES II. A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company. Vol. VI. 1660 to 1663. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury. With Introduction and Notes by William Foster, C.I.E. (Oxford: *Clarendon Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

The five previous volumes of this invaluable Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company covered the period from 1635 to 1659. At the commencement of the triennium from 1660 to 1663, which is here dealt with, we find the entire management of the trade in the hands of the "New General Stock," which had been started in 1657, upon the grant of a new charter from Cromwell. Things were in a bad way, both politically and commercially, and it must have been with deep sincerity that in the Court Minutes of May 17, 1660, a reference is made to the fact that "these are now times of healing." The allusion is, of course, to the Restoration of Charles II., to whom an address of congratulation was presented, together with a gift of silver plate to the value of £3,000. The question of obtaining a new charter was next taken up, and this was granted on April 3, 1661. It was largely a repetition of the patent issued by James I. in 1609; but an interesting new fact emerges in that the Committee resolved, on May 15, 1661, to obtain Parliamentary confirmation of their privileges. It would seem that doubts were felt as to the King's power to act by royal charter; but however this may be, nothing appears to have been done beyond the submission of a draft Bill to the King. The Commons Journals contain no record of the introduction of the Bill. The next item of importance relates to the part played by the Company in the disputes with the Dutch, which led up to the second war of 1665-1667. Some of the documents are now printed for the first time. We see how the Netherlands had largely taken the place of Spain as the national enemy, and how every proposal for diminishing the Dutch power was eagerly welcomed. The controversy in which the Company was principally concerned centred in the island of Pulo Run, in the Banda Archipelago. This island had been restored to the English by the Treaty of Westminster in 1654; but financial stringency had prevented any attempt to take possession of it. No eagerness was shown by the Dutch to hand it over; and the island had not been surrendered when the volume closes, much to the indignation of the Company. Had they realized it, however, a far richer prize was coming to them. The year 1661 brought Bombay by dowry to the British Crown; and it is curious to note that when the Company were approached in October of that year with a suggestion that men and shipping should be sent out at their own charge, and that, at any rate, a portion of the expense should be borne by them, an unfavourable reply was given. Their reluctance was not overcome until they discovered that their trade mono-

poly was likely to be endangered if they stood aloof; and eventually terms were arranged with the Commissioners of the Navy. But the initiative remained with the Government; and it was under their directions that a squadron of five ships set sail for Bombay in the autumn of 1662. James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, was placed in command, and Sir Abraham Shipman was sent out on board with a force of 500 men to take possession and to remain as Governor on behalf of the Crown. A dispute, however, arose with the Portuguese as to whether the word "Bombay," as mentioned in the treaty, signified the island only, or included the dependencies of Bassein, Salsette, and Thana in addition. The result was that the Portuguese Governor refused to hand over the island until he had received further instructions from Lisbon; and Marlborough was obliged to land Shipman and his soldiers on the island of Anjediva, near Goa, where they speedily began to sicken. The later history lies beyond the scope of the volume, but it may be briefly told. In 1664 the force was transferred to Fort St. George, in view of the war with Holland; but by the end of that year Shipman and a large proportion of his men were dead. When at last a landing was effected in Bombay, in March, 1665, only 1 officer and 113 men had survived. By 1668 the Company had awakened to the importance of owning a fortified stronghold on the West Coast, and Bombay, with the whole of its military stores, was made over to them in return for a yearly rent of £10. The work of strengthening the defences was proceeded with, and in 1683-84 Bombay became the headquarters of the Company in India. In 1661, however, the Presidency was at Surat, Sir George Oxenden being appointed to that office in October.

An entry of December 18 of that year furnishes particulars of the various factories. Sir Edward Winter had already been selected as chief on the Coromandel Coast at Madras. William Blake is now "entertained as chief for the Bay" of Bengal; Philip Gifford, at Rajapur (on the West Coast) who was later on taken prisoner by Sivaji, receives an increase in salary from £10 to £20 a year; and "Streynsham Maisters" and Gerald Aungier are "entertained for Suratt," at £30 a year each. In an earlier entry of October 11, 1661, mention occurs of the name of Job Charnock, "factor in the Bay," and of factories at Bantam, Masulipatam, Petapoli, and Viravasaram. The headquarters in the Bay were, of course, at Hooghly. As regards the Malabar coast, we read how in November, 1661, the Dutch captured Quilon, and so embarked upon their scheme for ousting the Portuguese from the pepper ports. Cranganore was stormed early in January, 1662; Cochin capitulated at the end of December; and by February, 1663, the Portuguese had lost Cannanore, their last foothold on the coast. These operations adversely affected the English company, which had established factories at Karwar, Porakad (about forty miles south of Cochin), and Old Kayal (near Tuticorin); and the climax was reached when the Dutch, in March, 1663, compelled the Rajas of Cochin and Porakad to sign treaties which gave them complete control of the pepper produced in those districts. Matters of historical value such as these are sandwiched between a multitude of topics of commercial and minor interest, and Mr. Foster, in his admirably lucid introduction,

affords ample assistance in their discovery. The task of calendaring has been discharged by Miss Sainsbury with that care and thoroughness to which students of the former volumes are already accustomed.

THE DRINK AND DRUG EVIL IN INDIA. By Badrul Hassan. With Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. (Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*) 1922.

(Reviewed by JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.)

Not for nothing does Mr. Gandhi support Mr. Badrul's book on the drink and drug rule in India.

Mr. Gandhi believes that British rule in India is a bad rule, and that the English system of Government is a curse, and Mr. Badrul has done his best to prove this. In his preface Mr. Gandhi contends that, though the vice of drinking and drug-taking is an old one in India, Government has "trafficked in these two vices" of the people.

But an attentive perusal of Mr. Badrul's book shows that Government has only done this by abolishing the out-still system, and by putting a stop to smuggling and unlicensed trading.

This is a strange way of trafficking in the vices and organizing the corruption of the people! Mr. Badrul shows (erroneously, we think) that in ancient and Muslim India drugging and drinking constituted the order of the day. From all we can learn, even in those times, excess was exceptional. But there can be no doubt that drinking and drug-taking prevailed throughout India, and it is quite false to maintain that these habits were introduced and organized by the British. It is also doubly false to assert that the people's weaknesses have been exploited for the sake of revenue, and that the Government's policy is mainly responsible for the increase of consumption. The labouring classes being what they are, "higher wages," "the rising standard of prosperity," and "fine harvests," have been invariably followed by an expansion of revenue. But there is not a word of truth in the assertion that Government officials foster the increase of drinking habits to secure the expansion of revenue. This is mere assertion on the part of the enemy. Now what was the out-still system which Sir Charles Pritchard's policy superseded? The Hon. W. Adaiji Dalal tells us this succinctly in his answers to the questions of the Bombay Excise Commission.

Liquor used to be manufactured in nearly every town and village (and, indeed, he might have said in many lots) in any quantity, and without any control of any kind or check of strength. Under this system huge quantities of liquor were sold or bartered for country produce at all the fairs and throughout all the rural areas, and no checks or controls, beneficial or otherwise, were thought of. People could do pretty much as they liked. This is the system Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Badrul would apparently like to see revived.

Through Sir Charles Pritchard thousands and thousands of petty stills in rural and urban and other areas were abolished, and armies of illicit manufacturers who flooded the district were superseded by able and honest Indian contractors selected to co-operate with the Indian Govern-

ment. Smuggling, except on the borders of Native States (where control of liquor has always been loose), ceased, as it were, by magic. Illicit distillation from Mhowra was also stopped in the jungle tracts, and the services of the wild tribes secured for the cause of temperance. The Mhowra Bill was passed, and gradually order and organization were evolved from primitive chaos.

This is the reform Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Badrul have most mendaciously attacked, and it is desirable that all the falsehoods told about the British excise should be refuted with all the audacity and effrontery of truth. As Mr. Dalal shows, in former times, when there was no policy and no organization, drunkenness and intemperance prevailed, to the detriment of public morals and health, without any advantage in the shape of increased revenue.

The rules adopted by the Bengal Government regarding shops have been excellent; and it is not true that Government officials have looked on the humane efforts of reformers with cold disapproval, or arrested them on sorry and flimsy pretexts.

Finally, it is satisfactory to find that the four remedies for any mistakes in the present excise policy advocated by Mr. Badrul have already been strongly recommended to the Indian Government by former administrators of excise.

SHAH ABDUL LATIF. By M. M. Gidvani, with a Foreword by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E. Pp. 47. (London: *Published by the India Society.*) 1922. 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS)

This is an attractive volume—somewhat small in size, but well printed on excellent paper. On taking up the book one has the feeling that there is something really good inside. This impression is confirmed by the frontispiece, which depicts a typical Indian sufi in sitting posture. Sir Thomas Arnold sets forth briefly the purpose of the book, which is to bring about a better understanding of the faith of those who stand midway between the loftiest heights of religion and the devotion of the aboriginal to his gods of wood and stone. We cannot say that the book has in any ways answered the purpose. Mr. Gidvani's *Introduction* following the *Foreword* is spoiled by the hackneyed quotation of a greater poet in another clime:

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness in the desert air."

We should have supposed that Mr. Gidvani would have re-read Shelley's "Ode to a Skylark," if he desired to quote it accurately.

The life of Shah Abdul Latif is a wonderful example of tolerance towards Hinduism. His anecdotes are a great lesson for all seekers after truth; and perhaps the best of them is the dialogue of the two milkmaids. The tales on which the poems are based could have been much better told. The reference to Friar Lawrence in the story of the lovers Suhni and Izzat Beg jars on the senses and is altogether out of place. These

tales are all the same in substance, and are only variations of the one theme of Union with the Infinite.

The poems are better, and there is a certain atmosphere of mysticism about them. The savour of the old familiar doctrine, "to leave and sacrifice all and follow the Christ," is innate in them. There are some pretty passages in the selections of Latif's poems; for instance, the poem entitled "Realization—the Lord is within You," is a good example of the mystic teaching, "I am God."

We cannot close this short notice without paying a tribute to the India Society, whose activities in publishing Indian art and literature are so conspicuous.

FAR EAST

CHINESE GRAMMAR SELF-TAUGHT. By John Darroch, LITT.D., O.B.E.
(Marlborough and Co.).

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

Since the writer studied in Lombard Street under the Rev. James Summers in 1867, making use of that gentleman's "Handbook of the Chinese Language," published in 1863, he has never found any Grammar to beat it, and in his old age has become ever more and more convinced that the only satisfactory way of learning Chinese, written or spoken, is to mix freely amongst all classes of natives. If that cannot be done, then the only thing is to amuse oneself perfunctorily with any Grammar or Handbook that may turn up. Even Sir Thomas Wade's famous "Tzû-Erh-chi" ("Proceeding from the Easy") which has been the main stand-by of consular and customs students since 1868, and the spelling system of which is practically adopted by most writers on China, is of little use without a native to hum the tune—so to speak—as an accompaniment to the student's grinding of the organ. The spelling adopted by Mr. Darroch seems to be much the same as that favoured by the China Inland Mission—that is, the speaker, instead of using aspirates, is supposed to turn un-aspirated surds into sonants; thus Wade's *ch'ien* becomes *chien*, and Wade's *chien* becomes *gien*. The soft Peking initial *j*, which is exactly the French (only very gentle), is turned into *r* (of course not the Scotch *r*); and Wade's vowel *ê*, which is used by Wade himself—not to say by the Pekingese themselves—rather irregularly, becomes *e* pure and simple, or *eh* as a final. However, it is heart-breaking to attempt the defence or the recommendation of this or that system: the character, *pên* "a root," becomes *ben* for Mr. Darroch; in other words, "to make a *pun*" becomes "Ben Nevis"; and the character *jên*, "a man," pronounced exactly like *lesion* (minus the *le*) becomes the first half of *Render*. All this is quite apart from the question which "Mandarin" or "Pekingese" is in the speaker's use—i.e., whether he is in West China, Central China, North-West China, or Manchuria. Mr. Darroch, apart from numbering each character with one of the four "mandarin" tones (there are five in most "mandarin" dialects), does not seem to attempt any explanation of what

the tones are, and this delicate subject is perhaps only thoroughly (or half-thoroughly) understood by "persons" who may be counted—ahem!—on "the thumbs" of one hand: certainly, no Chinese can explain it. Just as in our English schools we pronounce Latin in the vilest way, but pay meticulous though blind attention to "quantity" and "scanning," so the Chinese of all provinces "blaze away" instinctively with their local tones, paying, at the same time, meticulous attention to what are called the "rhymes."

ASIAN CRISTOLOGY AND THE MAHAYĀNA. By E. A. Gordon. With Sketch, Map, and Illustrations. (*Maruzen and Co., Ltd., Tokyo, Kyoto, etc., Japan.*) Published price, 10 yen.

(Reviewed by C. M. SALWEY)

This volume is the work of two authors, supplemented with extensive Appendix and numerous notes. Part I. (which dates 1818), a reprint of the century-old "Indian Church History," by Thomas Yeates, and "Further Investigations of the Religions of the Orient, as Influenced by the Apostle of the Hindus and Chinese." Part II., the Editor's Supplement, headed "Syriac Christianity" and "Daijo Bukkyō."

These together form a somewhat remarkable monograph on the growth, activity, and extension of Christianity in the *East* during the early centuries and onward—dealing with the fluctuation of Faith, now glowing with ardent profession on the part of the converted, now waning for want of sustained belief and more untiring zeal on the part of disciples who were deputed to preach the Gospel and proclaim "tidings of great joy."

In the "Indian Church History" many references are chronicled concerning the fervour of St. Thomas—of the extensive work that was carried into those regions round about Central Asia from the commencement of the Apostolic Period. In this period the first planting of churches in Syria, Mesopotamia, and other portions of the East caused Gospel Truths to find an entrance into Persia, Arabia, Armenia, India, Tartary, and China.

So thorough are the investigations made by both authors who have undertaken this task of tracing events that occurred centuries ago, it is quite obvious that concentrated efforts of many years must have been devoted to research in order to make valuable their labour spent on a theme of such historic importance. Following one another in unity of purpose every available item was eagerly utilized. Eastern scrips, sutra, missal letters, notes, and preserved MSS. have been consulted. Information obtained from many sources and languages, corresponding symbols found existing in Early Christian churches and ancient temples, pointed to the possibility that Buddhism absorbed into its theology many tenets of Christianity. So much so that these remarkable words found on the front page of the Foreword of this volume, dedicated "To the Children of the East" (and reiterated on p. 285), make up the sum total of the investigation since A.D. 1818–1921:

"Buddha and Christ are One;
Only One Great Way."

Mahayāna.

Mrs. E. A. Gordon has all her life been greatly impressed with the idea. Her convictions have left her no peace until she could proclaim them to the world and instil them into the minds of others bent on enquiry. The finding of the "Syro-Chinese Tablet" at Sianfeu, after its long disappearance, was the fact upon which this belief was built up (see p. 220).

It is impossible to review a work of this magnitude in the ordinary way. It would take a small volume in itself. The reader must study the subject for himself. He cannot fail to grow keenly absorbed. There is ample food for reflection. He will soon be led to accompany St. Thomas and his followers through all the stages of the triumphs, failures, and difficulties in the vast tracts of the Asian continent, but it will take up considerable time and demand concentrated mental effort. It remains to be seen if comparative symbols, analogous sacraments, and closely embraced tenets will be accepted as final proofs of the proclaimed relationship of the two greatest religions of the world, verified and accepted by a consensus of opinion. If this comes to pass, and Mrs. E. A. Gordon's convictions find universal favour, they will turn the scale in the direction of Christianity in a manner that no other research has ever before achieved. The authors tell us that the Indian Church has already been the means of greatly augmenting these suppositions; if so, what great results will follow when more souls are drawn into the True Fold.

It was Buddha's life of Wisdom and Supreme Self-sacrifice that caused him to be accepted as the Beloved Example of the East. The earthly sojourn and sayings of their "Divine Teacher" deeply impressed the minds of his followers.

Sir Edwin Arnold, in his book "East and West," expressed his conviction that if the Bodhi Tree standing in the Bodhimandi, which is the most sacred spot on earth to all devotees of the Buddhist religion in many countries of the Orient, could be placed under the care of the Buddhist Indians we should earn their everlasting gratitude. This concession would carry great weight at a critical epoch of the world's history. Steadfast, unflinching devotion is sorely needed at the present moment, and this act, if delicately carried out, would earn the blessing of so many people of our great Continental possession. The danger of a waning belief in ourselves and our brotherhood, after such magnificent sacrifice readily given, is great by reason of the unrest that is deteriorating the stability of many nations.

The illustrations distributed through the pages of "Cristology and Mahayāna" are varied and helpful, particularly where symbolic representations aid the reader to verify the similarity of one religion to the other. One thing is a decided drawback to the study of this work. Often on one page of printing different types are introduced, and the reader is constantly interrupted by reference to endless notes and confirmations to be looked up in the Appendix. A work of this description should lead the mind gently on into its labyrinth of discussion, unchecked until the goal is reached.

NEAR EAST

ESSAYS ON THE LATIN ORIENT. By William Miller. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 40s. net.

(Reviewed by S. CASSON)

This large volume of 580 pages will provide the student of mediæval history with an immense amount of material for the illustration of the more obscure course of history in the eastern Mediterranean area.

Taking Greece as the pivot, the author shows how Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Saracens, and Turks intrigued and conquered, rose to fame, and were forgotten in the lands which the ordinary student knows chiefly for the part they played in the history of a more cultured people. Two essays, one on "The Romans in Greece," the other on "Byzantine Greece," provide the link between the two phases.

The essay on "Florentine Athens" and the "Duchy of Naxos" are a valiant attempt to revivify dying embers and to suggest that the torch was still being handed on. But the reader will be stirred to but little enthusiasm for the rather tawdry life that still lingered, or which was at times renewed, amidst the ruins of greater things. But Mr. Miller has the enthusiasm of a political historian, and is more interested in the intrigues of prince and potentate than in their contribution to civilization. Except for a few gaunt castles, there is little to tell the modern traveller in Greece that the chivalry and splendour of the Middle Ages once held sway there. The vestiges of Neolithic man are more evident than those of the Frank. The diligent search that is evident on every page of this volume is thus the more praiseworthy.

The essay on "Salonika" summarizes the whole of the history of the "Coveted City," except its history in Hellenic times. Salonika of the Macedonians is the true heir of ancient Therma, and Therma was the key to early Macedonia. The city has an older lineage than Mr. Miller indicates; a settlement of the sixth century A.C. has recently been found just outside the present city walls, near enough to show that the head of the gulf was of importance even in the days of Peisistratus. So to say that "Salonika did not exist before Alexander the Great" is incorrect.

The chapter on the "Gattilusj" records a phase of history almost forgotten had it not been for the researches of Hasluck and others in recent years. But Mr. Miller does not make his history live. He is too engrossed in the intrigues to give us their setting. In the place of this he seeks to brighten the monotony of political move and counter-move with an occasional illuminating phrase. It is the more to be regretted, then, that these occasional phrases are all in the worst tradition of journalistic clichés. When we read that Naxos was the "Eldorado of the Ægean," Zante the "Flower of the Levant," Salonika the "Athens of Mediæval Hellenism," Ragusa the "South Slavonic Athens," Gyaros a "Botany Bay," and the Isthmus of Corinth the "Port Said of the Roman Empire," we must confess to a certain exhaustion which we only feel when we read in newspapers that Blackpool is the "Naples of the North."

But it would be unfair to let such criticisms as these detract from the worth of what is by far the most important contribution made in recent years to the study of the mediæval history of the Near East. The material which can be extracted is of the utmost value, and the research involved in the compilation of the work shows that the methods are those of a most experienced scholar.

TWO YEARS IN KURDISTAN: EXPERIENCES OF A POLITICAL OFFICER. By W. R. Hay, Captain, attached to the 24th Punjabis, Political Department, Government of India. (London: *Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd.*)
(Reviewed by Madame F. TCHERKESOFF)

The author of the book was one of the "First Hundred Thousand" who, at the outbreak of the war, threw up their work—in his case that of an undergraduate at Oxford—to put themselves at the disposal of their country. His lot was cast in more interesting places than that of many others, as his services, first as a fighting man, were required in India and then in Mesopotamia, where after the armistice he was a political officer, that is to say a civil administrator. The author fully appreciated the "glorious opportunity of treading the untrod, seeing the unseen," and tries to make his readers "share his delight in having lived on terms of intimacy with strange and unrecorded tribes," in a straightforward narrative of his experiences in Kurdistan. His mental attitude towards the Kurds is pleasantly free from the European snobbishness so common when "savages" are described. He may have approached the Kurds in the anticipation of finding the wildest of brigands and cut-throats of Christians, but he did not refuse to change his preconceived idea for others based on experience, and when he finally had to turn his back on his beloved Kurdistan, as he called it, after two years of hard and perilous work, he had learnt to appreciate it as "an unspoilt country inhabited by an unspoilt race; hilly recesses never penetrated by the European traveller, a primitive people still in its golden age adhering to simple purity and naïve savagery of primeval mankind." Following the author in his duties of civil administrator, we see the Kurds as diligent agriculturists, working much better and harder than the Arabs, who are not at their best where they are found in Kurdistan; in the hills cattle, especially pony, breeding is the chief occupation.

The Kurd considers himself before all a member of his tribe, he recognizes before all tribal laws and customs; and it is through the aghas, chiefs of these tribes, that the Turks and later the British governed the country. If Mr. Hay found the people the finest type he has met in the East, industrious, steady, thrifty, clean, and moral, the aghas, though mentally higher, are usually avaricious and often give rein to this vice and become real oppressors. As regards the Christians, long subjection has made them mean and cringing, but with an underlying honesty which is recognized by their Muhammedan neighbours, who do not support aggression against them; towards the end of the war the Turkish Govern-

ment issued orders for a massacre in Ainkawa, but the people refused to obey. However, let it not be thought that the Kurds are peaceful little lambs. We learn that their favourite pastime is highway robbery; in Turkish times every young agha had a body of armed retainers, and when they were not fighting with their neighbours they would pounce on caravans and rob them, but part of the spoil would be given up if the owner found out the identity of his assailants. Individual quarrels growing into tribal fights are often caused by questions about women, whose honour is very strictly guarded. Thieves are dealt with by tribal law; but "really bad characters will be sooner or later ejected from the village, or join the local police or gendarmes, the asylum of all scoundrels."

These are the people who, when the war broke out, saw the Russian and Turkish armies in turn devastate their country, especially along the Persian frontier; they had submitted, more or less unwillingly, to Turkish rule, but when the British appeared they were welcomed most heartily, and supported by the most clear-sighted and public-spirited among the Kurds, who had seen that in the absence of any regular reigning power the incessant warfare of the tribes had brought ruin and misery, especially to the weak and poor. The chiefs counted on high posts and salaries from the British Government; when the new administration insisted on maintaining law and order, on regular payment of taxes, there was a certain disappointment after the anticipation of a golden era. The spreading of the Pan-Islamic propaganda carried on by the Turkish emissaries did the rest; uprisings of the tribes resulted, several British officers lost their lives, and their small forces had to retire. But as soon as troops arrived, the prestige of the British Government recovered.

The author was stationed in the northern part of Mesopotamia, in the Arbil district of the Mosul division, but his activities later included the Koi and the wild Rawanduz districts. Leaving politics severely alone, and not questioning whether Great Britain has the right to stay in Mesopotamia, he has come to the conclusion that a withdrawal without substituting another Government would plunge the country into wild disorder and enonomic ruin.

Anyone who is interested in a just treatment, not only of the Christians of the former Turkish Empire, but also of the Muhammadans, should read this book, as without knowledge no justice can be expected.

But those who do not care for this aspect of the book will read it as a fresh narrative of a man who lived the life of the Kurds, sat in the guest-house of his Kurdish host, ate their long dinners, noticed such details as that cats were rather wild and dogs were not to be petted, leading up through many perils and hardships to the climax when the few Britishers in Arbil expected to be attacked and killed at any moment. The book is right through written in a plain, straightforward style, and imbued with the motto: "I have always made a rule of conforming to the native customs as far as my conscience and the honour of my country would permit."

THE ISLAND OF ROSES AND HER ELEVEN SISTERS. By Michael D. Volonakis, LITT.D., PH.D. With an Introduction by T. L. Myres, M.A., and maps and illustrations. (*Macmillan.*) Price 40s.

(Reviewed by LYSIMAQUE ŒCONOMOS, LITT.D., PARIS)

Under the poetical title "The Island of Roses and her Eleven Sisters," Dr. Volonakis has just published a general history of that cluster of islands of the Ægean Sea known as "the Dodecanese"—namely, Astypalæa, Calymnos, Carpathos, Casos, Chalki, Cos, Neros, Nisgros, Patmos, Rhodes, Symi, and Telos—which figure in the programme of the just claims of Greece, and where the Italian yoke replaces for the last ten years that of the Turks, without the least advantage to the inhabitants and notwithstanding their wishes, loudly and frequently expressed, to be united to the Hellenic kingdom.

A native of one of these islands, Symi, it has always been the author's desire to raise sometime to his fatherland's glory a monument of its activities through the ages, and for that purpose he has patiently been collecting materials for many years past. A protracted stay in London as a representative of the twelve islands afforded him the opportunity of utilizing the treasures of the wonderful library of the British Museum to complete his researches.

Artistically bound, agreeably printed, richly illustrated with general and particular maps and various beautiful views, his volume is divided into three parts.

In the first, the author successively studies the geography of the islands, the history of the term "Dodecanese," the geological formation of this cluster, the atmospheric conditions, and the climate, the products, flora, fauna, and minerals.

The second is entirely devoted to the history of the political and military events which took place in these islands, and particularly in Rhodes, from the earliest time down to the present day. The author reviews the mythical age, the pre-archaic and archaic ages, the classical period, the attack of Rhodes by Antigonos and Demetrius, the Hellenistic, the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods, the epoch of the Knights, the Turkish rule, and the Italian occupation.

In the third, he deals with the Dodecanesian civilization: religion, culture, commerce, athletic games, characteristics, and habits of the inhabitants.

A preface, statistics of the population as at present, an abundant bibliography, a detailed index, complete this work, which Professor T. L. Myres of Oxford has kindly honoured with an introduction.

Dr. Volonakis is the first to have attempted to write an extensive and continuous history of the Dodecanese, and though the subject, in its various periods and for each of the principal islands separately, has already been studied in detail long before him, in a great many compilations and monographs, as mentioned in the author's bibliography, still it is certainly not of small merit to have been able out of them, as well as

out of the original sources, to sum up, in a clear, general view, the fortunes of the islands through the ages.

No doubt Dr. Volonakis would have added to the interest of his book had he had the opportunity to carry on personal research for such an important period as that of the Turkish rule. Had he gone through the records of the French Consulate at Rhodes, kept at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, he might have been enabled to bring forward fresh information on the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth. On the other hand, had he consulted the newspapers of the early part of last century, he might have come across interesting details respecting some events of the War of Independence. For instance, as regards the reduction of Cassos by the Egyptians in 1824, Dr. Volonakis would have found an interesting account in the *Moniteur Universel*, so easy to handle, thanks to its fairly complete indices (August 11 and 20, 1824, pp. 1115A, 1149A), as well as in a despatch from the British Consul in Egypt, Henry Salt, dated "Alexandria, June 24, 1824," and kept in the Record Office in London (F.O. 78/126).

No doubt also the interest of the work would have been enhanced were it more speculative and less of a narrative. We could but regret that Dr. Volonakis has not given more space to the philosophy of history; that he should welcome every legend, not only in his text, but even in his illustrations; that he should delight in minute descriptions of sieges; and, when he deals with such an important question as that of the Dodecanesian civilization, in the third part of his book, that he should be too short and rather superficial. We would have liked to see him discussing with Nomikos the question of the so-called "Rhodian" pottery. We would have liked to see a son of the islands draw a live portrait of his fellow-countryman. We would have liked to become, through him, more intimately acquainted with the religious, honest, intelligent, hard-working islanders, who may prove one day a reservoir of energy and talent for Greece.

The author's erudition is undoubtedly great, though not beyond criticism. To take only a few examples, we are astonished that he should not quote Nomikos' work in reference to the Rhodian pottery, and Sakkellion's publications and our own thesis on the religious life in the Byzantine Empire of the twelfth century, in reference to Aristodoulos of Patmos.

And yet, in spite of the gaps and omissions, Dr. Volonakis' book is undoubtedly a fine piece of work. It may be that it is not an *œuvre perpétuel* one; still it will prove useful in many respects, not only to students of history—who may welcome in it a convenient encyclopædia of the Dodecanesian affairs—but also to research students, who may take it as a basis and proceed further. Above all, by spreading abroad an accurate and scientific knowledge of the Twelve Islands, Dr. Volonakis has done on behalf of his country much more than any propaganda could effect.

In reference to the poetical title, "The Island of Roses, etc.," is Dr. Volonakis sure of the meaning of *Rhodes*? Does it not mean rather *the island of serpents* (*gesirath rod* in Phœnician), as is suggested in

Dapper's work, an etymology which at least would explain why the island should have been known in the earliest time as "full of serpents" as "the pernicious one"? The process would have been this: In the course of time, the first Phœnician word, *gesirath* (island), would have dropped, and the second one would have remained alone to name the island. Later on the Greeks, for whom the real Phœnician etymology was by them lost in the darkness of ages, would have compared it with their own word, *rhodon* (a rose), and would have derived the island's name from the flower's name.

FRENCH BOOK

LETTRES DU TONKIN ET DE MADAGASCAR (1894-99). By Marshal Lyautey. (Librairie Colin, 103, Boul. St. Michel, Paris.) 40 f.

At a time when British and French methods of colonization are being frequently compared, the above volume of letters by one of the greatest of living French Colonials calls for special notice. It will be recalled that in 1914 General Lyautey was in Morocco, and in response to feverish appeals from Paris, sent back nearly all the French garrisons, but refused to leave himself. His fate was then forgotten until the end of the Great War, when it was found that with the remnants, and the co-operation of the Moroccans themselves, he had completed the work of subjugation. What were the thoughts and aspirations of this great personality when he was still a captain? These letters provide the answer. Addressed to his sister, to friends in France, occasionally to his military chiefs, they reveal a burning patriotism, a hatred for bureaucracy, boundless love for adventure. In Tonkin he had caught the eye of the great Gallieni, and it is no exaggeration to say that he devoted his whole Colonial life to the exacting task of obeying his chief's orders. The most interesting portions of his book are those in which he expresses his boundless admiration for this "Saviour of Paris," who, his friends claim, disobeyed the order to evacuate the city, and decided, on his own responsibility, to move north to the Marne.

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA: "Journal of the Department of Letters," Vol. V. (University of Calcutta); "Prince Edward's Speeches in India" (Natesan); "The Mineral Resources of Burma," by N. M. Penzer (Routledge); "Reminiscences of an Indian Cavalry Officer," by Colonel J. S. E. Western (Allen and Unwin); "India in the Balance," by Khwaya Kamalud-Din (*Islamic Review*).

Far East: "Russia in the Far East," by Leo Pasvol'sky (Macmillan); "The Early Ceramic Wares of China," by R. L. Hobson (Benn); "China's Place in the Sun," by Stanley High (Macmillan).

Near East: "The Mercy of Allah," by Hilaire Belloc (Chatto and Windus).

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

WE understand that Dr. J. Pollen has now revised and has ready for the Press his literal translations from the Russian poet Krilof. He has translated all the known Fables of the great Russian fabulist. The translations are in no sense of the word paraphrases; but, while preserving the exact rhyme and rhythm of the Russian, they give as closely as possible the meaning of the Russian text, line for line, and almost word for word. The book ought thus to prove of use to Englishmen studying Russian, and to Russians studying English, besides being of interest to the general reader.

The advice of the Marquess Curzon has been carefully followed, and the translator seems to have subordinated himself, as far as possible, to the conception and thought, and even to the technique of the original writer. The result is not displeasing, and there is much in the Fables of Krilof to interest not only the people of England, but the peoples of all Europe at the present time. In this edition of the Fables, the work of Krilof has been divided into eight parts, and the Fables grouped under eight headings.

The first part deals with Krilof's attitude to literary work and criticism, and the second to his views on upbringing and education.

In the third are collected all the Fables dealing with the life of Russian Society, followed in the fourth by those treating of the faults of that Society. In the fifth part are collected together all the Fables of a philosophic vein; and the conditions of Government service in Russia are considered in the sixth part.

The seventh part is devoted to the praise of modest work; and in the eighth are set forth the Fables dealing with historical events, mainly connected with Napoleon's invasion of Russia.

We believe this is the first time that all the Fables of Krilof have been translated into English.

POETRY

CHINESE LOVE SONGS

I'D LIKE TO BE YOUR LOOKING-GLASS *

AIR—" *The Girl I left Behind Me*"

(CONTRIBUTED BY D. A. WILSON, I.C.S., RETD.)

I

I'd like to be your looking-glass,
 For then my only duty
 Would be to watch you when you pass,
 And show you all your beauty.
 I'd like to be your girdle placed ;
 For after you did buy me,
 And once had put me round your waist,
 The world could not untie me !

II

I'd like to be the rosy flute
 You're kissing and caressing.
 I'd gladly be your pillow mute—
 Your cheek would be my blessing.
 But most I'd like to be your cat,
 And mew, and run about you :
 To touch you's all I would be at,
 And never be without you !

* This may be called modern, as it is not B.C. The date is doubtful.
 See "*La Chine Familiale*" of Jules Arène, p. 55.

IT'S UP ON THE MOUNTAIN THE MULBERRIES
GROW*

I

It's up on the mountain the mulberries grow ;
The lotuses lie in the lake ;
I won't look at Chay-too, wherever he go—
I'm here, you mad boy, for your sake !

II

It's up on the mountain they seek for the pine ;
The lily they find in the lake ;
I won't look at Chay-chung, although he is fine—
I'm here, clever boy, for your sake !

"A lady mocking her lover," says Legge of this song ; and many old commentators agree with him. No doubt they would be right if the song were sung to the like of them.

* This is a woman's song, and edited by Confucius (Odes, I., 7 and 10 ; Legge's "Chinese Classics," IV., 137, 138).

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS: *The East India Association—The Royal Society of Arts—The Royal Colonial Institute—The Palestine Exploration Fund—The Royal Asiatic Society—The Japan Society—The Lyceum Club—Central Asian Society—India Society—Indian Gymkhana Club.*

THE Proceedings of the *East India Association* will be found on pp. 386 to 437. The annual meeting this year was followed by a *conversazione* at the Caxton Hall.

The Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture was delivered before the Indian Section of the *Royal Society of Arts* on May 26, 1922. Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Professor of Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies, read a paper on "Indian Painting and Muhammadan Culture." He confined himself to the later period of the Muhammadan history of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He emphasized that one important aspect that had not yet received adequate treatment was the religious life of Islam in its various phases and developments. He mentioned in particular the reverence for saints and ascetics, the submission by the faithful of their spiritual life to the direction of religious guides and teachers. One outcome of this submission to religious authority was the enormous expansion of the Islamic religious orders in India, and portraits of the more famous saints belonging to the various orders were common. The slides in illustration of the lecture were also greatly appreciated by the audience.

Empire Day was celebrated at the *Royal Colonial Institute* by the holding of the annual dinner. India loomed large in the after-dinner speeches. Sir William Meyer emphasized that we had not merely achieved political unity and given India peace and law and order, such as India never knew in past centuries, but we had brought the peoples of India in many ways into a homogeneous whole. We had passed laws which apply to India as a whole. We had given her a system of railway and road connection which has brought various parts of India in contact in a way never achieved before. We had introduced new industries. If we were to disappear to-morrow, the work we have done already would stand as an imperishable memento of Great Britain, and would be acknowledged by the whole world. Lord Meston, who was in the chair, paid a tribute to the work of Sir William Meyer, who, he said, had devoted his life to the people of India, and showed unexampled zeal and affection for their interests; but among his many duties there was none which compared in importance with the work he did for so many years in building up the currency and finance system of India, and bringing them to such a state as had enabled India to pass through these troubled years with its credit unimpeached and unimperilled.

The annual general meeting of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* was held on May 30 at Burlington House. The Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel was in the chair. In his address he said: "The new administration of Palestine is, of course, sympathetic to the work of archæological research. The administration of Palestine has established a Government museum, in which the fruits of research can be exhibited; and it already reflects a considerable amount of credit on the archæological department and on the keeper of the museum, Mr. Phythian Adams, who is working under the direction of Professor Garstang."

There was a meeting of the *Royal Asiatic Society* on June 13. The Right Hon. Lord Chalmers, G.C.B., took the chair. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes gave a highly interesting lecture with lantern illustrations on "The Achæmenian Dynasty." This subject enabled him to give a suggestive account of the Persian expeditions against Greece from the Asiatic point of view. He pointed out that the disasters which the Persian arms underwent at Marathon and Salamis, though of the greatest importance for Greece, were for the Government at Susa only a transitory event. Moreover, the Ionian Greeks were ever susceptible to the blandishments of Persian bribes. It was only at the time of Alexander the Great that the Persians learned the true meaning of the Greek menace. The lecturer insisted that Herodotus and the "Persæ" of Æschylus gave a most one-sided account. The other point of view had not yet penetrated into the textbooks.

His Excellency Baron Hayashi presided at the annual dinner of the *Japan Society* on June 7. The dominant note of the speeches was "Peace in the Pacific."

The President, in proposing the toast of the King, alluded to the visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan, and remarked that His Royal Highness, who was now speeding homewards, had been received with the utmost kindness by the Imperial Family. The relations between Great Britain and Japan were of the most intimate character, and the visit of the Prince of Wales to Japan would cement the good feelings between the two countries, which were of a most friendly character.

In submitting the toast of the Emperor of Japan, the President expressed the hope that His Imperial Majesty would soon be restored to good health.

Sir Charles Addis, in the absence through indisposition of Professor Longford, proposed the health of the President of the Society, the Japanese Ambassador. In the course of his speech he said: "Between the two Powers of England and Japan there was a binding link, founded on a community of interests and cemented by comradeship in the Great War. It was idle to pretend that during His Excellency's tenure of office questions had not cropped up which had been viewed by his country and by ourselves from different standpoints; and it was a tribute to his tenacity, and to his candour and tact, that they could say not one of those questions had proved irresistible to adjustment or accommodation." (Hear, hear.)

The Japanese Ambassador, in responding, paid a tribute to the members and the enthusiasm of the members of the Japan Society, and mentioned the work of Mr. Arthur Diósy, extending over a great number of years.

The Oriental Circle of the *Lyceum Club* held a reception on June 16, under the presidency of Mrs. Shrimpton Giles. Mrs. Tata rendered an Urdu song, and Mr. Fujiwara, the Japanese tenor, interpreted Nippon folksongs. Among the guests of honour were: F.H. the Maharaja Jamsaheb of Nawanagar, H.H. the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Lady Ratan Tata, Sir Mancherjee Bhowmallee, Sir Krishna Gupta, Lord and Lady Clwyd, H.E. Baron Hayashi (Japanese Ambassador), Prince and Princess Shimadzu, Mme. Okamoto, the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires, and Madame Chu.

Lord Carnock took the chair at Sir Valentine Chirol's lecture at the *Central Asian Society* on June 15. In reviewing the Near Eastern situation, the lecturer remarked that the muster of retrograde forces under Turkish Nationalism at Angora and of the Khalifate movement in India was cause for some apprehension, but we could discriminate between them and the more progressive forces which, over a much wider area extending from Northern Africa to the shores of the Pacific, were working towards a synthesis which might bring East and West together in the interests of racial and religious peace, in spite of the differences which still divided them.

On May 19 the *India Society* held the first of a series of lectures designed to show the spread of Indian ideals of art across the seas and beyond the Himalayas. On this occasion Professor Vogel of Leyden University, late of the Indian Archaeological Survey, delivered a lecture in which he traced Indian influences in Javanese art. It might be assumed, he said, that Indian masters first taught the Javanese the arts of stone architecture and stone sculpture. The great Buddhist shrine of Borobudur, the Brahmanical temples on the Dieng plateau, the wonderful reliefs at Prambanan, were the masterpieces of the classical period of Hindu-Javanese art.

The *India Society* is holding a soiree on July 4 at 21, Cromwell Road (8 p.m.). After the reception, Professor Rothenstein will speak on "Indian Sculpture." Later in the month, and in continuation of the above-mentioned scheme, M. Goloubeff of Paris will deliver a lecture before the Society on "Indian Influences on the Art of Indo-China."

Mr. T. W. B. Ramsay has kindly sent us the fixture-card of the *Indian Gymkhana Club*. The opening of the new ground took place on Empire Day. It is situated in a convenient position at Osterley. In all twenty-four cricket matches have been arranged for the season. The side is being captained this season by Colonel K. M. Mistri, C.B.E.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I. PALESTINE AND AVIATION

IN view of the revived interest in aviation, attention may be directed to the valuable work of Major Long,* who, after the conclusion of his active service in Palestine in the Royal Air Force, was entrusted with surveying a considerable portion of the Cape to Cairo Air Route and making aerodromes from Cairo to Nyanza.

Section XV. of the report throws a side-light on the "glorious achievement of General Allenby," resulting in "the complete defeat of the Turkish army, with the loss of the whole of their supplies and transport and some 90,000 prisoners."

Major Long relates how in three days the whole Turkish army, so far as its fighting efficiency was concerned, was completely annihilated by the bombs and the machine-guns of the Air Force. He tells us:

"The Palestine campaign is probably the most wonderful instance of military strategy in the history of war. The plan of attack was kept an absolutely dead secret until the last minute, and was therefore unlike other attacks, the main ideas of which have, in some way, become more or less generally known."

These and similar facts suggest that an international or rather world police force alone should be permitted to possess an effective military air force, *to be used only when all other means have failed.*

Readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW will be interested to learn that after years of ceaseless experimenting a British engineer, Mr. Henry Leitner, has succeeded in perfecting an all-metal air-propeller, which has triumphantly passed the severest test applied by the British and French Governments. The American and Japanese authorities are also evincing practical interest in its possibilities.

Mr. Leitner is the gifted Arabic scholar, and son of the first Rector of Lahore University.

Few realize that the average life in the air of the wooden propeller is less than twenty-four hours, and that a bird or other small object striking against it may reduce it to fragments. The life-saving value of the metal propeller should speedily ensure its enforced adoption, as the public conscience will insist upon the risks of the intrepid airman's life, so lightly alluded to in Major Long's modest but important record, being reduced to the absolute minimum. Interesting details have been published in the *Daily Mail* of June 16 and elsewhere.

II. THE RUTENBERG CONCESSION

Much heartburning has been occasioned by the Rutenberg Concession. As usual, *The Near East* (June 1, 1922) takes a balanced view of the situation. If the Rutenberg scheme goes through it explains—

* "In the Blue," by Major S. H. Long, D.S.O., M.C. London and New York: John Lane. 5s. net.

"It will be because it is supported by official Jewry, to whom Great Britain as Mandatory Power must look for the economic development of Palestine. If the Jewish bodies interested in the future of Palestine . . . announce that the scheme will be carried forward with their support there will doubtless be a tendency to overlook the antecedents of Mr. Rutenberg, and to give him the credit that he deserves for his enterprise in making an exhaustive study of Palestine's water-power."

Mr. Rutenberg is a Jewish engineer from Russia, who has been given a concession securing the exclusive monopoly of the development of water-power and electric energy in Palestine.

On June 21 in the House of Lords the Government was defeated on the motion, moved by Lord Islington, declaring that in its present form the Palestine Mandate was not acceptable to the House. The Mandate was vigorously defended by the Earl of Balfour, and the Rutenberg Concession was alluded to several times in the debate.

Said Lord Balfour:

"I do not deny that this is an adventure; but are we never to have adventures, are we never to try new experiments? I hope your lordships will never sink to that unimaginative depth. If experiment and adventure be justified in any cause surely it is in order that we may send a message to every land where the Jewish race has been scattered—a message which will tell them that Christendom is not oblivious to their fate and is not unmindful of the services they have rendered to the great religions of the world, most of all to the religion the majority of your lordships' House profess, and that we desire to the best of our ability to give them every opportunity to develop in peace and quietness, under British rule, those great gifts which hitherto they have been compelled from the nature of the case only to bring to fruition in countries which know not their language and belong not to their race. . . . That is the ideal which lies at the root of the policy I am trying to defend."

III. THE PRESENT "IMPASSE" IN THE NEAR EAST

Mr. Cecil Harmsworth's careful statement in the House of Commons on May 30 embodies the salient facts, which are as follows:

"On March 22 the Conference of Allied Foreign Ministers at Paris proposed an immediate Armistice to the Governments of Athens, Constantinople, and Angora.

"The Greek Government accepted. No reply was received from Turkey."

"On March 27 the Conference communicated to Athens, Constantinople, and Angora the proposals for a general settlement, which included evacuation under Allied supervision. At the same time it invited those three Governments to send delegates to meet the three Allied High Commissioners at a place to be agreed upon, in order to examine their proposals, it being understood, of course, that the Armistice at that time was in force. On April 5 the Angora Government replied, accepting the Armistice, but it qualified its acceptance by the condition that the evacuation of Asia Minor should begin at once.

"Subject to this condition (that is, that the evacuation should begin at once, thus exposing an unarmed population), the Angora Government was also prepared to send delegates in three weeks to examine the general proposals. On April 8 the Constantinople Government expressed itself as willing to send delegates in three weeks

for peace negotiations. It appeared not to be concerned with the Armistice, but urged early evacuation of Asia Minor. Constantinople and Angora neither accepted nor rejected the general proposals.

"The Greek Government, having accepted the Armistice, considered that it need return no answer about the general proposals until Turkey had definitely accepted the Armistice.

"On April 15 the Allies replied to Angora :

"(1) That the Allies could not agree to the immediate evacuation of Asia Minor.

"(2) That they might, however, agree to evacuation beginning as soon as 'the body' of the general proposals had been accepted, any 'special points' being reserved for discussion.

"On April 19 the Allies replied to the Constantinople Government in much the same sense.

"Angora replied on April 22, referring at length to alleged Greek atrocities and insisting on immediate evacuation. It suggested a Conference at Ismid 'to open preliminary negotiations,' and indicated that some of the peace proposals were unacceptable. The Constantinople Government replied on April 29, ostensibly accepting all the principles of the proposed settlement, but virtually challenging the whole settlement proposed."

Mr. Chamberlain on the same day alluded to further excesses committed in Asia Minor reported from American sources, notably those from Dr. Gibbons (published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 5) which reveal how impossible is peace without a definite assurance of the safety of the minority populations.

The *Literary Digest*, perhaps the most able of American weeklies, publishes in its issue of May 6 some interesting comments on the views of Mr. Ahmed Emin, editor of the Constantinople *Vakit*, who complains—

"That while the fate of the Christian minorities in Turkey is discusst with fanaticism, the actual sufferings of the Turkish minorities in Macedonia and the extermination of the Turkish majorities in Thrace and Smyrna 'hardly draw the slightest attention.' Addressing himself to the editor of the London *New Statesman*, he declares that such a condition means that human life is differently valued according to whether it is a Christian or a Muhammadan who is concerned."

"And who suffers most from this lamentable situation?" asks a writer in *L'Aise Française* for May, 1922. "The Greeks and the Turks? The English or the Italians? Not at all; it is the French, as we shall be able to show later on."

Mr. H. Charles Woods, in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, contributes, under the heading of "Paris and the Near East," one of his carefully reasoned articles in which, while approving of the Paris Conference as a whole, he points out certain defects, the gravest in his estimation being the total neglect of the interests of Armenia, to whom promises were made no less binding than those made to Turkey. "No stone, therefore, should be left unturned to try to safeguard the lives and properties of a people entirely dependent upon the Powers," is Mr. Woods' just verdict.

IV.—GREECE: THE OFFICERS' WIDOWS LEAGUE

At an all-night sitting on May 30 the Bill providing adequate pensions for the widows and orphans of Greek officers was passed, and the cause of the widows was won. Parliament settled the affair most generously, in full

accordance with the demands formulated. Not only were the pensions increased by 400 per cent., but the pensioners will be entitled to receive the difference of which they have been deprived since 1916 through the Act of that date, which was unjust so far as it excluded officers retired before 1912. Now the new Act ensures equal treatment for all officers irrespective of the date of retirement.

Thus have the strenuous labours of the Officers' Widows League and its promoter, Dr. Platon Drakoules, been crowned with success. They and the Parliament alike must be congratulated on the passing of so humanitarian a measure, likewise the energetic President of the League, Madame Zorbas, one of my earliest and firmest Greek friends, with regard to whom an amusing incident occurred. I had been in Athens about three weeks when one of the leading editors called to see me, and put the following among other questions:

"Mademoiselle, you who know so many of the leading men in Europe, tell me what you think of our great men. Who among them has impressed you as '*l'esprit le plus fort*'?"

I replied that among the few I had met I had not found one of outstanding personality.

He, however, persisted in his idea that I must have been struck by some one person as transcending all the others. At last I exclaimed:

"Yes, you are right, '*l'esprit le plus fort parmi vous c'est Madame Zorbas.*'"
("The most outstanding personality among you is Madame Zorbas").

Three months later, one afternoon, several excited, even angry, visitors called—deputies, lawyers, and other personages—and asked me to explain myself. I then discovered that, to punish me for refusing him an interview, some editor had that morning published my remark as if just made after a three months' visit, during which I had met many of the leading men of Greece. My first visit was at the end of 1909.

For the second time Madame Zorbas is making history. This victory of the women's efforts will affect the status of womanhood throughout the Near East. The Greeks are the brains of the Balkans. Where Greece leads others will soon follow, and it is well for the feminist cause in the Near East that it had so experienced and ardent an advocate as Dr. Drakoules, and so efficient a guide as Madame Zorbas, to whom I would convey the felicitations of the British Vice-Presidents of the League, including Viscountess Molesworth, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Lady de Brath, and my humble self.

On the very day of the passing of the Act Dr. Drakoules was knocked down by a passing tram. By some unaccountable means the front of the tram, which came in contact with his back, pushed him sideways, so that he fell on the pavement instead of straight forward. With marvellous dexterity the conductor stopped the tram instantly, and the spectators were amazed to find that the victim had not sustained even a bruise, and had, moreover, felt nothing from the violent contact with the front of the tram. The accident happened but a few hours before the passing of the Act, and grateful women kept torches burning all day as a thanksgiving for their benefactor's miraculous escape.

A NOTE ON RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

MANY books have been written dealing with Russia's Foreign Policy, but I feel that this one deserves particular attention.* The author draws in brief, but vivid, sketches the main phases of this tangled question, and has made it a coherent whole. There is no doubt that the eighties and nineties of the last century presented many critical moments, not only for Russia, but also for England, France, and Germany. That was the time when Russia was ruled by Alexander III., who was visibly hostile to England, and clashed with her in Turkey, Persia, and the Far East. And these collisions reacted on her pride, and created indignation and enmity. Baron Korff writes: "England had an absolute lack of knowledge about Russia and Russians: the Russian nation remained to her a constant riddle, unsolved up to the end of the century; she knew no more about it than the ancient history of Aztecs or Peruvians."

England did not understand the yearning of Russia for Constantinople, which is for all true Russians the symbol and birth-place of the Orthodox Church. She saw in this yearning only a menace to her interests in Turkey, and the extension of the threat of Muscovy.

Yet some Englishmen could be found, even then, who desired to co-operate with Russia, and scouted the idea of a "Russian danger in Asia." I need only mention Mr. Gladstone. But such people were few, and their voice was like "the voice crying in the wilderness."

It was only in 1908 that the political horizon became clearer, and the relations between Russia and England then gradually improved. After the Russo-Japanese War, when Russia's influence in the Balkans became weaker, then England drew closer the old bonds of friendship between the two countries. But even then "the secretive methods of Downing Street hid away from the British people the real motives of that new and strange alliance of Liberal England with reactionary Russia. The English nation did not understand the full meaning of this rapprochement, nor did it realize at large the growing German danger, and that an understanding with Russia became imperative; the alliance with Russia from the point of view of an uninformed Liberal was preposterous. As Professor Browne exclaimed, 'It was a monstrous conception of a peaceful Russia and a belligerent Germany!' To him, as to many Englishmen, Russia was still the old enemy and constant aggressor."

* "Russia's Foreign Relations during the Last Half-Century." By Baron S. A. Korff, D.C.L. (Macmillan.) 10s. 6d. net.

But you must not think that the book of Baron Korff treated only of the Anglo-Russian relations. The author endeavours to show the foreign policy of Russia, and it can be justly said that he has accomplished his task splendidly. "Russia's Foreign Relations" will be still more interesting after Russia has outlived a very distressing situation, but her future is an enigma. Yet in searching for the solution of that enigma the words of the great historian Plutarch must not be forgotten, who said that "the past and the future of a nation are close bound together."

I hope that the book of Baron Korff will be read with great interest, and the author will receive the reward that he merits for his splendid work.

EXHIBITION SECTION

I. INDO-CHINA AT MARSEILLES

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

(Translated by HENRI PEYRE)

THE Colonial Exhibition at Marseilles was inaugurated on April 16, in accordance with the official announcement, but at that time the greater part of the collections had not yet arrived and the decorations were unfinished. When I visited the Exhibition all the arrangements had been completed, and I can thus give to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW a full description of its splendours.

Algeria and Tunis have built artistic palaces, the style of which is well known. The *kasbah* of Morocco is elegant; the house of Madagascar represents the palace of Queen Ranavaloa, the curious front of which attracts the eye of the visitor. Western Africa is represented by a *tata*, a kind of home-made fortress in red clay with embattled walls. Unfortunately, this *tata* has a square tower, which is supposed to recall that of the Djeune Mosque, but it is too high and out of all proportion to the modest appearance of the rest of the building. However, I soon understood the reason for this exaggeration when I espied quite near it the Indo-China building, which raises its central tower to a height of more than 180 feet. Western Africa was afraid of looking crushed down by the proportion of the neighbouring palace, and, excited by a feeling of emulation, however misplaced, had decided at all costs to be in the picture!

It has been said that the Colonial Exhibition is in reality that of Indo-China, and I must own that this is true.

Instead of presenting, as she has done before at other exhibitions, little buildings of the Annamite, Cambodian, and Laotian arts, Indo-China has had the happy idea of reproducing the central group of the Angkor Wat Palace, a marvel of Khmer art, which symbolizes in its wonderful harmony the reality of Indo-Chinese union. This palace is square in shape, and has only one story, built upon a strong foundation 30 feet high. Along the four sides runs a graceful colonnade with four pavilions, each entered by a portico. At the corners stand towers looking like tiaras, which are thoroughly characteristic of Cambodian art and rise up to a height of 120 feet. From the centre of the building the central dome looks down upon us. It is reached by imposing flights of stairs, intercepted by many wide landings. Similarly eight stairways lead from the basements to the porticos.

In front of the building two delicate colonnades lead to light, graceful

pavilions, which are crowned by two towers identical with those of the temple and reflected in its sacred waters. Five buildings surround the main edifice; three are placed around the palace, and are used for local exhibitions of the countries of the Union. The two others recall the Angkor libraries, and are graceful and very light pavilions, occupied respectively by the offices of Indo-Chinese "tourism" and the Press.

Along the walls of the galleries we see the *devatas* and *apsaras*, which are the houris of the Khmer legends. The porches are guarded by giants leaning on their clubs; sacred lions crouch on the landings of the stairs. Lastly, the great Naga displays around the palace square its winding body, and opens before the stairs its seven yawning mouths. But let us ascend the giant stairway and enter this palace, which recalls to our mind the power of the Khmer kings of the twelfth century. In the wide hall, adorned with all the ornaments of Indo-Chinese art, we find pictures to represent the various stages in the story of Indo-China's incorporation with France: the merchants of Rouen on the banks of the Mi Kong, the negotiations with the Court of Annam, and the setting up of the Cambodia Protectorate. Then there are the statistics describing the effects of French administration; the budget and fiscal history of the colony; the great share she took in the war loans. These details are supplied by the Director of the Treasury. Further, the Sanitary Service shows what has been done against tropical diseases and epidemics, the medical assistance given in clinical and lying-in hospitals, as well as for the protection of children. The Educational Service has accomplished an especially important work in connection with the University College of Hanoi, the secondary schools there and at Saigon, the colleges for French and native boys, and the small village schools. The numerous professional schools exhibit the work of their pupils, some of which, particularly vases and wooden sculpture, are really remarkable.

A special reference must be made to the exhibition of the French Far Eastern School; besides the rich library of periodicals, it exhibits reproductions of the most beautiful specimens from its famous museum, the results obtained by the Archaeological Survey, the Iconographical Mission, and one of its most distinguished members, M. Goloubev, who is its representative at the Marseilles Exhibition. Moreover, I must not pass over the work of the Geographical Service, the Society of Ancient Hue, of Indo-Chinese Studies, of the Friends of Hanoi, etc. These allow us to form an idea of the intellectual activity of the colony and the zeal with which Frenchmen study Indo-China.

The Economic Exhibition is on the ground floor in the wide area bounded by the palace buildings. The sections of Fishery and of Hunting are especially remarkable, the former with its aquarium, the latter with its zoological park.

Behind the central palace runs the Annam street, populated by craftsmen, workmen, and merchants, who, under the eye of the spectator, ply their trades and sell the objects of their industry. There are some "silent houses," belonging to notable personages, the rich furniture of which is worthy of admiration. Further on we see the schools in which Annam,

children pursue their regular studies and their French lessons, although their attention is somewhat diverted by the visitors.

Around a small lake Cambodian and Laotian hamlets are grouped. They are built on piles. They are real villages, transported to Marseilles. Women are weaving and working in the silkworm nursery, men driving peaceful buffaloes, or huge elephants heavily plodding their way.

Then you can sit down at one of the red lacquered tables of the Annam restaurant under verandas adorned with many-coloured lanterns and while away an hour amid the sweet melodies of the Laotian orchestra.

The Marseilles Exhibition will be open until next November, and I can commend it very warmly to all those who are fond of the East and realize its mystic charm. Moreover, they can see with their own eyes the results of the colonizing genius of Frenchmen.

II. AN ARTIST OF OLD JAPAN

BY W. GILES

A unique opportunity has just been afforded us to study the spirit of ancient Japan by a series of paintings exhibited by Shunko Sugiura at the Japanese Embassy. The artist was present at the opening ceremony—a venerable man of seventy-nine years in the full vigour of life, his face reminiscent of carved ivory, yet beaming with delight whenever addressed in his native language.

To those who only know Japanese art through the medium of her colour prints, this exhibition must have been somewhat perplexing. Further, in this exhibition colour did not play a dominant rôle, but rather the black-and-white. This manner of expression in art was unheard of in the West until the printing press made the literal imitation of the beautifully illuminated manuscript an impossibility. It developed out of a material necessity. In the Far East, on the contrary, it dawned as a spiritual desire, if not as a religious decree; it was loved because of its austerity. Such an artist as Shunko Sugiura avoids rather than seeks contact with Western traditions and the turmoil of life generally.

To escape its evil influence he banished himself for three years to the mountains, not as one who, blasé with life's surfeit, seeks recuperation at some remote retreat where all the comforts of an hotel are provided, but as an exile to its solitude, living by the sweat of his brow in an ecstasy of artistic fervour the spirit of which has been lost to us since the days when the words "*laborare est orare*" lost their significance.

Twenty-four paintings were shown as an introductory foreword to the exhibition proper. They were created in the style of the dead masters, a usage strangely alien to our conceptions, but serving to illustrate that what we so often deem forgeries have been created on principles other than our own. The aim was to make manifest the distinction between the two schools—colour and tone, and the unhappy fusion that spelt degeneration.

The school of colour is known as Yamato-Ye (ancient Japanese picture), and the school of black-and-white as Kan-ga (ancient Chinese picture). The Yamato-Ye epitomizes the Jodo-shu (Buddhist Jodo sect), which maintained that salvation could be obtained through prayer and the repeating of the name Amidabutsu (Hallelujah). This paved the way to effeminacy and the decline of Imperial power, when necessity demanded the sterner creed of Zen-shu (Buddhist Zen sect), and was adopted by the new régime of the Shogunate. Zen philosophy was esoteric; it inculcated that true greatness comes from within, the result of determination and effort. The cults known to us as the "Tea and Flower Ceremonies" owe their origin to Zen; and if in a thoughtless moment we regard them as trifling we would do well to remember that such doctrines averted the threatened scourge of Kublai Khan and his armada of the thirteenth century, and gave a later Japan her victories on the battlefields of Manchuria—a success that gives to modern civilization a new significance. These pictures are an epitome of this spirit, and if at first we cannot understand them we should endeavour to learn. Zen philosophy is full of paradoxes, a cryptic path to self-understanding.

The artist's work resolves itself into three divisions, the most important being the black-and-white style of Zen, and two phases of colour expression; one a hard, decisive style of inset-colour touches, reminding one of cloisonné enamel, with a dominant scheme of verdigris green gently enhanced by the reticent use of ultramarine, the other a more juicy brush-wash treatment with a suggestion of tone, and a flush of colour as if seen through atmosphere.

Seeing styles so diverse one naturally asks the artist which style he prefers, and why. I cannot do better than quote his own words.

"Black-and-white is to be preferred because it best reveals the true spirit of Far Eastern Art."

"All but the greatest fail if they incorporate colour, because with increased difficulties come increased defects, destroying what otherwise might have been a more perfect work of art."

"Whatsoever school of colour one would follow the difficulties are the same; he who is not a colourist would fail in the one as in the other."

"The divinity of art should be approached with a singleness of purpose and a spiritual purity of heart."

Though sincerity, the true spirit of art, is the same in every country, he regretted the modern tendency of internationalism.

"The art of every country was becoming the misrepresentation of another."

"Each artist must return to the sincerity of his own soul. Further, art by becoming cosmopolitan was degrading its own mission, whilst the social activities of the modern artist was alienating him from his true calling."

Two paintings—"Magnanimity," in colour, and "The Cool of the Dale," in black-and-white—conclude the exhibition.

They serve as a parable and an epitome of the venerable artist's life, his ideal, and his prayer. In "Magnanimity" we see a hermit's hut among

the mountains where an artist dwells, and Tengu (bird-headed mountain monsters) come to distract him; they symbolize the alluring attractions of life till the artist in despair turns his thoughts to the Gods, who descend on clouds to guide him to celestial understanding, and he renounces the iridescence of the world's vicissitudes, its problems, and its perplexities, whose colour, like flowers, fade and flee; he discards them all for the austere sincerity and simplicity of Zen in the black-and-white painting "The Cool of the Dale," where at last the fever of life is stilled.

THE STORY OF THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY"

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

JUST fifty years ago Dr. James Burgess, then of the Indian Education Department, against the advice of the literary Englishman in India at the time, started a new monthly journal, which he called the *Indian Antiquary*. He was told that there was no room for such a journal in the country, that very few people would subscribe to it, that it could not live long and so would do no good, and that he would only lose his money. There was, indeed, in those days, much to be said for these views, as I found to my own cost some ten years later when the *Panjab Notes and Queries* was started under my editorship. There were three main difficulties: want of continuity of interest in those who affected antiquarian and archaeological studies, largely owing to the shifting nature of the European population; want of continuity in the editing and management for the same reason; want of support from the natives of the country owing to the absence of the special education necessary. Both editing and publication tended to become a "one-man job," and in some respects they are still a "one-man job" after fifty years of experiment. But Dr. Burgess was not a man to be deterred by such considerations as these, and so, on the January 1, 1872, the first number of the *Indian Antiquary* appeared, to be continued in the sequel every month through all kinds of difficulties from that day to this, and in a sense even beyond, as such a journal has to be prepared months ahead; so, while I am writing, the numbers for the next quarter are already made up, ready for the final printing orders.

Dr. Burgess was quite clear in his mind as to the objects and scope of his new journal, and expressed himself definitely on the subject on paper. He intended to provide a means of communication between the East and the West on matters of Indian research, and a journal to which students and scholars, Indian and non-Indian, could combine to send notes and queries of a nature not usually finding a place in the pages of the proceedings and publications of Asiatic Societies. It was thus to be a journal for all

India, supplementary to the work of the learned societies engaged in similar studies. It is this consideration that no doubt paved the way for the success it eventually attained. It has never fought anyone and has never striven to be anyone's rival. It has simply come in to help where help was wanted, provided the assistance given was genuinely for the promotion and encouragement of research. That was its aim, and from that aim it has never swerved.

A brief consideration of the contents of the first volume (1872) will show to an illuminating extent how the work has been carried on during a whole half-century, as they are typical of the contents of the forty-nine annual volumes that have followed it. *Archæology* was represented by "rude stone monuments" in Chota Nagpur, "caves" in Ceylon, Khandesh, and Toungoo (Burma). *Chronology* by "the date" of Patanjali. *Epigraphy* by edited inscriptions in Western India, Bengal, Madras, Ceylon, and Canara. *Ethnology* by accounts of the Dards, Gonds, and Kurkus of Bhopal, Dravidians of Madras, Palis of Bengal, and the ancient Dasuss. *Folklore* by notes from Orissa, Oudh, Kathiawar, Bengal, and South India. *Geography* by place-names in Magadha, jungle forts in Orissa, the district of Mathura, and a Persian map of the world. *History* by accounts of the Mughal grandees, the Gauri Raj in Khandesh, and the Bhar Kings of Oudh. *Literature* and *Philology* by the indigenous literature of Orissa, a translation from Chand, some Bengali songs, and accounts of the Ramayana, Bhavabhuti as a poet, the Vrihatkatha, and of a search for Sanskrit MSS. in Gujarat. *Numismatics* by an account of the discovery of Græco-Bactrian coins at Sonpat in the Panjab. *Paleography* by notes on the oldest Indian alphabet and on old Sanskrit numerals.

It will be seen that the *Indian Antiquary* plunged at once *in medias res*, and boldly tackled the questions of the day. It was, indeed, a remarkable beginning, not only for the range and nature of the subjects discussed, but for the quality of the discussions, as the names of the contributors will show. In truth it was a *début* more notable than contemporary students ever even guessed at, because so many of the writers afterwards attained to fame in the world of research and otherwise, and so many of the articles were themselves the foundation of work that subsequently became famous. Among the contributors were (Sir) R. G. Bhandarkar, Albrecht Weber, T. W. Rhys-Davids, J. F. Fleet, E. W. Leitner, C. E. Gover of the "Songs of the Wild Folk, in the Nilgiris," G. H. Damant of the tragic

death in Assam, Rajendralala Mitra, J. H. Beames, the early philologist, F. S. Growse, the historian, H. Blochman, W. F. Sinclair of Maratha history fame, W. C. Bennett of the old N.W.P., J. Aufrecht, K. M. Banerjea, Georg Bühler, J. Murray-Mitchell, and last, but not least, A. C. Burnell of *Hobson-Jobson*. It was in this first volume that Bhandarkar and Weber started that inquiry into the dates of Hindu writers which has subsequently borne so much fruit, and Fleet, in many senses the father of Indian epigraphy, began his invaluable series of adequately and systematically edited Indian inscriptions, which was to put ancient Indian history on a firm basis. It was in this first volume, too, that the folklore of the whole country began to be studied in a way that has led to so much knowledge of the thoughts and feelings of the people in these later days, and that has, alas! been so much neglected by students in England, who seem to have lost sight of the work done by their contemporaries in India itself. It was here also that place-names began to find an inquiry turned on to them, which has since done so much to illuminate Indian geography, ancient and modern. And last, but not least, it was in this volume that an account was published of Bühler's first search for Sanskrit MSS., which led later on to that long-sustained search everywhere for old Indian MSS. in many tongues, that has done so much to preserve the bygone literature of the people and make it live again, to the incalculable good of its present representatives.

The *Indian Antiquary*, however, like everything else, did not spring full-blown into existence, and it had to grow with the ever-increasing knowledge brought about by the exertions of its own contributors and of the researches of the Asiatic Societies, of which it was ever the faithful handmaid. Having found that it supplied a real want, it soon settled down to a definite method of procedure, and set to work to compile for itself a fixed range of subjects, to which it has so far steadfastly adhered without becoming hide-bound thereby. The subjects may be enumerated thus: archæology, geography, history, folklore, languages, literature, numismatics, philology, philosophy and religion of the Indian Empire and, to a certain extent, of its surroundings. Practically all these subjects are still discussed in its pages, though now in a manner that accepts, as axioms, statements and views which in its earlier years were still tentative hypotheses—the proving of the truth of them being largely the work of its own present and bygone contributors.

Following on its first volume, the work of the *Indian Antiquary* went on steadily, volume by volume, almost each one containing some advance in method and knowledge. Thus Vol. II. (1873) contained an article by Dr. Burgess on the art of copying inscriptions, which began the modern mechanical method of reproduction, and also the first reproduction by Lewis Rice on the lines thus laid down. This beginning in the right direction was followed up in 1875 and 1876 (Vols. IV. and V.) by Fleet and Bühler by the systematic editing of inscriptions on the then new plan with the subsequently well-known method of facsimile reproduction: the former commenced that series of well over two hundred edited Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions, which made him the foremost of the Indian epigraphists. And then in Vol. VI. (1877) Griggs came on the scene with his very fine series (some hundreds) of photographs from facsimiles of inscriptions, which showed the way to practically everyone who had since undertaken scientific reproductions. Other famous scholars joined in the work of elucidating Indian history by means of epigraphical studies—Burnell, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Hoernle, West, Hultsch, Jolly, Winternitz—and many lesser lights. In fact, for the first twenty years of its existence, the *Indian Antiquary's* chief claim to eminence as a journal devoted to research lay in its persistent publication of epigraphic data, as the surest means of ascertaining the precise facts of the history of the forgotten times of old. In the last year of Dr. Burgess's control, Vol. XIII. (1884), a notable contribution appeared in Bühler's fundamental articles on the Asoka Pillars at Dehli and Allahabad, following on laborious and costly mechanical facsimiles undertaken by the journal and beautifully reproduced by Griggs. Closely connected with epigraphy is the science of chronology. This, too, has been steadily studied by the writers in the *Indian Antiquary*. It began with an article by Fleet on "Indian Eras" in Vol. VIII. (1879) and D. B. Hutcheon's "Conversion of Mohammedan Dates" in Vol. XII. (1883). Subsequently Fleet entered on those unique studies which have made a certainty of what had hitherto been based on conjecture—in itself not only a monument to his invaluable labours, but an achievement of which any scientific journal may legitimately be proud of having published.

The early issues of the *Indian Antiquary* were, however, far from being concerned only with epigraphy and chronology. Its second volume (1873) saw the commencement

of that long series of articles on Chinese references to Indian Buddhism, which have since become so fruitful a source of accurate knowledge on that great subject. In 1879 (Vol. VIII.) Yule and Burnell began "Hobson-Jobson," the universally known glossary of Anglo-Indian terms. In that year appeared, too, McCrindle's "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea" and Dr. John Muir's "Metrical version of the Mahabharata." The next year saw a new departure in the study of folklore in Mrs. F. A. Steel's and Temple's "Folk-Tales of the Panjab," afterwards published as "Wide Awake Stories." This contained for the first time an analysis of the incidents on which the modern folk-tale is built, leading, in the hands of many subsequent students, to the present-day scientific knowledge of the general subject.

Dr. Fleet and the present writer had been contributors to the *Indian Antiquary* for some time—Fleet since the commencement and myself since 1878—when Dr. Burgess had in 1884 to give up his labours, owing to failing sight, which he happily recovered subsequently. Fleet and I had not only been contributors to the journal, but we had worked together with a little hand-press in Simla, producing scientifically accurate facsimiles of copper-plate grants, and teaching a small staff how to produce accurate *estampages* of inscriptions on rocks and stone. That was the original cause of our undertaking to succeed Dr. Burgess as responsible joint editor and proprietor of his journal. Like Dr. Burgess, we both had official duties to carry on. The partnership lasted for seven years—from 1885 to 1892, when Fleet had to give up his share in the work.

We made no change in the conduct of the journal, and Fleet commenced the long series connected with his name of notes and articles on early Indian chronology with our first joint volume (XIV.) in 1885. These notes took a definite form in 1887 (Vol. XVI.), and in this great work he was joined by Sh. B. Dikshit, Jacobi, Kielhorn, Sewell, and others, some of them sending contributions subsequently appearing as well-known books. But perhaps the most important contribution of all was Dr. R. Schram's "Table for Hindu Dates" in 1889 (Vol. XVIII.). The kindred subjects of epigraphy and geography were never neglected. Kielhorn, Burgess, Bühler, and Hultzsch all joined in, while Sir Aurel Stein sent the first of his many contributions in 1885 (Vol. XIV.), "Afghanistan in Avestic Geography." It may be noted here that in

1889 (Vol. XVIII.) Hultzsch drew attention to the great Kashmiri historical work, Kalhana's "Rajatarangini," which Stein subsequently made his own.

In the first year of the joint editorship, Sir George Grierson appeared as a writer for the first time with a summary of the "Alhakhand" as the commencement of many papers on Indian literature. He was followed in the next year, 1886 (Vol. XV.), by Lady Grierson with her "English-Gipsy Index," followed in her turn in this study by her husband on "Indian Gipsies" in 1887 (Vol. XVI.) and later. This made her the second lady contributor, Mrs. F. A. Steel being the first, but in the same volume Mrs. J. K. Kabraji (Putlibai Wadia) was the first non-European lady contributor with her "Western Indian Folk-Tales." The courageous Ramabai (R. D. M.) was the second in a like capacity. In 1887 Mr. J. Hinton Knowles's "Kashmiri Tales" appeared, which afterwards became a book, while in 1889 (Vol. XVIII.) Taw Sein Ko started on his important Burmese folklore series. In another direction Colonel Jacob, in 1886, initiated his studies in Hindu philosophy, while Numismatics were well represented by Stein, Rodgers, Fleet, and Kielhorn.

The work of these seven years might well be further dilated upon, so as to bring to light again well-known names of the past, if space allowed, but it is now necessary to pass on to the story of the next twenty, when the responsibility fell upon myself alone, both as editor and proprietor, from 1892 to 1911 inclusive.

(To be continued.)

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1922

MESOPOTAMIA: THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

BY SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON,

K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G.

(Formerly Acting Civilian Commissioner in Mesopotamia)

FOR the past two years we have been accustomed to read in daily newspapers "powerful articles" calling upon us to drive from office a Government which, amongst other things, insists on remaining in Mesopotamia.

The writers of these articles, discordantly, but with an insistence and with a wealth of captions which obscure rather than reveal to the public the true issues, assert, amongst other things :

1. That we cannot afford to bear the financial burden involved by the Mandate, amounting to eight million sterling annually, with a prospect of reduction to, say, four millions.

2. That we cannot afford in any case to bear the cost of future military and other expenditure in which we shall be involved if we accept the Mandate.

3. That the people of Mesopotamia do not want us, that this fact exonerates us from the charge of breaking faith with them, as any agreements which we may have concluded during or since 1915 were in substance, if not in form, bilateral, and implied the active consent and co-operation of the inhabitants of the countries whose future was at issue.

4. That we should therefore abandon all interest in, or responsibility for, the internal affairs of Mesopotamia and

Arabia, and *a fortiori* of Turkey in Asia, and permit the various races concerned to work out their own salvation, even though this should involve prolonged anarchy, such as they have not known for the past three centuries.

5. That His Majesty's Government were, and are still, influenced in their policy in the Middle East by the existence of oil deposits near Mosul, of unknown extent and value.

Now, no one who has personal knowledge of the trend of the Middle Eastern policy of the Allies since 1915 will be disposed to deny that errors of policy, of direction, and of execution have been committed at Headquarters in Whitehall and in the Quai d'Orsay, and on the spot in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia during the past seven years.

Students of our Middle Eastern policies may well doubt, in the light of actual happenings, whether the "men on the spot" were better qualified to forecast the future and to guide British policy than the permanent officials and politicians at home.

But they may also reflect that, wretched as His Majesty's Government is, and always has been, in the eyes of its masters, the British public, an impartial observer would probably agree that it is the most stable and, as regards external affairs, the best organized Government in the world, and realizing, as since the Great War we all do, with what little wisdom the world is governed, they may be disposed to agree with the Duke of Wellington, who wrote from Spain in 1811 :

"I acknowledge that I was much concerned to find that persons whose opinions were likely to have great weight in England have delivered erroneous opinions, as I thought, respecting affairs in this country, and I prized their judgments so highly, at the same time that I was certain of the error of the opinion which they had delivered, that I was induced to attribute their conduct to the excess of the spirit of the Party."

But politicians and business-men, who jointly carry on

their shoulders the heavy responsibility of deciding in what channels abroad the nation's commercial activities can most wisely be directed, in order that our export trade—without which we must perish—may again be restored to its former volume, recognize that an unwise restriction of our liabilities abroad may be as calamitous in its results to British commerce as would be a decision on the part of a progressive wholesale export firm to close all foreign agencies which did not show an immediate cash profit.

The question at issue is, it is submitted, not whether we can afford to stay in Mesopotamia, but whether we can afford to go. What would be involved as far as can be seen by our departure from the Iraq? This has not, as far as I know, been publicly discussed by any of the advocates of immediate evacuation.

It is not probable that the present Arab Government, consisting of King Faisal and a Grand Council, would long survive the withdrawal of British assistance; and it is improbable that it would be succeeded by a stable central Government at Baghdad. At first a number of unstable organizations would be evolved, with centres perhaps at Basrah, Baghdad, and Mosul, with varying boundaries, and mutually hostile, but not really under the control of any single chief or organized council. Like Ishmael, his prototype, the desert Arab would remain as always with his hand against every man; the Kurds would obey none and plunder all.

Commerce, the life-blood of the East not less than of the West, would languish still further; and the people who within ten years have spurned the Turks and acclaimed the English, whom in turn they have been induced by a political gang to spurn in favour of an Arab Government, of whom it seems they are now tiring, would demand, in the absence of any practicable alternative, the return of the Turks.

And the Turks would return, for they have a traditional ability to rule alien races of their own faith, which is

excelled, and has indeed been attempted, by no other race; and though their methods are the antithesis of all that we hold right, they continued until 1914 to hold together an Asiatic Empire second in size only to that of Great Britain, in face of the organized competition and the vast resources of all the Great Powers, with only occasional secessions, such as Cyprus, Egypt, and Tripoli, and continued to govern with the consent of the majority of their subjects, where these were Muhammadans.

Is there any practicable alternative to their return? It is conceivable, of course, that were His Majesty King Faisal forced by sickness or by his own inclinations to abandon the rôle which has been imposed on him (and which he has filled so creditably), that Mesopotamia could for some years be governed by a High Commissioner with the assistance of a Grand Council. This solution, which was favoured soon after the Armistice by large sections of responsible Arab opinion in Mesopotamia, was then regarded by His Majesty's Government as being inconsistent with the terms of the Mandate; and it was, moreover, rejected in 1920 by the politically-minded classes in the large towns—Basrah always excepted—as involving a degree of foreign control which was inconsistent with the due attainment of Arab aims.

It might have acted for a limited period of years had it been adopted in 1919. It would not succeed now; we cannot retrace our steps. In any case, it would require more troops than this country is able or willing to supply. Another member of the Sharifian dynasty might possibly accept office, and would doubtless be asked to do so by His Majesty's Government; but it is unlikely that he would for long endure the climatic severities and cultural peculiarities of Baghdad, which are dissimilar to those of Syria or the Hejaz; and unless His Majesty's Government are prepared to administer the country directly, as they did for a period before and after the Armistice, they must, I think, be prepared to see the Turks return.

What would be the effect of their return? Mesopotamia is a country of minorities. There are more Jews in Baghdad than in the whole of Palestine. There are more Christians in Baghdad and Mosul than in Syria; and the French Government, which has so long interested itself in the welfare of Christian communities in Turkey (other than Greeks), would scarcely be entirely indifferent to their fate, whilst it can scarcely be supposed that they will prosper in the event of the return of the Turk triumphant from the defeat of Christian powers on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey in Asia. The return of the Turk to Mesopotamia would probably synchronize roughly with his return to Syria, in which case the abandonment of the Mandate of Palestine would only be a matter of time, and the position of Great Britain on the Suez Canal gravely imperilled. This is no mere flight of fancy; it is the universal testimony of experienced travellers in Trans-Jordania and Palestine during the past few months that public opinion in both areas, but especially the former, is deeply moved by the grant of the Rutenberg Concession, which covers parts of Trans-Jordania as well as of Palestine, and by misapprehensions as to the extent of the Mandate. Bloodshed seems inevitable if any attempt is made to give effect to the schemes of Mr. Rutenberg so far as they affect Trans-Jordania.

Nor is the position in Central Arabia more promising. The abandonment in Mesopotamia of the Mandate by Great Britain would be the signal for further acts of aggression on the part of the Wahabis against the Euphrates' towns, which are defenceless against an invasion from the desert. So long as we have a force at Baghdad, Najaf, and Karbala, they will not be seriously attacked.

The Arab Government cannot defend them. A Turkish Government could and would, for though there is little love lost between Sunni and Shiah, sectarian leaders in these towns have not failed in recent years to keep in touch with the Turks, although during the War they took a leading

part in inciting the Arabs to eject all Turkish officials from the Euphrates region.

What would be the effect of the return of the Turk on British interests? That is the question we may fairly ask ourselves even in these days of altruism in high places, for self-interest on the broadest lines must still remain the only safe guide in international affairs. We may reasonably claim that we know what is good for ourselves, but we are on less safe ground when we attempt to regulate our conduct by what we believe to be good for others. Existing British commercial interests in the strictest and most limited sense would not, I believe, in the long run seriously suffer. British traders have learnt during the past two or three centuries how to conduct their business all over the world without Government support, and have relied upon the honesty of their methods and the independence of the political aims of their own Government to gain the confidence of the rulers of countries in which they work, and have not been unsuccessful. To quote the representative of the Honourable East India Company at Basrah, writing in the early part of the seventeenth century "to his loving friends" at Bombay (I quote from memory): "As for the Turks, wretches though they be, good policy demands that we maintain an appearance of friendship with them, and as we are, so we hope to continue."

But whilst "British trade," in the narrowest sense of the term, would continue whatever form of Government existed in Mesopotamia, provided it was reasonably stable, so long as we have goods to sell and can sell them as cheap, or cheaper, than other nations, the greater work of developing the natural resources of the Iraq would come to a standstill immediately we abandoned our political responsibilities there. And it is in work of this kind that the West can do most to help the East: our title to advise and guide Eastern races in matters scientific is not yet disputed. Western political and economic theory is discredited, but Western science is in high esteem. It is universally agreed

that the political progress of the country is limited, amongst other things, by the educational standard of the people at large, which cannot be raised except, *pari passu*, with the standard of living; and there is good reason to think that, unless the latent resources of the country are developed, no great change can take place in the standard of living nor in the total population, which now stands at the low figure of two and three-quarter millions, less than twenty to the square mile.

These latent resources are mainly agricultural, and can be developed by local enterprise, aided by foreign capital, foreign machinery, and foreign scientists. At the International Cotton Congress at Stockholm, three months ago, a speaker claimed that Iraq could produce a million bales of cotton of long staple, equal to best Egyptian, annually, under a proper system of irrigation. There is every reason to think that this is not an exaggerated estimate, and the world needs cotton.

Other staples, such as dates, wheat, barley, skins, wool, etc., can be produced in far larger quantities and of better quality than at present, if science be brought to the aid of the tiller of the soil, as it is beginning to be under the present regime by an Agricultural Department staffed by wise and patient enthusiasts. Oil there is in unknown quantity and of unknown quality, some 300 miles from the sea, but it will be years before it will be a source of profit to anyone owing to difficulties of exploitation, for, as far ahead as it is possible to look, agriculture must be the main source of wealth, and irrigation the principal instrument of the agriculturist; thus alone can the barren wastes of Mesopotamia, which obsess our publicists, in their Fleet Street offices, as grievously as they obsessed our soldiers in 1916, be made to support life and an organized Government.

But "British interests" and "British commercial interests" are not synonymous terms, though the former includes the latter. His Majesty's Government have to

consider the effect of their policy upon other nations, signatories to the Treaty of Versailles and to the unratified Treaty of Sèvres. To abandon our Mandate in Mesopotamia will mean that the French must abandon theirs in Syria. It will probably mean the disappearance of the kingdom of the Hejaz. We have in the past prided ourselves—not, perhaps, with very good reason—on having kept our word as a nation, although in international political circles the spirit of compromise and of readiness to bow to force, whether exercised by majorities or minorities, which informs our Press, our Parliament, and our political leaders, has given us the reputation abroad embodied in the phrase “Perfide Albion.”

The word “prestige” has been much misused in the past, but it exists nevertheless. Our prestige is the good name and reputation of Great Britain, and, by an association of ideas, of Britons all over the world. It is our greatest asset, the priceless inheritance of every subject of His Majesty King George V. who travels abroad. Let us not lightly endanger it. “A good life hath few days,” saith Ecclesiasticus, “but a good name endureth for ever.”

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the bearing on current events of our past or present actions in Mesopotamia, nor is it intended to discuss possible alternative forms of government. But on the general question it may be remarked that in the writer's view the real issue under the Mandatory system is the nature of the sovereign powers to be exercised by the ruler in Mandated territory. The fact is that the Treaty of Versailles involves a fresh conception of sovereignty. Either a country must be independent, in which case there is no question of a Mandate, although it may voluntarily accept assistance (*cf.* Persia), or it is not independent, although it may enjoy a high degree of autonomy. The very word sovereignty is in these days somewhat out of date, as it connotes so many grades of autonomy within the British Empire. Under Article 22 of the League of Nations the Mandatory power undertakes

responsibility for the well-being and development of the people in respect of which it accepts a Mandate, and the people in this state are described as under tutelage. This involves the ultimate exercise of authority by the Mandatory Power. The requirements of the Mandatory system are thus inconsistent with the Anglo-French Declaration of November, 1918, and with our previous undertakings to the Arabs, and involve us in diplomatic insincerities which it is not possible for us to explain away. The tribes and cultivators in Mesopotamia are still our friends in that they trust us rather than the rulers of their own race, and desire that we should remain and exercise some degree of supervision over them. A popular poem advocating Arab independence, widely circulated in Baghdad during 1920, contained the remarkable but true statement that the tribes and cultivators loved the British, and if anything was to be done in the way of revolution, it must be done by townspeople who enjoyed a monopoly of proper patriotic spirit.

We have not yet discovered any means of enabling the tribes and cultivators in Mesopotamia to make their voices heard in an orderly manner. The Electoral law which was promised some years ago has not yet seen the light. If a system could be devised which would make it possible for the population outside the towns to exercise that influence in public affairs to which they are entitled by their enormous numerical preponderance and by the great proportion of revenue they contribute, there would be great hopes for the future prosperity of the country; but the sooner the Mandate disappears and is replaced by a treaty assigning for a period of years the relations which are to exist between the British and the people of that country the better it will be for all concerned.

Such a course will involve international difficulties, of course, as we hold our position in Mesopotamia by virtue of the Mandate which we have accepted; but the matter is in reality one of form rather than one of substance, and it should not be impossible to find some such solution.

There is another consideration of a general nature which we should do well to bear in mind. Everywhere in Europe, as pointed out by that excellent periodical the *New Statesman*, and indeed in Asia, we see gangs defying Governments, and Governments apparently incapable of suppressing them. A gang is always the enemy of the State, even if its original object is a perfectly proper one. The Bolsheviks began as a gang, though they at present claim to be a Government. The Facisti in Italy and the adherents of Gandhi in India are gangs, and there are gangs in Mesopotamia; and these gangs, although confessedly a minority, do not shrink from bloodshed or worse in order that their will, rather than the will of the nation, may prevail. The Arab dislikes gangs of idealists as much as he dislikes gangs of criminals, and there is no reason to believe that he will for long tolerate the existence of gangs, whether they pose as rebels or as monarchists, when they begin to interfere with his personal liberty.

To abandon Mesopotamia will be to surrender to a gang, and will make us less able to resist pressure in other parts of the world. We have spent, the papers tell us, 350,000,000 pounds in Mesopotamia. We may not hope to recover a fraction of this sum from the country. It was a part, and a small part, of our contribution to the Great War. We have sown there the seeds of personal liberty and of progress; we have inspired hopes amongst peoples who still look to us, with all our faults, with confidence. Let us not lightly abandon our efforts, nor be too ready to count the cost in terms of money, lest we lose what every businessman knows to be more valuable than money—namely, credit, or, in other words, our good name. As Francis Bacon says in his essay "On Plantations":

"It is the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, beside the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons."

THE GREEK DEFEAT AND BRITISH POLICY

BY SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.

THE sword of Mustapha Kemal has cut the Gordian knot in Asia Minor, and the splendid opportunity which was within the grasp of British statesmanship of re-establishing friendly relations between Great Britain and Islam has been thrown away. The last effort of Fethy Bey, the Angora representative, to approach Downing Street met with a curt rebuff. Whatever faith Muslim India had in the sincerity of a desire on the part of the British Cabinet to bring about an equitable solution of the complications in the Near East was largely destroyed by the Prime Minister's pro-Greek speech in the House of Commons on August 4. That impolitic utterance showed that the high-sounding British pledges of 1918, which in some measure were embodied in the barren resolutions of the Paris Conference of March last under French persuasion, were not only to remain unbacked by any effective action, but were to be reversed in the direction of further incitements to the Greeks to tighten their grip on Turkish homelands. A little over a week after this fresh provocation to the Ottoman Nationalists the Angora Council of War decided not to delay the offensive, which has swiftly demonstrated to the world that the Prime Minister's glowing picture of Greek prowess, which aspired to the crowning of Constantine in the Mosque of St. Sophia, was delusive. The victories of the Turks, which within a fortnight after the first onslaught on August 26, have either completely shattered or captured the Greek army, except the Third Army Corps, and have swept its remnants out of Asia Minor, fully justify the view of Marshal Foch and Sir Henry Wilson, whose expert advice was set aside by the Supreme Council to gratify the vaulting ambition of M. Venizelos to possess "Naboth's Vineyard" as a step towards the realization of his grandiose scheme

of establishing, with the help of Great Britain, a Greek Empire in the Near East on the ruins of dismembered Turkey. This dream has now vanished, but the spirit of Anglo-Hellenism which produced it is still active, and seems bent upon further undermining the allegiance of the King's 100,000,000 Muslim subjects.

Anglo-Hellenism owes its inspiration to Gladstone's violent hatred of the Turks—nay, of all Muslims—whom he denounced as the followers of "that accursed book." In his perfervid and stirring philippics against the Ottoman nation he conjured up before his enthralled audiences the vision of a "Divine figure" in the North, destined to liberate enslaved humanity in the Near East, little dreaming at the time that within the lifetime of a generation this Russian divinity would assume the repulsive form of the blood-stained red monster of Bolshevism bent upon the destruction of civilization. The flame of racial and religious animosity lit by Gladstone has been fed and kept alive by many eminent followers of that great Englishman. It is fortunate for the cause of international justice and inter-racial amity that the venom of religious hatred has not permeated all sections of English politicians. British public life is still rich in the possession of many far-sighted statesmen, whose vision is not blurred by race prejudice, and whose broad-minded tolerance has helped to strengthen the fabric of an Empire in which the believers in Islam largely outnumber the Christian races. With them they wish to live in friendship and harmony, if the crusading spirit of the West which seeks to restrict their right to independence is diverted into more beneficent channels.

To estimate the effect on Muslim India of the British Cabinet's persistent Philhellenism in the light of the Greek debacle, which places the Turks in a position to reconquer the Ottoman territory in Europe in which there are Muslim majorities under Greek domination, if the Allied Powers maintain a really neutral attitude—in the case of the Greeks in similar circumstances the attitude of the British Cabinet has always been pro-Greek—a cursory survey may be taken of the

outstanding events which have brought about the present situation, with special reference to Mustapha Kemal's attitude.

In spite of the anti-Turk propaganda, Great Britain's relations with the Ottoman Empire continued to be friendly, on the whole, until 1907—British policy being dominated by a distrust of Russian designs in the Near and Middle East, with special reference to India. In that year the Anglo-Russian Alliance brought about a complete reversal of that policy and foreshadowed the absorption of Constantinople by Tsarist Russia and a further dismemberment of Turkey. The Young Turk revolution of 1908, in which Mustapha Kemal participated, was inspired by a patriotic desire to avert this catastrophe, but Russia, backed by the might of England, succeeded in smothering the aspirations of Young Turkey to replace the absolutism of Abdul Hamid by a progressive Constitutional Government. The frantic efforts of the Turkish Constitutionalists to prevent autocratic Russia from involving the Ottoman Empire in continuous misfortunes proved unavailing in the face of this powerful Anglo-Russian combination, which has done irreparable harm to British prestige in the East and impaired the good-will of Britain's friends in every Muslim country. The Italian and Balkan Wars accelerated the process of Ottoman disintegration desired and set in motion by Russia. When the Great War broke out, Turkey, to save herself from the Russian menace, was driven into the arms of Germany, though Mustapha Kemal, in view of the overwhelming strength of the Allies, was opposed to the idea of linking the fortunes of the Osmanlis with those of Germany and Austria. He foresaw the probable defeat of the Germans, but as he then held a subordinate position under Enver Pasha, he had to carry out the latter's orders. His differences with Enver did not prevent him from bending all his energies toward the defence of the Dardanelles, and his brilliant success at Anafarta in 1915 marked him out as a capable and resourceful soldier. He was sent to Syria at a time when the Ottoman defence of Palestine had already collapsed.

The events which ensued led to the Mudros Armistice of October 30, 1918, which was scrupulously observed by the Turks until the abortive Treaty of Sèvres was signed on August 10, 1920. This treaty, which is believed to have been the sorry offspring of the collaboration of M. Venizelos with the British Prime Minister, marked what is universally considered in India a barefaced breach of faith. It revealed as in a flash to the astounded world of Islam an unparalleled instance of the power of race antipathy to extinguish all sense of justice and honour. It rekindled the smouldering fire of Muslim exasperation and gave birth in India to the Khilafat movement, which aims at drawing closer the bonds of Islamic unity for self-protection. It became apparent that the menace to the free existence of Muslim nations which the British treaty with Russia had presaged was reborn in the new combinations in Europe among which Anglo-Hellenism took a prominent place.

Kemal realized that the reduction of the Ottoman nation to complete impotence was the aim of the European Powers. He found Constantinople occupied by British, French, and Italian troops. The warships of the Allies were anchored in the Bosphorus to overawe the Ottoman population. The railways in European Turkey and in Asia Minor were held by the French and the English. There was a cordon of iron around the small remnants of Turkish territory—the Turkish ports were under foreign control. The Ottoman Army was demobilized and a garrison of 700 was deemed sufficient for the protection of the capital of an Empire which at one time was the most powerful in Europe. This formidable combination of antagonistic forces stirred Mustapha Kemal's patriotism to a supreme effort to save whatever he could of the Osmanli heritage and national freedom.

He knew that the extinction of the Sultan's authority, who was practically a prisoner in Yildiz Kiosk, offered no scope to his energies in Europe. He therefore turned his eyes to Asia Minor. But his activities there were opposed by Damad Farid, the Ottoman Prime Minister, who under Allied inspira-

tion eventually dismissed him from the Ottoman Army. This release from official fetters gave him a free hand and widened his opportunities of maturing his plans. Henceforth he consecrated his life ceaselessly to the attainment of national independence.

The Greek occupation of Smyrna on May 15, 1919, at the instigation of Great Britain, France and America, was intended to forestall Italy's suspected designs on that ancient port. The Greeks signalized their landing by an unprovoked and cruel massacre of Muslims. Thirty-one Turkish officers were beaten to death on the quays, and inoffensive civilians were bayoneted and their bodies thrown in the sea under the eyes of British naval officers, who were powerless to prevent the slaughter. This blood-curdling incident sent a thrill of horror throughout the homelands of the Turks, and gave a tremendous impetus to the Nationalist movement. Two months after this episode an Ottoman Nationalist Conference met at Erzerum, and at the instance of Kemal it was decided to organize a Nationalist Government at Angora quite independent of the impotent régime at Constantinople, which was dominated by the Allied military authorities.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha's plans met with rapid success. He first directed his energies towards the building up of a solid Nationalist majority in the Constantinople Parliament. But the British military commands stifled this Parliament and deported to Malta Kemal's adherents. The Constantinople Parliament, however, had adopted in January, 1920, the "National Pact" framed by the Angora Assembly as embodying "the limit of sacrifice to which the Ottoman Parliament can consent to go in order to assure itself a just and lasting peace."

The Turkish "National Pact" is of vital importance at the present moment, in the light of the Nationalist victories, as it would largely influence Kemal Pasha's attitude in the settlement of the terms of peace. The provisions of this pact are summarized below in Mustapha Kemal's own words as quoted by the *New York World*:

" I. We abandon claims to territories inhabited by Arab majorities, but consider the rest of Turkey as a political, racial, and religious unit.

" II. We leave the status of Western Thrace to be decided by its own inhabitants, but we do not accept any compromise for Eastern Thrace.

" III. We accept and support the rights of minorities in accordance with the principles decided upon by the Powers in regard to the minorities in the case of newly created States.

" IV. We demand unconditional restoration of Constantinople and the Straits, but give due respect to the rights of the interested Powers in the freedom of the Straits for commerce and communication.

" V. We insist upon the recognition of the political, economic, and judicial independence of Turkey."

These claims, if closely examined in an unbiassed spirit, will be found to be entirely consonant with the principles which the Allied Powers enforce in regard to their own sovereign rights, and which they have accepted in the case of Christian States. But it seems to be tacitly assumed that Turkey must not aspire to independent existence, and that Islam must submissively acquiesce in the isolation and foreign control of the seat of the Khilafat. The Greek pincers in Thrace, backed by the non-foreign force in Gallipoli, must remain ever ready to close round Constantinople, so that the Sultan may remain an absolutely helpless puppet at the mercy of the naval squadron in Turkish waters. It is difficult to imagine a more humiliating and precarious position for the head of any self-respecting people.

Constantine's return to the throne of Greece created a split between British and French solidarity. Though Constantine was intensely disliked by the British nation and the English Cabinet was much chagrined by the fall of Venizelos, the British Foreign Office continued to support the Venizelist policy of self-aggrandizement, which Constantine pushed forward to strengthen his position. But the French recoiled, and in October, 1921, entered into friendly relations with Angora. This unexpected development strengthened the

hands of Mustapha Pasha and eased the French military situation both in Europe and in Asia. Thus, France is now looked upon as the friend of Muslim nations struggling for independence, and Great Britain, which prides herself on being "the greatest Muhammadan Power in the world," has been placed in the invidious position of being regarded in India as "the only enemy" of Mussalman races. This deplorable view of Muslim India may be wrong, but it conveys a warning to British statesmen to reconsider their pro-Greek attitude, which Mr. Montagu has characterized as "calamitous."

The National victory in Asia Minor is being viewed from varying standpoints by Britain, France, and Italy. In England the unexpected success of the Nationalist Army has aroused considerable uneasiness and some apprehension unworthy of a mighty nation whose traditions of liberty and independence are unequalled in history. The French Government has declared its readiness to discuss any suggestions that might lead to a settlement, "provided that the legitimate aspirations and susceptibilities of the Turks were safeguarded." Italy does not wish to hinder "the resurrection of the Muslim power—which served as a point of junction between the Islamic world and Western Europe—within her own proper frontiers." But what about the British Empire, which holds about a third of the total Muhammadan population of the world? What has been the reflex action of the anti-Turk policy in India, Persia, Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine? In what light do the Muslim races in these countries view the British attitude? British statesmen have to consider these questions in a serious and unprejudiced spirit. They have hitherto gravely underestimated the strength of the bonds which unite the Islamic world. Unstatesmanlike efforts to weaken or sever these ties of a common brotherhood have only added to their firmness. If there is any menace to British authority in Muslim lands under the ægis of Great Britain, it is due to a policy of unfulfilled pledges together with the partisanship of non-Muslim races.

Mustapha Kemal in the hour of his victory does not go

beyond the principles embodied in the "National Pact." His statement of the peace terms as reported by Mr. Ward Price, who had an interview with him, includes "every security for the free passage of the Dardanelles." The frontiers he claims cover the regions in which the Turkish race is predominant in population. He asks for Thrace up to the River Maritza and Constantinople, besides Asia Minor, which he has reconquered, and as to which there is no question now. His other terms are of minor importance, and principally affect the security of Constantinople from sudden attack and the reparations to be demanded from Greece.

These terms, which are, in essence, reproduced in the appeal addressed by the Muslim members of the Central Legislature in India through the Viceroy to the British Government, do not prejudicially affect any vital British interest. The only British interest in the Near East is the free passage of the Straits, which is not in danger. The question now is whether the British Government considers the good-will of 70,000,000 Indian Muslims of greater importance in the wider interests of the Empire than their partisanship of the Greeks. The spectacle of India making heavy remittances to Angora to help the Turkish Nationalists to organize and equip their army to foil the schemes of Anglo-Hellenism revealed a dangerous cleft in the fabric of the British Empire. Muslim India, after the victory of Kemal, has once more urged that this cleavage should be repaired. India has been watching with pained surprise and increasing resentment the pro-Greek activities of British Ministers despite the fact that the half-hearted and enforced participation of the Greeks in the War was wholly dominated by their greed to share in the spoils of victory, whereas Turkey could hardly have been defeated, as Mr. Lloyd George has admitted, without the disinterested sacrifices of Indian soldiers.

India is anxiously waiting to see whether the Prime Minister will extricate his Cabinet from the entanglements into which it has been led through the influence of M. Venizelos, the stormy petrel of Near Eastern politics, who is now out again to exploit the Philhellenism of his friends.

The attitude of some British politicians and publicists is not calculated to ease the situation in India or to promote good feeling. It is being urged that the strangle-hold on Constantinople should not be relaxed, so that the heart of the Ottoman Empire may remain paralyzed and isolated from its body in Asia. The policy of France, which is in favour of Turkish "legitimate aspirations," and the Italian view, which does not oppose the "resurrection" of Turkey, have aroused grave

misgivings in England, the principal guardian of Muslim interests. Energetic efforts are being made to bring France and Italy to heel, so that the Allies may present a united front in preventing an Islamic renaissance, which it is feared may be stimulated if Turkey is allowed to raise her head. The conditions of peace are already being prejudged, and the British Navy has received orders to keep the Nationalist Turk out of Europe. Attempts are being made to saddle him with the crime of firing Smyrna, though every Ottoman interest was involved in preserving the famous town, and to excuse the Armenians and the Greeks, who had every motive of revenge to destroy what they were abandoning.

The effect of this attitude on Muslim India can easily be imagined. The ties woven through long years of wise and righteous statesmanship have already been subjected to a severe and continuous strain. Mr. Shinivasa Sastri's view that many among "the Muhammadan population of India were ready to forswear their allegiance to the British Empire" is overcoloured and need not be taken seriously, but it conveys a warning.

It is still in the power of the British Government not to put a further strain on the loyalty of Indian Muslims, and to deal with the new situation created by the Greek collapse in a spirit of fairness unhampered by preconceived notions and past commitments. Great Britain's relations with Islam, in the higher interests of Imperial solidarity and world-peace, ought to be inspired by mutual trustfulness and good-will in view of the wide ramifications of the Anglo-Muslim connection over three continents.

THE INDIANIZATION OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICES

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

THE preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, contains the following statements: "It is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. Progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction

should now be taken. The time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples. The action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

Under Section 36 of the Act the Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct, provided that every person appointed before the commencement of the Act by the Secretary of State in Council to the Civil Service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing rights, or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them as the Secretary of State in Council may consider just and equitable.

The Joint Select Committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons appointed to consider the Government of India Bill said in their Report: "The Committee think that it is of the utmost importance from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself, and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly-elected legislatures of India. They also desire to emphasize the wisdom and justice of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration, but they wish to make it perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified."

After the passing of the Act, the Secretary of State laid down that the maximum, to be attained probably in 1929, of posts held by the Indian Civil Service to be filled by Indians is 48 per cent., this being an all-round figure intended to cover the total Indian recruitment from all sources, including promotion from the Provincial Service and appointments of practising lawyers in India, and also of candidates selected after a separate competitive examination held in India (the arrangements for which have recently been announced). Somewhat similar percentages have been prescribed for the recruitment in India for the higher posts in the Forest, Educational, Agricultural, Engineering, and Railway Services. In the Police Service the maximum fixed is 33 per cent. Of

the 174 appointments made to the Indian Medical Service since 1915, 101 have been filled by Indians and only 73 by Europeans. The effect of these recent Orders will be that after a few years about half of all the higher posts in these different departments of the Civil Service in India will be held by Indians. Great progress had already been made in associating Indians in every branch of Indian administration, but the transfer of power and responsibility from British to Indian hands has by these Orders been greatly accelerated.

The elected members of the new Indian Legislatures are, however, not satisfied with this liberal application of the policy of Parliament, and the Legislative Assembly, notwithstanding a strong warning given by Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Government of India, adopted the following Resolution on February 11, 1922: "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that enquiries should, without delay, be inaugurated as to the measures possible to give further effect to the declaration of the 20th August, 1917, in the direction of the increased recruitment of Indians for the all-India Services, and also that steps be taken to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter the technical services in larger numbers than is at present possible." The Secretary of State agreed that Local Governments should be consulted on the issues involved in this recommendation, and requested that ultimately the views of the Government of India should be set out in a reasoned despatch for his consideration. The Government of India accordingly on May 20 last issued a Memorandum to all Local Governments asking for their opinions on this question, which they recognized as being of fundamental importance to the future welfare of India. In that Memorandum they summarize with an attempt at impartiality the arguments for and against radically modifying the existing policy, and conclude by inviting the opinion of Local Governments on the following among other questions: "Should the recruitment of Europeans for the appointments now included in the all-India Services be discontinued or largely reduced? If so, in what Services and to what extent in each Service?"

The Government of India were not bound to take action on the Assembly's recommendation, and appear to have committed a serious error of statesmanship by issuing such a Memorandum, even with the approval of the Secretary of State. It has naturally given rise to a feeling of consternation among all the European members of the Civil Services in India, already greatly disheartened by the effects of the recent course of events on their position and prospects, and has fur-

ther discouraged possible recruits to those Services from this country. The difficulty of obtaining suitable British recruits is already very great. Out of the 86 candidates for last year's Indian Civil Service examination, only 26 were British, and of these only 3 were successful, as compared with 13 Indians. The supply of qualified British doctors for the Indian Medical Service has practically ceased, and similar difficulty is experienced in filling vacancies in the other Civil Services of India.

It was partly in consequence of this state of affairs that the Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons on August 2, emphasized the experimental character of the recent reforms, and declared that Britain would in no circumstances relinquish her responsibility to India, and that to discharge that great trust it is essential that we should have, not merely the aid of Indian Civil Servants and Indian legislators, but also the continued assistance of British officials. He said that these British Civil Servants were entitled to every word and deed of support that the Imperial Parliament could give, and that if they needed it, it was the business of statesmen to give it, to stand behind them, to support them, and to see that they were given justice and fair-play. He said that there was no idea of winding up the British Civil Service, that the Government consider it not merely as an integral part of the system, but as essential to the very life of that system, and that in that spirit they would consider everything that affected its conditions. He declared that whatever the British Government did in the way of strengthening the administration in India, there was one institution they would not interfere with or cripple, there was one institution they were not in the least going to deprive of any of its functions or of its privileges, and that was the institution which built up the British Raj—the British Civil Service.

This speech aroused great excitement in India, and notwithstanding assurances given by the Viceroy that nothing in the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Commons was intended to conflict with, or to indicate any departure from, the policy announced in the formal declarations and His Majesty's proclamations, the matter was brought up at meetings of the Indian Council of State and Legislative Assembly on September 8. The Council of State, after discussion, dropped the question. On the other hand, the Legislative Assembly passed a resolution by 48 votes to 34 expressing grave concern at Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech in the House of Commons on the future of India as conflicting with the declaration of 1917 and with the declarations made by the King. It is natural that many of the elected Indian members

of the Indian Legislatures should be anxious to hasten the Indianization of the Services, which would increase the power exercised by men of their class, and give them a larger share of the higher appointments held by servants of the State in India. It is also natural that they should feel confident of their capacity to govern their fellow-citizens as efficiently as they have been governed in the past by a succession of British officers. But it does not follow that the British Parliament should accept this estimate of their abilities or yield to their wishes without regard to other more important considerations. Men are too apt to think and write of the people of India as if they were fully represented by the elected members of the Indian Legislatures. They forget that, while there are some 250 million people in British India, apart from the Indian States, the franchise for the Provincial Councils has been conferred on only about 6 million electors—that is, on about one-eighth of the 50 million male householders, seven-eighths of whom have no say in the elections. It is also to be remembered that at the last election, even in contested constituencies, only about one-third of the electors recorded their votes, and in some cases, where apathy or intimidation kept many from the polls, only about one-tenth of the men entitled to a vote cared to exercise it. The present elected members of the Legislatures can therefore hardly claim to be fully representative even of the general body of electors, and can in no way be accepted as representing the seven-eighths of the population who have no share in the franchise at all. Those voteless millions include the great body of the uneducated peasantry and the depressed classes, and one of the greatest dangers of the reforms is that they will result in placing those uneducated masses at the mercy of the comparatively small educated fraction of the population, while, so far as past experience goes, the interests of those voteless people cannot safely be left in the hands of the educated class. This was recognized in the instructions issued to the Governors of Provinces in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, who specially required and charged those Governors individually to take care that due provision shall be made for the advancement and social welfare of those classes amongst the people committed to their charge who, whether on account of the smallness of their number or their lack of educational or material advantages, or from any other cause, specially rely upon His Majesty's protection, and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action, and that such classes shall not suffer or have cause to fear neglect or oppression. One of the first duties of the Governors and of the Government of India is

to protect those helpless masses of law-abiding people from tyranny and oppression at the hands of their more violent or more astute neighbours, and there is good reason to fear that until recently, at all events in some Provinces, that first duty has not been adequately fulfilled, whether from a desire to create a favourable atmosphere, first for the acceptance of the reforms, and afterwards for the visit of the Prince of Wales, or from a desire to carry out at all costs the supposed wishes of Parliament as indicated by its spokesman, the Secretary of State for India. Whatever were the motives for this action or inaction, the result has been deplorable. Their interference with the ordinary course of law as heads of the Executive Government or as the depositaries of the prerogative of mercy, while it has failed to conciliate the extremist non-co-operators, has grievously disheartened the judges, magistrates, and police in their efforts to maintain law and order, has shaken the confidence of the people generally in the power and justice of the Executive Authorities, and has encouraged all who by violent action or violent speech seek to impose their will upon their law-abiding fellows. So, too, in their dealings with the Legislative Councils, in many cases the Governor-General and the individual Governors have, against their better judgment, yielded to the wishes of majorities of those Councils, and have failed to exercise the powers which Parliament conferred upon them in the Government of India Act. They have no doubt wished to carry with them the Indian members of their Executive Councils, but have forgotten that great powers are conferred upon them individually, and that it is their duty to exercise them in the interests of peace and good government.

It was a trying ordeal for the Legislative Assembly in its first years to be faced with a serious deficit in the Budget, and to have to undertake the unpopular duty of imposing fresh taxation. On the whole, they carried out that duty better than might have been expected, but they refused to pass some of the more important proposals put before them by the Governor-General in Council, and left a large deficit in the current year's Budget uncovered. The acceptance of their refusal by the Governor-General in Council seems to have led some of the members to form an exaggerated idea of their power over the purse, and to think that, by the exercise of that power, they can compel the Government to reduce the expenditure under those heads, such as the cost of the Army, or the salaries of persons appointed by the Secretary of State, which under Section 25 of the Act are not to be submitted to their vote. It is to be noted, however, that that Section

provides that the Governor-General in Council, if satisfied that any demand which has been refused by the Legislative Assembly is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities, shall act as if it had been assented to. The Joint Select Committee in their Report said : "It should be understood from the beginning that this power of the Governor-General in Council is real, and that it is meant to be used if and when necessary." Further, the Section empowers the Governor-General himself in cases of emergency to authorize such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India, or any part thereof, and under Section 26, where either Chamber of the Indian Legislature fails to pass in a form recommended by the Governor-General any Bill (this includes a Bill imposing new taxation), the Governor-General personally may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India, or any part thereof, and thereupon the Bill shall become an Act of the Indian Legislature, and after it has been laid before both Houses of Parliament and has received His Majesty's assent, it shall have the same force and effect as an Act passed by the Indian Legislature and duly assented to. It may become necessary (especially if at the next elections the non-co-operators succeed, by intimidation or otherwise, in securing a number of seats in the next Legislative Assembly, with the object of wrecking the reforms) for the Governor-General in Council, or for the Governor-General himself, to exercise these powers, even to the extent of imposing fresh taxation, with the assent of Parliament, though against the wishes of a majority of the Legislative Assembly, the elected members of which body represent only 1 million voters out of the 250 million people in British India.

It is to be hoped that Parliament, especially after the Prime Minister's strong declaration, will refuse to allow any further acceleration of the rate prescribed for the Indianization of the Indian Civil Services ; that it will fulfil the responsibility which it has itself acknowledged for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples ; that it will realize that the elected members of the Legislative bodies really represent only the educated and propertied classes, and that the interests of the uneducated millions are better represented by the British Civil Servants, owing to their detached position and trained experience ; that it will insist on having put before it not only the opinions of the Government of India and the Local Governments (which now include a large proportion of Indian members of Council, many of whom have had little experience in the work of administration), but of the more

to protect those helpless masses of law-abiding people from tyranny and oppression at the hands of their more violent or more astute neighbours, and there is good reason to fear that until recently, at all events in some Provinces, that first duty has not been adequately fulfilled, whether from a desire to create a favourable atmosphere, first for the acceptance of the reforms, and afterwards for the visit of the Prince of Wales, or from a desire to carry out at all costs the supposed wishes of Parliament as indicated by its spokesman, the Secretary of State for India. Whatever were the motives for this action or inaction, the result has been deplorable. Their interference with the ordinary course of law as heads of the Executive Government or as the depositaries of the prerogative of mercy, while it has failed to conciliate the extremist non-co-operators, has grievously disheartened the judges, magistrates, and police in their efforts to maintain law and order, has shaken the confidence of the people generally in the power and justice of the Executive Authorities, and has encouraged all who by violent action or violent speech seek to impose their will upon their law-abiding fellows. So, too, in their dealings with the Legislative Councils, in many cases the Governor-General and the individual Governors have, against their better judgment, yielded to the wishes of majorities of those Councils, and have failed to exercise the powers which Parliament conferred upon them in the Government of India Act. They have no doubt wished to carry with them the Indian members of their Executive Councils, but have forgotten that great powers are conferred upon them individually, and that it is their duty to exercise them in the interests of peace and good government.

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experienced British officials who are at present in posts of great responsibility in India, or who have recently left the Service and are therefore in a better position to express their own personal views without fear or favour; that it will insist upon the due fulfilment by the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, and the Provincial Governors of the duties imposed upon them by the Government of India Act, and especially of their primary duty of maintaining law and order; and that it will see that the promise recently made by the Prime Minister shall be carried out, and that the just claims of the British Civil Servants of all classes shall be given due consideration, not only in regard to pay and promotion, but in the still more important matter of receiving loyal support from their superiors in carrying out their arduous duties.

If this question were to be decided in accordance with the principle of self-determination, and if it were possible to obtain a free vote of all the heads of households in British India, including the uneducated masses and depressed classes, on the question, "Whether would you rather have a British or an Indian officer to be your judge, magistrate, civil surgeon, police-officer, or engineer," I am confident that in practically every district in British India the vote would be overwhelmingly in favour of the British officer, although there are many excellent Indian officers in the different Services who have benefited by the training and have imbibed the spirit of their British fellow-workers.

The main cause of the pessimistic feeling which undoubtedly at present pervades the British Indian Services is the fear that, owing to weak administration and yielding to violence and threats, the work done by them and their predecessors in building up a secure, prosperous, and contented India will be allowed to fall into ruin, and that it is useless for them to spend their energies in struggling against this fate. If this weak government is allowed to continue, no doubt many of the present civilians serving in all branches of the administration will throw up their Indian careers and leave the country in despair, and few men of the proper stamp will care to risk their future by applying for appointments in India. On the other hand, if Parliament insists on strong, just, and impartial government, there is reason to expect that the great majority of the present officials will consent to stay on and use their best endeavour to make the reforms a success, in the hope that they may ultimately work out to the good of the Indian people; and that, as was formerly the case, a sufficient number of the ablest men from the British Universities will go out to carry on the great work which Britain has undertaken on behalf of those helpless masses of their fellow-subjects.

The future is full of uncertainties, more especially as regards the composition of the Legislative Councils to be elected next year, and as to the extent to which the responsible Governors will allow themselves to be dominated by the votes of majorities on those new Councils. It would seem to be wise for British Civil officers now serving in India not to retire on the reduced pensions now offered them, until they feel certain that their future position in India will be intolerable. And I should advise any undergraduate of a British University who may have thoughts of an Indian career, to apply for an appointment in India without spending time or money on any special preparation for it, and if he is definitely offered such an appointment, to consider all the circumstances, as things then stand, before he decides whether he will accept the offer or turn his attention to some other opening for his work in life.

JAPAN BEFORE AND AFTER THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY A JAPANESE

NEARLY a year has passed since the Washington Conference held its first meeting, and it may not be inopportune to consider what effects that historic assemblage has exercised upon political conditions in the island Empire of Japan and upon her international relations. It is the more necessary to do so because the Japanese considered that the convocation of the Conference by President Harding signified that many points of view, which had long been adumbrated in Japan, were at length to find vent by forming the subject of open and, it was hoped, amicable discussion across the Conference table. It may be stated at the outset that these hopes were, to a large extent, realized, and that the ultimate outcome of the Washington Conference was regarded by the Japanese nation as a further step in its progress along the somewhat thorny path of international understanding.

In the summer of the year 1921, when the holding of the Washington Conference was first informally discussed, Japan had a naval programme, which was known as the "eight-eight" programme, adopted by the Imperial Diet. The object of this programme, it will be remembered, was to provide sixteen capital ships—that is, eight battleships and eight battle-cruisers—none of which at any time should exceed eight years of age. According to the explanations given by

the late Mr. T. Hara, then Japanese Premier, at the Diet in January, 1921, it was the only one which would permit Japan to protect her coasts and shipping to an adequate extent. Japan being financially in a position more comparable to that of the United States than to that of the European nations who fought in the Great War, there seemed to exist no financial obstacles to prevent the execution of the programme. Nevertheless, the idea of a Conference on the limitation of naval armaments was welcomed by many serious thinkers in Japan. The naval and military expenditure were absorbing the greater part of the Japanese State revenue: consequently the limitation of naval armaments, in conjunction with the principal naval Powers, would set free a large surplus for productive purposes without risk of weakening the relative naval strength of the State. There was another reason, however, for which they specially welcomed the Conference. The execution of the eight-eight programme was to be spread over a number of years. At first the burden on the nation would be comparatively light, but as the execution of the programme approached completion, the enormous expenses of the maintenance of the warships already constructed, together with the necessary expenses of replacement of obsolete vessels, would become a heavy drain on the Treasury. In these circumstances, and in consequence of the great rise in the costs of construction, which was already making itself felt in 1921, they feared that towards the end of the programme there would be a probability of a considerable increase in the burden of the taxpayers, a measure which might arouse great public animosity against the programme and might even cause its abandonment. In addition, the Japanese Government's attitude at this period on the subject of Japan's naval strength also gave support to assertions, both in the press and elsewhere, that war between Japan and the United States was inevitable. Even allowing that Japan could afford to enter into a naval shipbuilding race with a country possessing the vast resources and the enormous wealth of the United States, war between the two countries is an impossibility for geographical reasons. In spite of this, and although official statements refuting these rumours were issued from time to time, yet believers in the old "yellow peril" doctrine eagerly assimilated the new tenets and busied themselves in making converts. In these circumstances, it seemed that the best way in which to convince the world at large of the baselessness of these assertions was an agreement on the limitation of naval armaments.

In the meantime a feeling of mistrust against the Washington Conference was loudly voiced in some sections of the

Japanese press and elsewhere. It was specially asked, with some justification, what bearing Chinese questions, which were to be included in the agenda of the Conference, had upon the main issue of naval disarmament. They believed that the Conference would be used as a means of exercising pressure upon Japan with regard to her relations with China, and this was naturally resented. The responsibility for creating this atmosphere of mistrust rested, to some extent, upon Occidental publicists. The foreign press was being continually quoted in Japan, and its utterances were far from being friendly, such phrases as "summoning Japan to the bar of the Conference to give an account of her dealings with China" being not uncommon. It should be remembered that as a comparatively new member of the comity of nations, and only ranking still more recently as one of the Great Powers, Japan is sensitive. She has not yet acquired that toughness of the mental epidermis which is as much a necessity of international, as it is of social, intercourse. Her sensitiveness makes her liable to misconstrue a brusque utterance as an intentional slight, and she suffers accordingly. When downright antagonism or unfriendliness is expressed, as frequently occurred in the press on both sides of the Atlantic both before and during the Washington Conference, Japanese sensitiveness is prone to develop into a conviction that her national amour-propre is being attacked.

The Japanese Government, although fully aware of these dissensions of their critics in and out of the Imperial Diet, decided to participate in the deliberations at Washington, and when their delegates came to the Conference table, they came with the firm intention to do their utmost to assist in bringing about a satisfactory result in its deliberations. This decision of the Japanese Government, in my opinion, entitles them to a measure of appreciation on the part of the other Powers, as Japan's presence was essential to the success of the Conference, and without her participation its decisions would have been practically of no value.

A further question which exercised the minds of the Japanese, and was also much discussed in England in 1921, was that of the renewal or abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The interest in the matter was not confined to the two countries as chiefly concerned, but had gradually assumed an almost world-wide importance. In Japan itself the Alliance had not only always been regarded as a strong moral factor in strengthening Japan's position in international politics, but there were also sentimental reasons, which had become almost traditional, for the widespread desire that the Alliance should

be renewed. That this aspiration was not unanimously shared by all the nations composing the British Commonwealth was, however, manifest during the sessions of the Imperial Conference in London in June, 1921. Public opinion was also hostile to the Alliance in the United States, where the mistaken view still prevailed that England might eventually be forced to choose between violating the Alliance or fighting on Japan's side against America. It availed little to point out that under no circumstances could the terms of the Alliance be subject to such an interpretation: the idea persisted, and gained special credence in the ranks of the alarmists, who still regarded a conflict between America and Japan as almost certain to occur in the future. It was therefore a relief to both Japanese and British statesmen when the question of the renewal of the Alliance was postponed until the following year, especially as the announcement of this decision assisted to alleviate the international situation.

The temporary removal of the Alliance problem did not entirely relieve Japan of her international troubles: there remained the apparently insoluble question of her relations with China, and its unfavourable reaction on the American attitude. Neither in America nor in China had there been evidence that the public was inclined to accept the olive branch which Japan was entirely willing to proffer. With regard to the United States, the thorny question of the status of Japanese settlers on the South Pacific slopes was pending. The Shantung settlement, though honestly desired by the Japanese, still hung fire, and the hostility towards Japan which the delayed settlement was causing in China was being fostered by the utterances of the anti-Japanese section in the United States.

Japan is not in a position to afford all these bad feelings. On the contrary, the Japanese had always believed sincerely, and still do believe, that friendship with their great neighbours, the United States and China, is the keystone of Japanese foreign policy. Without considering the ties which have united all three countries in the past, springing from geographical propinquity and the higher plane of intimate cultural and social relations, Japan was not oblivious of the good offices of the late President Roosevelt, whose mediation was so successful in 1905, when the Peace of Portsmouth brought the Russo-Japanese War to a conclusion. As a matter of plain fact, America had been considered by the Japanese as their best friend up to the end of that war. Then this relation of special friendship began to suffer a diminution owing to differences of an inconsiderable nature which sprang up between

the two countries regarding Japanese immigration and the status of Japanese settlers in California.

Apart from the moral considerations alluded to above, there are great material advantages which accrue to America, China, and Japan by reason of the enormous volume of trade which flows between them. For instance, during the years 1919, 1920, and 1921, China absorbed 21.6 per cent. and the United States 35.7 per cent. of the total value of Japanese exports, Japan receiving from these two countries respectively 11.9 per cent. and 32.2 per cent. of her imports during the same period. The United States, on the other hand, absorbed practically the whole of the Japanese output of raw silk, no less than 93.9 per cent. in value of the total silk exported going to that country. This raw silk represented in value just over a quarter of Japan's total export trade for the years in question, and constituted 70.8 per cent. of the value of the total exports to the United States.

These figures are impressive, because they not only prove the correctness of the Japanese argument that their neighbours are good buyers and customers, but they also demonstrate that, particularly with regard to America, trade rivalry is practically non-existent. The same applies to the Chinese market, where the United States send machinery, locomotives, engines, motor-cars, and oil, while Japan exports cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, matches, and marine products. Under these circumstances, Japan hoped that the opportunities promised at the Washington Conference for the free interchange of ideas would result in restoring her former cordial relations with the United States and China.

Japan, therefore, entered the Washington Conference with three main considerations in view: she desired to co-operate in a plan for ending the ruinous competition in naval armaments, the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance or some equivalent pact which would guarantee the peace of the Far East, and last, but not least in importance, she hoped to effect a change in the unfavourable atmosphere towards her in the United States and China.

As already indicated, the Japanese Delegates knew even before they arrived at Washington that the unofficial "atmosphere" was by no means likely to prove exhilarating. A contingent of the American press representatives, reinforced by some of their British colleagues, who were early on the spot, had thought it necessary to open a campaign of misrepresentation calculated seriously to prejudice a public opinion which was already sufficiently antagonistic to the Japanese. It was therefore a matter for satisfaction to Japan that her

Delegates were successful in reversing the preconceived judgment, and that the consensus of opinion slowly but surely accorded recognition to the conciliatory and tactful bearing which they displayed. The attitude of the Japanese Delegates was described by a British journalist as one of "far-sighted moderation," his opinion being echoed in many quarters which had been noteworthy hitherto for adverse criticism. The settlement of the Yap controversy in November, 1921, on terms mutually acceptable to the United States and Japan, was also a contributory factor in restoring general harmony.

It now remains to consider to what extent Japan is justified in regarding the outcome of the Washington Conference with satisfaction, and how far her diplomacy was successful in attaining the objects in view.

The Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments certainly realized her desire to achieve retrenchment in her naval expenditure, and will spare her the necessity for making further inroads upon the pockets of her taxpayers. The signing of the Quadruple Pacific Treaty, although it is true that the ratification of this document automatically dissolved the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, may be regarded with satisfaction by Japan, because, as optimistic observers have chosen to consider, through its instrumentality the number of her intimate companions on the path of world politics was increased by two without losing the traditional good relationship of England, which was the chief reason that Japan desired the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan should, therefore, be content. Perhaps public opinion in Japan was more inclined to dwell upon the words spoken by Lord Balfour at the plenary session of the Washington Conference on December 10, 1921, when he alluded to the important purpose which the Alliance had served in the course of two great wars, and to the fact that Great Britain and Japan had been united during nearly twenty years by something closer than the mere words of a treaty. Be that as it may, a stumbling-block to American-Japanese understanding was removed by the Quadruple Pacific Treaty, without cutting the ties which united the island Empires of Great Britain and Japan.

Above all, what is regarded by the Japanese as the greatest achievement on the part of Japan is some change of American opinion towards Japan, which was successfully brought about in consequence of this Conference. This present tendency, if well fostered and guided, cannot but lead to the happy return of the former intimate relationship which existed between the two countries. It is not only a matter of great satisfaction to

the Japanese, but also a matter beneficial to the world as a whole.

With regard to Sino-Japanese relations, these profited greatly as the result of the agreement concerning China known as the Nine-Power Treaty. In addition to this, numerous discussions between Japan and China at the Conference table, in which the American and British representatives intervened with friendly intent and great success, culminated in a Sino-Japanese Treaty for the settlement of outstanding questions as regards Shantung.

Thus the labours of the Washington Conference resulted, from the Japanese point of view, in clearing the political atmosphere to an extent which surpassed the most sanguine expectations which the nation has permitted itself to cherish, and her Delegates were able to return home with the consciousness of a task well performed.

What, then, have been the practical results of the Conference, and what steps has Japan taken to give effect to the decisions arrived at?

So far as the navy is concerned, Japan has acted with promptitude. The Asano Shipyard, near Tokio, practically ceased work in April, 1922; and in the same month seven battleships and three battle-cruisers were placed on the reserve list, preparatory to scrapping after ratification of the Naval Treaty. In addition, two large 43,000-ton battle-cruisers which were under construction were changed into aeroplane carriers, and in June the Navy Department announced that the naval bases of Port Arthur, and of Takeshiki and Yeiko in Korea, were to be closed down, whilst Maidzuru and Chinkai, also in Korea, would be reduced to second-class naval bases. With regard to the personnel, some 1,000 commissioned officers were to be placed on the retired list in May, and the active service training for naval ratings was at the same time reduced to two years, 12,000 sailors, out of 55,000, being affected by this order.

All the above-mentioned measures were a direct result of the treaty regarding naval disarmament, but the Japanese Government, influenced by the spirit engendered and fostered by the Washington Conference, immediately after it was concluded, set about the task of effecting reductions and reforms in the Army. The War Office, the General Staff, and other Government Departments concerned, conducted a minute and elaborate investigation into a retrenchment scheme, which was duly approved by the Cabinet on June 30, 1922. Under this scheme the personnel was to be reduced by 56,000 men, the horses on establishment by 12,000, and the period of

military service by forty-five days. A thorough reorganization of the infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and transport corps was to be effected, and superannuated officers, especially those of field rank, were to be dismissed. Before the end of the current fiscal year, proposals for reducing the Army estimates by about 20,200,000 yen were to be laid before the Diet, and a further saving of 2,800,000 yen was to be obtained by a readjustment of the existing Army administration. A yearly expenditure of about 7,000,000 yen during the next thirteen years for the provision of new weapons was, on the other hand, in contemplation, but the net saving to be effected was nevertheless considerable.

In the same spirit of reducing military establishments wherever possible, it was decided to withdraw the Japanese troops from Hankow, from the Maritime Province of Siberia, and from the districts opposite to the island of Saghalien. With regard to Korea, the two garrison divisions are being reduced by some 4,800 men, and the six battalions on special duty in Manchuria for the protection of the South Manchurian Railway zone are being gradually withdrawn over a period of three years, the withdrawal of other troops in Manchuria being likewise begun during the current fiscal year.

Towards the end of July, 1922, an announcement was made by the Japanese Foreign Office that Japanese Post Offices in China would be withdrawn by January 1, 1923, and negotiations are now proceeding at Peking with regard to the details in order to prevent any inconveniences arising when the withdrawal takes place.

As regards the Shantung Treaty between China and Japan, Japanese troops were entirely withdrawn from the Shantung Railway zone on May 4, 1922, the last contingent leaving Tsingtao for Japan on May 9. Ratifications were exchanged between the two Governments on June 2, while outstanding questions are now under the consideration of a joint committee. These negotiations are proceeding smoothly.

All the Washington treaties were ratified by the Japanese Government, without reservations, on August 5, 1922.

The pacific aims of Japanese policy were aptly summed up by Viscount Ishii, the Japanese Ambassador at Paris, when addressing at Geneva on September 7 last the Assembly of the League of Nations, which he attended with Baron Hayashi and M. Adatci in the capacity of Japanese Delegate. He said :

"Japan rejoices that she was able to collaborate with the Powers represented at Washington in the most friendly spirit, and to sign, in common with them, an agreement restricting

naval armaments to such an extent. I am happy to be able to assure you also that the Japanese Government will never hesitate to give their sincere and active support to the labours of the League of Nations, and that all their efforts will be devoted at Geneva, as they were at Washington, towards the development in international relations of a spirit of confidence and peace."

THE PROGRESS OF THE ZIONIST COLONIES

BY ARTHUR D. LEWIS

(Joint-Editor, "*Zionism: Problems and Views*")

READERS of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* do not need to be told that wherever East and West meet there are at the points of intersection problems difficult to settle. Where the West is given responsibility, the burden is great. There is much to charm in the East, but much that calls for improvement. The East, putting the matter without any subtlety, has feeling, spontaneity, and a coloured life: the West has order, law, and scientific methods.

The problem in Palestine after the war is one of the problems of contact between West and East.

The Zionist work in Palestine introduces a special element which is regarded by some as an added burden, by others as an assistance to the development of the country. Zionist Jews, it is said, ought to bridge the gulf between West and East: the Jews go back to the East made familiar with the knowledge and habits of the West.

The test of such a power of cementing divergent races can be applied only after many years, but, in a certain manner, the Zionist work may well prove an immediate aid to English efforts. The Zionists bring money and workers into a backward and poverty-stricken country—a country under-populated because it is under-cultivated, and under-cultivated because it is cultivated by careless and antiquated methods.

Before the war, many of the Zionist immigrants had some means. The effect of the war has been to ruin the parts of Europe where those Jews most directly moved by Jewish nationalist feeling live. The present-day settling of Jews in Palestine is therefore a work of assisted immigration. It is controlled and supervised by the Zionist Organization, and involves the difficult task of transferring a town population to an agricultural life.

The number of immigrants who have entered Palestine in

the three years ending with last December is about 25,000. The total number of Jews in Palestine at the beginning of 1921 was roughly estimated at about 81,000 out of a total population of 761,000. These figures are only estimates. Moreover, these statistics are, unless other considerations are taken into account, very misleading. The immigrants have nearly all been selected by local committees appointed by the offices of the Zionist Organization in various countries. The majority of the immigrants are young and strong—men and also women of such types and with such hopes and enthusiasm as will enable them to root themselves in a fresh soil. They do not carry out the hard work necessarily the worse because many of them are brain workers, for the ideal which inspires them will encourage them to endure.

The immigrants coming into Palestine are idealists. They are idealists who have lived in the main in Eastern Europe, in lands with traditions of persecution of the Jews. They are spurred by faith in a national revival in the land that once was, and has never ceased to be called by them, the Land of Israel.

These pioneers have been largely occupied in the hard but much needed work of road-making. They work in co-operative groups, called *Kevuzoth*, which are of considerable interest to all who care for attempts to improve labour conditions in regard to the control of labour and the distribution of pay. These groups elect their own foremen and supervisors. They contract to carry out specific pieces of work without the intervention of a contractor. Such groups have done the work required in preparation for settlements—terracing hill-sides, removing stones, draining, and building.

So far as is possible, the pioneers (called in Hebrew *Haluzim*) are after this preliminary work settled in the Jewish agricultural colonies.

At first, after the occupation of Palestine by the British, the sale of land was prohibited. As soon as the Land Register was opened, steps were taken to increase the comparatively small holdings of the Zionist Organization. The new estates were not obtained by expropriation, nor were they given to the Zionists by the British Government, as has been alleged and suggested by the enemies of Zionism, but were obtained solely by purchase.

The total area, rural and urban, at the disposal of the Zionist Organization is now more than four times as much as it was two years ago, comprising over 113,000 *dunam* (about 28,000 acres).

Too much attention has been given to the political aspect of the Zionist question. Both Arabs and Jews have some-

times been carried away by enthusiasm, and have darkened the subject with argument and counter-argument, more largely based on what might be than on what is; after the manner of the popular propagandist with whom the resonant phrase need never be checked by the relevant fact. There is necessarily an element of illusion in all discussions on national fate and on social progress. Let us, then, keep to the concrete facts and indisputable figures.

There are now fifty-five Jewish colonies. In 1914 there were only forty-three. The colonies comprise about 165,000 acres of land. These flourishing settlements have introduced notable improvement in agricultural methods and in housing conditions. In Jewish colonies we see the ox-drawn plough replace the man-drawn plough of the Arab. We find the Jews using for the irrigation of their orange and lemon groves motors driven by oil or gas instead of the chain-pumps worked by camel or mule, used by the Arabs. Cattle-breeding, dairy-farming, and rotation of crops enable a less wasteful system of agriculture to be introduced than that which hitherto has been used.

Much more has, indeed, been done than has been generally realised. Take the question of health conditions. The Jews have introduced into the country modern sanitation, and have made modern medical skill available for the general population. The Zionist Medical Unit has treated numerous Arabs as well as Jews. This body controls four hospitals, six clinics, bacteriological laboratories, and training schools for nurses. In six months from September, 1920, to March, 1921, 168,985 visits were paid by patients to the clinics alone. The value of the medical work done by the Zionists is recognized by the Arabs themselves.

In order to prevent the dunes from spreading, the Jews have planted trees on them. They have literally made the desert blossom. At Richon-le-Zion the Government presented to the colony a piece of the dunes in order that they might tie down the sands with trees. In a few years uninhabited places are transformed into garden cities, where Western ideas are adapted to an Eastern atmosphere. The houses in these cities are far superior to those of the neighbouring villages. They are built of stone with roofs of red tiles, which contrast well with the miserable dwellings of mud and straw inhabited by the Arabs, in their not unpicturesque villages which are often barely distinguishable from the hillsides on which they rest.

The productivity of the Jewish colonies is considerably greater than that of lands cultivated by the Arabs. To give one example, Jewish orange groves on an average yield

forty or fifty per cent. more oranges per acre than do Arab orange groves, and about the same ratio exists between the produce of Jewish and Arab vineyards.

The draining of swamps is another task which has contributed greatly to the improvement of health. The planting of eucalyptus-trees has aided in this improvement, since the eucalyptus absorbs moisture. The Arabs call the eucalyptus-tree the Jews' tree. The swampy districts in and near Merchavia, Dagania and Kinnereth have been drained and planted with eucalyptus-trees at a cost of £7,000.

The production of wine in Palestine is mainly a Jewish industry. Muhammadans are, of course, forbidden to drink wine. The colonies of Richon-le-Zion and Zichron Jacob are the largest wine-producing centres. The annual production of wine is worth about 5,000,000 francs.

The discoveries which have been made at the agricultural experiment stations, of which there are already four, promise to be of great service to the future of the country. They have determined the best methods to be used in the various parts of a country where the climate varies greatly within a short distance. They have likewise decided which are the types of barley, sesame, tobacco, sugar-cane, and flax best suited to the conditions in Palestine. They have given guidance in the struggle against injurious insects.

The olive is specially valuable in Palestine because of its adaptable character: it grows well in the richest humus soil, as well as in stony and sandy places, and needs little water. The primitive methods of the Arabs cause the harvest of olives to fail every second year. This is probably due to the destructive way in which they treat the tree at harvest-time, beating the fruit down from the branches, instead of picking it, as is done in the Jewish plantations. The olive-trees, with their smooth rounded outlines and their dull green leaves, that seem to shimmer in the light, give a special character to the landscape.

Palestine is, of course, predominantly an agricultural country. Since the British occupation a distinct advance has been made in the Jewish colonies in dairy-farming, bee-keeping, poultry-raising, and vegetable-growing. Better breeds of cows have been imported, and the quality of the fodder has been improved.

The Zionist Organization has granted loans for public works, and has assisted private enterprise. The 'General Mortgage Bank promoted by the Organization has furthered the building of houses.

Though the country can never be other than predominantly agricultural, it calls for the development of some industries

suited to the land and to the people. The house-famine is acute in Palestine; many of the immigrants are living in tents. The production of building materials is of the utmost value. A factory has been started for making silicate bricks. Stone is being quarried at Athlit and Jerusalem. There is a considerable amount of building being carried on at Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Tiberias, and indeed in all districts where Jewish settlements are being established.

There are other infant industries. A French group, in which Baron Edmond de Rothschild is interested, has just constructed a modern flour-mill in Haifa. Fruit-canning is already carried on to a small extent. The country is so pre-eminently a fruit-growing country that this industry might well be greatly extended. Soap-making from the inferior oils extracted from the olive is an ancient Syrian industry, which also seems capable of extension. At present the best soap-works are owned by Jews.

The almost famous Rutenberg scheme will provide employment for many workers, both Arabs and Jews. But, let it be noted, the Arab labour available for work is limited, because the Arab cultivator returns periodically to his own land. Hence, military works in Palestine during the war were largely carried out by Egyptian labour.

Rutenberg's harnessing of the Jordan would serve to supply water for irrigation, and electric power for driving such modest industries as can be established in the country. The scheme is not the work of a money-making, soulless financier: it is a project conceived by, and appealing to, earnest Zionists. The full text of the concession shows that at all points the Government retains the right to terminate the agreement unless it is satisfied with its social utility. Thus, at the start, the High Commissioner has to approve of the Memorandum, Articles of Association, and Prospectus of the company. The rates to be charged for water and electricity are fixed, as are the profits—any surplus going to the Government. If the company does not carry out the works within a given time, it is subject to a fine, and in case of default may lose the concession. If it does not supply the power required, this cancels the monopoly, and the work may be handed to others. It is worth while to recall these facts, which are still not generally recognized by those who condemn the scheme. The distribution of electricity can be transferred to local bodies, and after thirty-seven years it will be possible to buy out the undertaking. Finally, the High Commissioner may exercise such supervision, financial or technical, as he thinks necessary; and if the company fails to comply with any of the conditions, he may, after six months' notice, terminate the whole affair.

Such is the concession, which has been misrepresented as an outrageous monopoly, likely to enslave the whole population : it is subject to Government control of prices and profits ; competition may be introduced if the company is inefficient ; the concession may be cancelled unless those holding it do their duty satisfactorily.

Few people realize how much money has already been invested by the Jews in Palestine. It is estimated that the total invested during the four years from 1918 to 1922 amounted to four million pounds.

An Arab-Jewish Committee for the orange export trade, Arab pupils at the Jewish schools of Rosh Pina, Arab co-operation in Jewish development schemes, are all indications of a natural intercourse between Jew and Arab. Work done by Jewish hospitals and Jewish doctors for Arab patients has already been mentioned. Arabs are joined with Jews in the railway-workers' trade union. Sir Herbert Samuel's sense of fairness is appreciated by all sections of the population.

It may be feared by some readers that news about Palestine is mostly propagandist in tendency, states a case and misleads—either in favour of one side or of the other. The British Consuls before the war had no interest in praising the work done by the Jews. They had not conceived that the Balfour Declaration would ever be issued, that Turkey would lose her empire, or the Mandate be conferred on Great Britain. Yet more than one Consular Report refers to the Jewish colonies in terms of praise, many years before the war. Thus the Report of 1900 says : " There can be no doubt that the establishment of the Jewish colonies in Palestine has brought about a great change in the aspect of the country, and an example has been set before the native rural population of the manner in which agricultural operations are conducted on modern and scientific principles."

The tale of Jewish enterprise in Palestine can never be fully told in terms of material economy. The efforts of modern Zionism, practical in character and even prosaic, as is necessary in these modern days of hurried life and fierce competition, have yet behind them an impulse drawn from the long roll of prophecy and hope, by which consolation and a compensatory ideal was given to a people, which so long ago was deprived of political existence and scattered over every part of the world, there to await, usually in miserable poverty, those great events, that final settlement which its sacred Scriptures promised, when the people and its God alike should return to Zion.

"EAST AND WEST": THE GULF THAT THREATENS

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

"We are accustomed to think of the world as a spherical superficies, on the surface of which 'Western civilization' radiates from a small part of an irregular peninsula called 'Europe.' Even though we recall that for ages it was Asia and Africa that led the van of civilization, and that in later times first the Levant and then the more general area of the Mediterranean basin contained the great centres of human culture, yet the bias with which European history has been written tends to obscure the fact that it was not until the thirteenth century that Western Europe played any important part in world history. From the seventh to the twelfth century the most efficient forces in the world—intellectual, moral, and physical—were in the hands of men of Arabic speech. At one time in that period there had stretched from Cathay to Cadiz an empire faithful to Islam, and with Arabic as an official language. The like of that empire the world has never seen before or since; and, though it endured but for a short while, the fragments into which it broke long retained some nominal unity with each other, together with a real hegemony of the world. In the thirteenth century Muhammadan civilization suffered a terrible blow, from which it has never shown any real sign of recovery. The hideous invasions of the Mongols utterly destroyed the nominal unity of the Arabian empire, and with it went the intellectual prestige and power of Islam. Since then the Orient has been the client, not the master, of the Occident."*

It is dangerous any longer to think that "Western Civilization" radiates from a small part of an irregular peninsula called "Europe." Or, that the Orient will be content to remain the client of the Occident. Asia in general repudiates any such position. The Great War has proved that the relationship of client and master no longer exists.

One of the outstanding results of "Armageddon" is the growing antagonism between East and West. This,

* *Times Review*, July, 1922.

added to the instinctive distrust of the Asiatic for the European, especially in Muslim countries, represents a serious menace to the world's peace.

Since the Treaty of Versailles the political problems of Europe have remained insoluble to the cleverest brains.

What chance can there be for the more complex problems of Asia? Yet no settlement which concerns Europe only can bring lasting peace. Not even though German reparations and the fate of Russia were to be satisfactorily dealt with to-morrow.

Asia stands to-day at the parting of the ways. India and China, Turkey and Persia, containing practically half of the world's population, are in imminent danger of being submerged in the struggle to assimilate, or to free themselves from, "Western Civilization." Behind Asia hovers the hoary past of an isolated and self-centred tradition, not yet obliterated. Before its teeming but only half-awakened millions lie two paths. Though the majority of these millions are yet incapable of individual choice, a decision must be taken. One path leads to a glorious reincarnation; the other, choked with the thorns and briars of worn-out Oriental shibboleths, can only lead to destruction.

Which path will the East choose? Alone and unaided can nations like China, Persia, and Turkey rid themselves of the clinging fetters of a by-gone past? Do they want to? Therein lies the danger.

Behind all our post-war experience in Europe stands the spectre of Asiatic peoples seething with new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations—it might be added—with new fears of Europe. The mental maelstrom boiling in many Oriental brains is full of latent dangers to the peace of the world. Taken in time and guided sympathetically, these new aspirations contain wonderful possibilities. Left to ferment, or—more dangerous still—treated with the condescension of a superior civilization, those same aspirations may become virulent poisons, penetrating the body politic full of deadly infection.

One of the main reasons for the unsettled state of Europe to-day is the retention in it of a spirit of selfish and restricted nationalism. In pre-war days this spirit reigned supreme. That it has become to any extent seriously modified is open to doubt. Nowhere is this spirit more strongly emphasized than in the relations between East and West. Neither seems to understand the other; both are suspicious of one another. If the gulf so created is not to widen to an impassible chasm, a bridge must be at once commenced.

Thanks to the statesmanship of President Harding and his advisers, an initial step has already been taken. At the Washington Conference, for the first time in history, East and West met on terms of equality to discuss future policies. But if the Washington Conference is to be an isolated attempt to narrow the existing gulf, and to find a *modus vivendi*, optimists may cease to hope. As a starting-post on the road along which East and West can travel in mutual confidence and respect the Conference may be of historic importance.

At this point it may be advisable to give a very brief summary of the present position in the East. It has already been said that India, China, Turkey, and Persia, are the chief, but by no means the only, sources of future trouble. There are problems, and grave ones, which Japan must face during the next few years, of which her leaders are well aware. The present financial position of Japan is causing serious misgiving to those responsible for her Imperial resources. Her industrial rise and the attraction of the proletariat from an agricultural to an economic life are other problems from which may arise momentous consequences to Japan.

Africa also has difficulties to overcome. These centre to some extent round the age-long colour question, but in Northern Africa and elsewhere the religious question obtrudes itself insistently. The Senussi propaganda, though frequently forgotten, is a factor in Muhammadan feeling which may have incalculable consequences.

An endeavour must now be made to suggest a constructive policy by which the drifting apart of East and West may be checked. For this purpose it is necessary to come at once to our point, and to indicate the lines on which that policy should be based.

In the opinion of the writer there are two definite steps which, if taken, would tend more than anything to secure future peace to Asia and to the world. The first is the question of a reorganized and revitalized China; the other, the reversal of our present pro-Greek and anti-Turkish policy for a pro-Turkish one—in plain language, a return to the *status quo* of pre-war days with Turkey.*

Let us glance at the possibilities of these two steps.

A century ago the remoteness of the Far East, while it cast a veil of romance over its unknown millions, was accountable for the absence of friction between Asia and Europe. Intercourse there might be, but free intercourse

* Written in August, 1922.

was, of course, impossible. Economic competition was unknown. For Europe, China and Japan hardly existed—that is to say the real China and the real Japan, not the fanciful creations of them which still survive in the pages of certain American and European books.

In these days of rapidly improving communication conditions are entirely changed. Distance has been annihilated. All the world are near neighbours. People cannot avoid rubbing shoulders even if they would.

Within the memory of living men came the awakening of Japan. A miracle occurred, and, thanks to the almost superhuman foresight of a few of her leading statesmen, Japan transformed herself into a modern nation; how and by what means is too well known to need recalling. China slept on, and to-day, though awake, has not yet been able to throw off the lethargy of past centuries. Why?

China has an area of 4,300,000 square miles, more than the area of Europe, leaving out Russia; and an increasing population of over 400 million souls. Her capital is, and has been for 200 years, remote from all her centres of civilization. Peking, and Canton the southern capital are 1,000 miles apart. Peking, until the northern railways were built, was completely isolated from the rest of China. To all intents and purposes it could only be reached by sea. To-day China is still ostensibly governed from Peking. But how long this can continue is a question which has already begun to trouble the minds of the younger generation of Chinese officials. We know that the decline and fall of Rome was partly due to the retention for too long of an isolated capital.

In the European sense of the word, there are no roads in the interior of China. In many provinces wheeled traffic remains impossible. Animals, or coolies pushing wheelbarrows, are the sole means of transport. In the United States of America to-day there are 250,000 miles of railway-lines to serve a population of 100 millions. In China there are 5,000 miles for a population of 400 millions. Until modern methods of transportation and communication are created, how can the reorganization of national life proceed? How can a large disjointed continent like China suddenly awake? How can a non-military, peace-loving race emulate a militaristic, war-loving one like Japan?

Let us turn to the brighter side of the picture.

As all the world knows, China is the most valuable prospective market for the expansion of European industries. Since the Republic was declared in 1911, it has

been impossible to evoke a stable central government. The country is still torn asunder by the interprovincial strife of military adventurers and corrupt official cliques. But China is *par excellence* the land of surprises. At any moment the man may be found able and willing to create order out of chaos. By nature and inclination the Chinese people are the most law-abiding upon earth. During the last decade of interprovincial strife and cruel misgovernment the "stupid people" have never wavered from "the paths of virtue." In less prosaic language, in spite of ruthless oppression, of constant interference with their daily life and business, in spite of conditions which after the Thirty Years War left Europe the abomination of desolation, the Chinese people have continued to sow and reap, to buy and sell—in fact, have "carried on."

There have been few more wonderful tributes to the vitality of any nation than this. But it is as well to remember that when the man or men do arrive who can create a strong central government, a government "for the people, of the people, and by the people," the same undaunted spirit which will have made possible this national evolution will make these 400 million souls the most formidable competitors in the struggle for economic supremacy history has ever known. And unless Europe in the near future can bridge the gulf that threatens, competitors in a struggle for supremacy between East and West which may not remain only economic.

Like the U.S.A., possibly to an even greater extent, China is entirely self-contained. The potential wealth of the country is beyond the dreams of avarice, beyond the dreams of even a modern profiteer. In its agricultural population it contains an asset which no other country, not even pre-war Russia, had or has. Its mineral wealth is incalculable. The climatic conditions render it possible to produce any known fruit, vegetable, or cereal. Its hundreds of miles of coast-line and its fisheries afford harbours for sea-borne traffic, and a livelihood for millions of its hardest population. Finally, and in these days of economic competition most valuable of all, it has an inexhaustible supply of labour.

This hitherto almost untouched supply has to some slight extent been already exploited by European trading companies who control mills and factories at the treaty ports and at Hong-Kong. Organized as this labour has already begun to be—witness the serious strikes which lately occurred at Hong-Kong—those who direct it will before

long be able to dictate terms to European employers in China. Not only have the mills and factory hands begun to set up their unions, but the sea-borne trade of the China coast, still mainly in European hands, will find itself dependent upon the dictation of Chinese labour leaders. In addition to the faults and foibles incident to their position as labour leaders, these men will be swayed by an ever growing feeling antagonistic to things Occidental. But such antagonism need not exist.

As has already been said, the Chinese are the most law-abiding people on earth. They want no man's land. They envy no one. They prefer peace to an extent few of the world's most virile nations have ever desired it. Fair treatment and a square deal is the sure road to any man's friendship in China. To us as a nation the Chinese are already bound by ties of mutual advantage. If Englishmen are born traders, the Chinese are more than their equals. It is by strengthening these mutual ties, not only in trade but by every other means in our power, that we and other nations can best help China. Ties of trade and of mutual exchange may not be a very firm foundation upon which to erect a lasting bond between nations, but in this industrial and material age nations closely knit in economic agreement are least likely to fall out.

To cross the gulf which threatens to divide East from West, a bridge is necessary. 400 millions of the most virile Asiatics may well form the buttress to support the bridge on the Asiatic side of the gulf. These teeming millions are for the present free from any strong anti-European propaganda. How long they will remain so remains to be seen.

The opportunity to help create a China friendly to Europe still exists. If the opportunity is let slip, it is Europe, not China, who will be to blame.

There remains to be discussed the second of the two steps suggested for securing peace in the Asiatic world: the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres and the adoption by the Allies of a reconsidered policy towards Turkey.*

It is imperative to call attention to the vital danger further delay in this direction involves. There are those who, in all honesty of purpose, maintain an attitude of invincible irreconcilability towards the Turk. But have they seriously considered what the continuation of such an attitude upon the part of the Allies means to the future peace of the world?

Looked at objectively, is there not another side to the

* Written in August, 1922.

question of whether Turkey should survive as a European Power? Apart from the ethical point of view, which bids all good Christians forgive those who have offended, and not once only, there is a more direct and practical reason for rewriting the Treaty of Sèvres.

It is a mere platitude to repeat that Indian unrest, as well as unrest in other parts of Asia and Africa, centres round the question of Islam, the Caliphate, and the Allied treatment of Turkey.

"The East, the birthplace of the religions which reign in the West, has for very many years regarded man's faith as being of greater importance than his blood, which, like his speech, was a matter largely out of his control, and accordingly divided its inhabitants according to their religions."*

It is this interference with their faith in the person of the Caliph which, from the Muslim point of view, is the root of resistance to the Treaty of Sèvres. It is the fate of Turkey which so deeply stirs the East and Islam to-day.

"Before the war we had happily no responsibility for the protection of the Holy Places. During the war, by our patronage of the Sherifian family of Mecca, we came to be regarded as the opponents of the Sultan's Caliphate. To-day the Government of India openly advocates recognition of the Sultan as Caliph, and, on March 30, Lord Curzon, in the House of Lords, went so far as to describe the Sultan as Caliph.

"But what the West fails to see is that Islam now holds us responsible *de facto* for the protection of the Holy Places. We are regarded as the heirs who have succeeded to the Kaiser's well-known hopes of becoming the Christian overlord of the Holy Places of Islam. The Sherifian family, unfavourably known from Samarcand to Mogador to successive generations of pilgrims, is regarded as our instrument. It is we who have enthroned its members in Mecca, Baghdad, and Transjordan. And, in the last resort, the protection of Mecca and Medina falls, in the eyes of Islam, on us—a fact which it resents.

"Before the war it lay with the Sultan to keep the Wahabites from Mecca. And by some miracle of prestige, though the Turkish writ had little actual power in Arabia, he did it. He could never have done it if he had surrounded Ibn Saud by his bitter

* *Times Review*, July, 1922.

enemies as we have done. And had he failed it would have been no concern of ours. There are many Mussalmans who would bear with more than equanimity to see the Puritan purge of the Wahabites applied to the sinful pilgrim cities of Sunnis and Shias alike. That would be Islam's affair, and would cause such a spiritual ferment as would give the Mussalman world an occupation of its own for long.

"At present it is our affair. It is a liability of which we must somehow rid ourselves."

Here in a nutshell is the Islamic question.

More recently the opposition of East to West has been strengthened by the attitude of the Allied Powers in—as Muslims think—backing Christian Greeks in their suicidal efforts to drive Muhammadan Turks out of Asia Minor, perhaps out of Europe. Unfortunately the boot is now on the other foot, and it is Kemal Pasha and his victorious armies who have driven the Greeks into the sea.

The Crescent has, in Muhammadan opinion, once more triumphed over the Cross.

The extremely dangerous situation which has arisen in the Near East does not require re-stating. Setting aside for the moment the charges and counter-charges by Greek against Turk and Turk against Greek, can Europe afford to antagonize the religious feelings of Muhammadans scattered throughout Asia?

It is not only Indian Muhammadans who have begun to make the treatment of Turkey a racial question. In Egypt and in Africa flooded with insidious Senussi propaganda, the sore is already beginning to fester. In Afghanistan, in Central Asia, to some extent even in China, the treatment of Turkey has become a rallying cry for a new religious crusade. But this time it is a crusade of East against West.

For the Turk and his methods the writer holds no brief. But the present situation in the Near East is fraught with such far-reaching and dangerous possibilities that a word of warning cannot be withheld. If it is found possible to re-draft the Treaty of Sèvres, there is some hope for future peace in the East.

Cannot the coming Conference erect the first arch of the necessary bridge?

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1921-22 :

In spite of the continued pressure of high prices upon private purses, which definitely led to one or two resignations, the Association has more than maintained its numbers.

The Council would, however, be grateful to Members if they would actively assist by inducing friends to join, and would again appeal to them in this behalf, though it fully recognizes that the affairs of every day are apt to obscure the interests of the Association in the intervals between the lectures.

A sad memory attaches to the last Annual Meeting. Lord Reay, who presided, though never strong, appeared to enjoy his usual share of health, but it was almost the last function which he attended. In him the Association has lost a staunch friend, and if he could not take a very active part in its affairs during his later years, his interest never flagged, and he was always ready with his counsel. In proposing Lord Lamington as his successor the Council are confident that the meeting will cordially welcome one who has been so active and helpful to its deliberations. The Association will be fortunate in having as its President one who is no less keenly interested than was Lord Reay.

Two new Vice-Presidents were added to the list during the year. The Association is honoured by being able to include H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught. Considerations of State prevent him from taking any very active part in a Society which, though non-political, cannot entirely avoid politics, but he has shown that his sympathies are with our

work toward the creation of a wider knowledge of India and of a good understanding between India and England. The Council was also fortunate in securing the consent of Lord Chelmsford to be a Vice-President; he brings with him an intimate knowledge of present Indian affairs.

Turning to internal affairs, the Council has to report that a new lease has been entered into with the Mutual Tontine Association. Unfortunately, the present state of the market has forced them to demand that the Association should pay the rates and taxes in addition to the previous rent. As no other quarters equally good and inexpensive could be found, this stipulation was accepted, but the Association is indemnified by a sub-lease of part of the office rooms to the *Asiatic Review*, whose rent will just about cover the difference. The persistence of a low rate of Indian exchange has seriously affected the income from investments; on the other hand, some compensation is to be found in a reduction of £30 on the printing contract.

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 23, 1921.—"The East African Indian Problem," by H. S. L. Polak. The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., in the chair.

June 20, 1921.—"The City of Surat: our Old Gateway to India," by A. L. Emanuel, Esq., M.A. (OXON), I.C.S. The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., in the chair.

July 25, 1921.—"The Sukkur Barrage Project and Empire Cotton," by Dr. Thomas Summers, C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

October 24, 1921.—"The Leper Problem in India," by the Rev. Frank Oldrieve. Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the chair.

November 21, 1921.—"The English Boy in India," by the Rev. Oswald Younghusband. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

December 12, 1921.—"The Liquor Question in India," by Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., K.-I.-H. Sir William D. Sheppard, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

January 23, 1922.—"Castes and Customs in Malabar," by H. E. A. Cotton, Esq., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

February 20, 1922.—"Hydro-Electric Power in India," by Arthur T. Arnall, Esq., B.SC., M.INST.C.E., A.M.I.E.E., M.I.E. (India). Sir Thomas H. Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair.

April 24, 1922.—"Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic," by K. N. Sitaram, Esq. F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A., PH.D. (Librarian of the India Office), in the chair.

Those on the Sukkur Barrage and Hydro-Electric Power dealt with matters of great economic interest. Dr. Pollen's Paper on the Liquor Question aroused considerable discussion, in which Mr. Johnson, the American champion of prohibition, took part.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Harry Abbott, Esq.

Mohammad Omar Abbasi, Esq.

Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Khwaja Muhammad Afzal.

Arthur T. Arnall, Esq., B.SC., M.INST.C.E., etc.

Mubarak Ali, Esq., B.A.

The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I.,
G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

Sir George Seymour Curtis, K.C.S.I.

Charles Peter Caspersz, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

Raja Sharat Chandra Rai Choudhuri of Chanchal
(life Member).

Kaikushra Nussérwanjee Choksy, Esq.

Dr. D. A. D'Monte, M.D., etc.

Maynard D. Follin, Esq.

Major George Waters Gibbertson.

Rev. Herbert Halliwell.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Siddiq Hasan.

Khan Bahadur Haji Amir-Ali Md. K. B. Than
Khan.

Alfred James Kay, Esq.

William Kirkpatrick, Esq.

Khan Sahib Mohd. Khan.

Darbar Shri Ala Khachar, Chief of Jasdan.

Sir Havilland Le Mesurier, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Percy Henry Michael, Esq.

Arnold A. Musto, Esq.

William Alexander Marr, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Murari Sharan Mangalik, Esq., B.A.

Eardley Norton, Esq.

Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Wilkins O'Gorman, C.M.G.,
M.D., M.R.C.P., D.P.H., I.M.S. (retd.).

A. Badri Parshad, Esq.

Leonard Charles Parton, Esq.

Diwan Bahadur D. Seshagiri Rao.

Arthur Henry Roberts, Esq.

Cursetjee Rustomjee, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

R. Vencoba Rao, Esq.

Hugh Charles Sampson, Esq., C.I.E.

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Fateh Mohammed Sayal, Esq.

Sir Francis Joseph Edward Spring, K.C.I.E., M.I.C.E.,
M.I.M.E.

Sardar Sahib Naranjin Singh.

K. N. Sitaram, Esq. (Student Member).

Raja Manindra Chandra Sinha, M.B.E. of Paikpara.

Raja Sir Harnam Singh, Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E.

Rao Bahadur Dayabhai Surajlal Thathi, I.S.O., J.P.

William Wallach, Esq.

Sir Alexander Frederick Whyte.

The following have resigned membership during the year:

- Bhupendra Nath Basu, Esq.
- Jitendra Nath Bannerjee, Esq.
- Nawab Akeel Jung Bahadur.
- R. Grant Brown, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
- R. C. C. Carr, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
- E. L. F. Cavendish, Esq.
- H. R. H. Coxe, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
- R. H. H. Cust, Esq., M.A.
- Rai Bahadur Hari Chand.
- R. E. Enthoven, Esq., C.I.E.
- Nagendra Nath Sen Gupta, Esq.
- J. M. Holms, Esq., C.S.I.
- The Very Rev. W. H. Hutton, Dean of Winchester.
- C. Carkeet James, Esq.
- A. D. Jackson, Esq.
- Colonel T. C. Jones.
- Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohammed Ajmal Khan.
- Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A.
- A. J. Newbould, Esq.
- Rev. Paul Nichols.
- H. M. Percival, Esq.
- Lady Violet Pinhey.
- Colonel William Frank Smith.
- Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Terry.
- Sir Thomas R. J. Ward, C.I.E., M.V.O.
- Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Swaine, I.M.S. (retd.).
- Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan Sinha, of Nashipur.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

- Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Balrampur.
- Sir Walter C. Hughes, C.I.E.
- Kawasji Dadabhoi Hormasji Dubash, Esq.
- Right Rev. James Macarthur, D.D.

James McDonald, Esq.

Raja Partab Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., Raja of Partabgarh.

John Gerald Ritchie, Esq.

Nawab Sahib Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Bahadur of Banganapalle.

Of these Sir W. Hughes was a Member of Council, though of late years he was unable to attend meetings.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.

G. Owen Dunn, Esq., O.B.E.

Henry Marsh, Esq.

Sir Henry Procter.

N. C. Sen, Esq., O.B.E.

These gentlemen, except Mr. Dunn, who has resigned, are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £136 18s. 7d. as compared with £378 11s. 5d. last year. The actual balance to credit is, however, £336 18s. 7d., but in accordance with the resolution of the Council £200 has been placed in deposit to be withdrawn at short notice as occasion requires. Our income accrues mainly at the beginning of the year, and it was resolved not to let the money lie idle even though the profit is not large.

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1922

ASSETS.	LIABILITIES.
Investments in India: Govern- ment Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400 ... £3,511 0 0 Library and Furniture ... 300 0 0 War Loan ... 305 2 3 Balance of Bank and Cash Account ... 139 1 8½ Deposit Account ... 200 0 0	<hr/> £4,455 3 11½
£4,455 3 11½	

Examined and found correct.

F. R. SCATCHERD, Member of Council.

G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

June 2, 1922.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on Monday, June 26, 1922, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when the Report and Accounts were presented.

Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I. (Vice-Chairman of Council of the Association), was in the Chair, and the following members, among others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Jackson, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Dr. Thos. Summers, C.I.E., Captain A. H. Roberts, Mr. K. Sitaram, Mr. K. P. Kotval, Colonel F. S. Terry, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Miss Beadon, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

MR. STANLEY RICE: Ladies and gentlemen, before we begin the regular proceedings, I propose to read to you the short address which has been sent to the Prince of Wales on his return from the East, which is signed by Lord Lamington, and also the reply of the Prince of Wales.

(The letter of address and the Prince of Wales's reply were read.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here on the occasion of our Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting. The Report is already before you. We have, of course, to deplore the death of many of our most esteemed members, amongst them being Lord Reay, who for many years occupied the distinguished position of President of the Association. Most of you are acquainted with the good work that he did during his long period as President for the Association; he was keenly interested in its welfare, and, even when the infirmities of age were pressing upon him, he did not miss any occasion when he could possibly be present to come here and to encourage us with his presence; and, even when he could not come, his wise guidance was always at our disposal, and he was ever ready to give us the benefit of his advice. It is a sad loss to us which we all very much regret.

I have the pleasure of announcing that we have secured the services of Lord Lamington as President of this Association. (Applause.) Lord Lamington has already been associated with us for some time, and we all know the keen interest which he takes in the work of the Association; and we have no doubt that his acceptance of the office of President is valuable to us all.

The deaths of other members are mentioned in the Report, with many of whom I was not personally acquainted; Dr. Pollen, our late Secretary, sent me a letter with a reference to some of them. Unfortunately, I have mislaid that letter, but I believe the same sentiments are expressed in a letter from Dr. Pollen to Miss Scatcherd.

(The letter was read.)

Among the names mentioned in the Report you will see that we have lost several distinguished members of this institution.

As has already been mentioned in Dr. Pollen's letter, we have been able to get the consent of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and of Lord Chelmsford to be Vice-Presidents of the Association. The Duke of Connaught was in India a year ago, and, by his sympathetic speeches and his general demeanour, fully evinced his interest in India, as I witnessed it myself during his visit to Calcutta, and I am glad that he has consented to be a Vice-President. We know that he cannot take any active part in our proceedings, but it is something to know that we have the sympathy of such a distinguished member of the Royal Family.

With regard to Lord Chelmsford, I cannot say more than that he is one of the inaugurators of the Reform scheme. I know that that scheme has received much adverse criticism, but whatever that may be, we must admit that both he and Mr. Montagu made an honest effort to remove the difficulties which lie in the path of the good government of India. Whether it succeeds or not will be a matter of time, but in the meanwhile we must all recognize the earnest desire and sincere endeavour made to give effect to Indian aspirations. I am glad that he has also consented to become one of our Vice-Presidents.

With regard to the position that will be vacated by Lord Lamington on his accession to the Presidency, I am glad to announce that Lord Pentland has agreed to be Chairman of our Council. I think we could not get a better man to fill the vacancy.

You will see from the Report that there were eight deaths during the year and the resignations, I am sorry to say, amount to no less than twenty-seven, and altogether we have lost thirty-five members. But, on the other hand, the number of new members comes to forty-four, so that we have a net gain of nine which, considering all the circumstances, is not at all unsatisfactory.

This Association is now more than half a century old. It has gone through many vicissitudes, periods of prosperity, and also dry years; but on the whole I think we may claim for it that it has had a progressive and successful career. It works on the basis of active and sincere co-operation between Indians and Europeans, and with the object of securing the common interests of India and England. Such co-operation and such good understanding between the two peoples were never more necessary than at this critical period of the history of India through which we are just passing, and I hope that all the members, both Europeans and Indians, will join together in trying to serve the best interests of the great Empire of which we are all members.

It is our earnest hope that the Government on the one hand and the popular leaders on the other will so act for the best interests of the country that they will conserve all that is good for both the peoples, and that peace and contentment will be the result of their efforts.

I now have pleasure in calling upon Sir William Clark to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

Sir WILLIAM CLARK : I beg to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

Mr. STANLEY RICE : It is usual to take the Report as read. I do not know that I need read that.

Mr. RICHTER : I beg to second the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

The CHAIRMAN : Then comes the election of President, which is to be proposed by Sir M. Bhownaggee.

Sir M. BHOWNAGGEE : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : Since the lamented death of our late President, Lord Reay, who gave a great part of his untiring energy to the affairs of this Association for many years, the Council of this Association has been casting about for a worthy successor to him, and I think they have come to the very wise decision of offering that vacant office to another well-trying friend of the Association, I mean Lord Lamington. Lord Lamington has been no mere ornamental Chairman of the Council of the Association for many years past. Whenever he has been in town, and even when he had to hurry to his duties at the House of Lords and elsewhere, he made a point of coming here, and many were the occasions when he took part in the discussions of the Association on various topics, and contributed the result of his large experience of India in a spirit of genuine sympathy with that country. Therefore, I say that in appointing Lord Lamington in Lord Reay's place, the Council has made a very wise selection, and I now recommend the adoption of it to this Annual Meeting of the members of the Association. I feel somewhat sorry that we have to transfer Lord Lamington from his place as Chairman of the Council to a higher office because it may be difficult to find anybody who could give that attention to, and that active co-operation in the affairs of, this Association which we have experienced from him. But we have every reason to believe that Lord Pentland will make a worthy successor in that respect to Lord Lamington. Let us hope that Lord Lamington, in the higher office to which we now wish to call him, will continue for many years to give valuable and sympathetic support to the activities of the Association, and through its medium to the welfare of India as he has done for so many years past. (Cheers.)

I beg to propose the election of Lord Lamington as President of the Association.

Mr. J. B. PENNINGTON : I have much pleasure in seconding that proposal. I would only like to say that I have known Lord Lamington ever since he joined the Association, and he has always been most useful and helpful. I might just add that he once said it was the only Association with which he was concerned and acquainted which seemed always successful.

The CHAIRMAN : It has been proposed and seconded that Lord Lamington be elected as President of the Association.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Mr. STANLEY RICE : Lord Lamington having been elected President by you, I may first of all remark that His Royal Highness the Duke of

Connaught has shown already how much interest he takes in this Association by asking me to inform him who was finally elected President, and I shall, of course, carry out his wishes.

Lord Lamington having been elected President, the vacancy of Chairman of Council falls in, and I have much pleasure in proposing the name (which you have already heard) of Lord Pentland. Lord Pentland does not often come to our meetings, perhaps, but I happen to know that he takes a very considerable interest in our doings. I meet him fairly frequently, and he nearly always asks after our welfare. You will also remember that not very long ago he inaugurated the kind of entertainment that I propose to give this afternoon on behalf of the Association; it was he who first asked the Association to a party to meet Lord Reading just before Lord Reading went to India. I may also say that for all the papers that we have had, I have never found any Chairman who has been so keen to obtain a good audience, and to circulate so freely the notices of the paper, as Lord Pentland was on the occasion of Mr. Cotton's paper on "Castes and Customs in Malabar," at which he took the Chair. Both Lord and Lady Pentland laid themselves out to make out a long list of friends with addresses to whom I could write to give them the chance of coming here to hear the paper, and the result, I think, on that occasion, was that we had an attendance which was almost a record. So that I am quite sure (and I should certainly congratulate myself) that you will all welcome Lord Pentland as Chairman of our Council.

MISS SCATCHERD: I have the greatest pleasure in seconding that. I can endorse all that our Hon. Secretary has said, and I could add a great deal more, but time is getting on, so I will not do more than say that I would like you to confirm the election of Lord Pentland as our Chairman.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There is now the election of members of Council.

MR. RYAN: I have much pleasure in moving the re-election of those members of the Council who require re-election.

MR. J. B. PENNINGTON: I have much pleasure in seconding that resolution.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

MR. STANLEY RICE: Ladies and gentlemen, I think that concludes the proceedings for this afternoon, at any rate the formal proceedings, and I should like before we leave to move a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta for coming here to take the Chair this afternoon. I am sure that he will not misunderstand me if I say that we are all very sorry indeed that Lord Lamington could not be with us here this afternoon. Lord Lamington, as a matter of fact, I think, left England on Saturday last for Norway to fulfil a long-standing engagement, and Lord Lamington told me himself how very sorry he was that he was not able to be with us here to-day. I move a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Krishna Gupta.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you.

MISS SCATCHERD: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I have been

working in close co-operation with Mr. Stanley Rice—in fact, I have been present at all the meetings of the Council—and I have always found that he has done his very best for the Association, and I should like to propose a vote of thanks on behalf of those who have had to work with him for what he has tried to do for the Association.

Sir M. BROWNAGGREE : I should like to second that. I do not know whether any mention is made of the Secretary's work for the Association in the Report ; if not, then I think we should be quite right in proposing a vote of censure on Mr. Rice for a very important omission from the Report, and we shall correct it now. (Laughter.) I can bear ample testimony to the exceedingly careful manner in which Mr. Rice has performed his duties, and I would suggest that this resolution should be incorporated either in the Report itself or in the proceedings of this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN : The resolution for a vote of thanks to the Secretary has been proposed and seconded. I take it that it is accepted by the meeting.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Mr. STANLEY RICE : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : I thank you all very much, and at the same time I should like to include the clerk in your resolution because the clerk has done admirable work.

The proceedings were followed by an informal conversazione in place of the usual lecture. The experiment was intended to afford Englishmen and Indians an opportunity to meet on social terms, and was much appreciated.

THE TENANCY LAW OF OUDH

BY A. SABONADIÈRE, ESQ., I.C.S. (RETD.)

ON January 18 last the Viceroy gave his assent to the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act, which was finally passed by the Legislative Council of the United Provinces in November, 1921. This calls a halt in an acute controversy. The history of the landlord and tenant question in Oudh is interesting enough, and this new development has an added interest of its own, in that the Act is the first Act on an agricultural subject passed by one of the new and more widely representative Legislative Councils. The historical facts leading up to the post-Mutiny settlements of Oudh and to the Rent Acts of 1868 and 1886 are set out clearly and interestingly in Baden-Powell's great work on the "Land Systems of British India." The tract of country now called Oudh was once the seat of a group of Hindu States, each with its Raja, who left the village communities much to themselves so long as they paid him his quota of produce, obeyed his orders, and acknowledged his chieftainship. Often the leading men in a village were members of his clan. The Muhammadan conquest broke up some Hindu kingdoms and reduced others to vassalage; so, while representatives of some of the old Hindu chieftainships remain, their estates are smaller than the old kingdoms, besides which descendants of Muhammadan tax-gatherers and officials and of Hindu officials of the Muhammadan governments had come to hold large properties when Lord Dalhousie annexed Oudh in 1856, driven thereto by the constant and deliberate refusal of the King and his advisers both to put some measure of justice and fiscal consideration into the government of the land, and to enforce order and suppress private war.¹ Here and there communities or individuals had managed to maintain some

permanent hold on the land in subordination to these new proprietors, either because of their having been descendants or clansmen of the chieftains of former times, or where men of outstanding ability had established themselves in a position of local influence. The Kings of Oudh had employed various methods of collecting revenue, and had gone from one to another and back again. Sometimes they made use of the landholders for the time being, sometimes they superseded these by appointing Nazims, Chakladars, or other collecting officials, sometimes they tried direct management. This had led to several villages breaking away from estates and becoming more or less independent. When Oudh was annexed there were already British districts on three sides of it which had been under the rule of the Company for some fifty years. Till about 1830 the revenue settlements of these older districts had not been accompanied by any full inquiry into former or existing rights, with the result that the rights definitely recognized were merely those of landowners and those of tenants. Only in a few cases were superior rights recognized as being vested in some notable, such as a Raja or Nawab, and in these cases the settlement was made, not with the superior proprietor, whose dues were collected with the revenue and passed on to him, but with the inferior proprietors, who thus became the effective owners. Dr. Baden-Powell points out that this simplification of proprietary rights necessitated the creation of occupancy rights for cultivators of long standing, in order to meet hard cases. So, in what were then the North-Western Provinces, any tenant who had held the same land for twelve years on end got a hereditary right of occupancy in it. Upon the annexation of Oudh it was presumed that a similar system would suit the new province, but, owing principally to the inefficiency of the King of Oudh's rule, the superior proprietors had by 1856 acquired a far more commanding position than had any such landowners across the border. Their estates were larger than almost any in the older province, and their rights extended over a far greater

proportion of the country. Furthermore, one way and another, a considerable proportion of the older proprietors, now merely under-proprietors, if even that, had been deprived of all kind of control in village affairs. And there had been a general refusal to recognize occupancy rights in the absence of a government which cared to enforce them. Thus occupancy rights had been virtually killed in Oudh before the annexation. Not unnaturally the first British administrators of Oudh, brought in mostly from the neighbouring province, tried to revive the rights of the under-proprietors and to see what could be done for the tenants. Inevitably the result was to cause very great and sudden hardship to the superior proprietors or Taluqdars. When the Mutiny broke out Sir Henry Lawrence was preparing the way to mitigate these hardships. Unfortunately the then system of taxation included duties on necessities of life, and the under-proprietor or tenant felt these imposts at once, while the benefits to him of British rule would take time to be effective. And the cultivators of Oudh traditionally adhere to their hereditary overlords. The Taluqdars, or at least some of them, were disposed to stand by Sir Henry Lawrence, and did help him; but once the British force was shut up in the Residency it is not surprising that nearly all Oudh, from Taluqdar down to landless labourer, joined in the Mutiny, actively or passively.

The neglect of the rights of the Taluqdars had not been carried to the length that this general uprising would seem to imply, for Baden-Powell gives figures showing that under 43 per cent. of the villages were settled with villagers and not with Taluqdars in 1856, while the careful post-Mutiny settlement resulted in over 36 per cent. of the villages being settled in that manner. The dominant causes of discontent were high taxation and the destruction of the personal and social power of the Taluqdars by the introduction of careful and methodical administration with Courts to which the humblest could take his grievances. And it is not unlikely that many Taluqdars resented the suppression

of private war. To this day big riots, over boundary questions and other disputes about land, are not uncommon.

After the Mutiny came Lord Canning's wise proclamation confiscating all land in Oudh except what was owned by some half-dozen Taluqdars and others who had stood loyal all through. This provided a clean sheet, and settlements were made restoring the land to those who owned it before the Mutiny, except in cases of notorious treachery or cruelty. The rights of the Taluqdars were recognized, and for the land owned by them the settlements were made with them, reservation being made of the power to recognize under-proprietary rights which might be duly proved. The Taluqdars were granted *sanads* or warrants recognizing their position and binding them to render loyal obedience to the Crown and to assist in the prevention of crime. This effected a settlement of the position of the Taluqdars and of the smaller landowners not being under-proprietors. There remained those of the under-proprietors and tenants, and these had not been settled when Lord Canning's viceroyalty came to an end. His successor, Lord Elgin, lived too short a time to dispose of them, so the task fell to Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence. Sir John Lawrence had served in the early part of his service in the North-Western Provinces, and, when he came to administer the Panjáb, had there introduced a system not unlike that in force in the "North-West," but modified to suit local conditions, the Panjáb being mainly a Province of small cultivating proprietors. Not unnaturally his sympathies went out to the smaller cultivating proprietors and tenants. In a memorandum issued with the text of the Bill which has now developed into the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act, the present Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Harcourt Butler, remarks that Sir John Lawrence "endeavoured to upset the work of his predecessor." This is a prejudiced way of putting things. Really Sir John Lawrence wished to round off the work of Lord Canning. His ideal was of "a country thickly cultivated by a fat, contented yeomanry,

each riding his own horse, sitting under his own fig-tree, and enjoying his rude family comforts," as is explained in Sir Charles Aitchison's short biography of him. There is nothing in this which would conflict with the entire well-being of the Taluqdars. But the Taluqdars held out stoutly against the recognition of hereditary rights for the tenants. Lord Lawrence did effect a compromise as to the rights of the under-proprietors, but the dues over and above the Land Revenue which they have to pay to the Taluqdars leave many of them but little better off than tenants paying almost a full economic rent. At the suggestion of Sir Henry Maine a special inquiry was made into the rights of tenants, and it was found that at the time of the annexation no occupancy rights existed in Oudh. The Oudh Rent Act of 1868 followed this finding, and, except in the case of cultivators who were found to have held proprietary rights at any time since 1826, but to have lost them before the annexation, to whom a right of occupancy on payment of rent $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below the prevailing rates was allowed, the tenants of Oudh were declared to be merely tenants at will, liable in the absence of a lease for a term of years to ejectment at the pleasure of the landowner at the close of any agricultural year, with no security for either length of tenure or rate of rent. Simultaneously with, or prior to, the passing of this Act, Government undertook not to create hereditary tenant-rights in Oudh. By the time Lord Dufferin was Viceroy it was found that the condition of the tenantry was deplorable, and after prolonged negotiations with the Taluqdars a new Rent Act was passed in 1886. Its principal provisions were that every tenant had a right to hold for seven years certain from the date of the last alteration in the area or rent of his holding, and that upon the expiration of this term the rent was not to be raised, either to him or to a newly-admitted tenant, by more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Ejectments were discouraged by charging a high Court-fee, which in no case could be recovered from the tenant. Only when a

tenant died had the landowner a free hand under the Act. There were provisions enabling a tenant to obtain an order entitling him to make an improvement (the unexhausted value of which he could recover on ejectment) which was reasonable, but which the landowner objected to having made and failed to make himself. But the Act has been a failure. The limitation on the enhancement of rent was easily evaded by charging a premium on readmittance to the holding, or by exacting it from the new tenant. This does not appear on the rent-rolls, so is not brought to account in the assets when the Land Revenue is reassessed every thirty years or so. In well-managed estates things went well enough, but, more particularly where things were left to underpaid agents of no particular character or status, the tenants were still much oppressed. And the Act of 1886 entirely failed to suppress the practice of levying irregular cesses from under-proprietors or tenants. Any excuse served for the levy of a cess when an unscrupulous landowner needed more money. Had it not been for the war it is likely that the revision of the Oudh Rent Act would have been undertaken some years ago. The riots in Southern Oudh in January, 1921, made this revision a pressing question. These riots were due to a combination of causes—war-time conditions, violently fluctuating prices, the non-co-operation campaign, the depressed condition of the tenantry in many estates, and the desire of the tenants to have some chance, as in Agra, of obtaining a heritable right of occupancy, all being among them.

The Bill which has developed into the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act contained three main proposals in favour of the tenants, namely, first to substitute ten for seven years as the term during which a tenant's rent is to remain unaltered; secondly, to give every tenant a life tenure, to which his heir can succeed only for a very short term of years; and thirdly, to commit the fixation of the rent at the end of each ten years to the Courts, these to be guided by standard recorded rent-rates fixed in "roster years," that is,

at intervals of ten years. The Bill also contained a provision forbidding the exaction of a premium on admission or readmission to a tenancy. Here it may be mentioned that in the sister province of Agra the occupancy tenants escape very lightly. There are cases where the landowners would be able to obtain two and three times as much rent from a tenant at will, and an occupancy tenant tends to become a small rack-renter himself. The law as to the methods to be employed in fixing periodical readjustments of the rents of occupancy tenants leads to these results, and it has been proposed to substitute for it a "roster year" method like that now created for Oudh. If the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act had contained only the above provisions it would be sufficient to describe it as a statesmanlike recognition of the necessity for putting an end to the hardships of the tenants in Oudh, and to add that it afforded no ground for alleging that the undertaking that no rights of occupancy, that is, of hereditary occupancy, will be recognized in Oudh had been violated. But the Act has some further remarkable clauses. A tenant who does not reside in a village belonging to his landlord can be ejected at the end of his ten-year term, "if the landlord desires to let the holding to a tenant who ordinarily resides in the village in which the holding is situated." This provision is intended to enable landowners to get rid of tenants who are likely to be less in subjection to them than those who actually live on their land. Then there are many landowners who are also cultivators, and even large landowners like the Taluqdars cultivate much land by their own servants and dependants, and with their own cattle. Such land is known as *str*, if it has long been under the landowner's own cultivation, and as *khudkasht* if he has only lately taken up its cultivation. Land is also classed as *str* if, after being such, it still is regarded as more particularly the landowner's own, even if he ceases to cultivate it. The Oudh Rent Act of 1886 granted none of the ordinary privileges of tenants to tenants cultivating *str* land. This bar is maintained in the

amending Act. But that is not all. By a definition in the Act much land not previously *sir* is made such, almost all existing *khudkasht* being converted to *sir*. This at once adds much to the exempted area. Supported by the Agra landowners in the Legislative Council the Taluqdars further carried against the Government an amendment allowing any landowner to convert further land into *sir*, so that the totality of all *sir* does not exceed one-tenth of each village or estate. This will mean a large possible addition to exempted land in the big Taluqas. A provision that the landowner might apply to the Court for the ejectment of a tenant on the ground that he is "undesirable" was fortunately cut out in Committee, but this, with one smaller one, was the only real concession on the Bill made by the landowners. Some very proper amendments are made in the law of distress for rent, to meet the case of there being several interests in a holding—for instance, landowner, occupancy tenant, and sub-tenant. The amending Act makes it a little easier for a landowner to eject a tenant who does not pay his rent, but, as there must first be a decree for the rent made by a Court after formal suit, this is not unreasonable. An undue advantage, however, seems to be given to the landowner by a provision which enables the Deputy Commissioner of each District to eject any statutory tenant on the ground that the landowner requires the whole or part of his holding for certain purposes of his own, among which are specified the starting of model farms, dairy-farms, poultry-farms, and the like, or the erection of houses for tenants, or of markets, or the planting of trees. The words of the Act are that "the Deputy Commissioner shall, unless there are reasonable grounds to the contrary . . . authorize the acquisition of the holding or part thereof." The Legislative Council rejected an amendment designed to throw the burden of proof upon the landowner. The tenant is to receive compensation not exceeding four years' rent, but not necessarily so much. If the land is not used for the alleged purpose within two

years the tenant can recover it, but must refund the compensation less a sum not exceeding one year's rent for each year of ouster. The statutory compensation will be far from covering the loss suffered by the tenant in many cases. And what it comes to is that a landowner need only put a low-caste keeper of fowls on the land with some cocks and hens for a couple of years, and then he will have quite got rid of the tenant, and will have the land at his own disposal. This entirely new provision of the law may turn out quite harmful to the tenantry.

The Act enables landowners to get their rents collected by the Revenue authorities, as if they were Land Revenue, if the Local Government sees fit to make the necessary proclamation, "in case of any general refusal of under-proprietors or tenants in any local area to pay arrears of rent." In view of propaganda like that of Mr. Gandhi for "mass civil disobedience" this is a reasonable enactment. A very proper concession to tenants has been that the law in regard to the right to obtain receipts for rent paid has been made more explicit. And now a tenant has the right to make a well on his holding, unless the landowner chooses to construct it himself.

The Act was subjected to keen discussion in the Legislative Council. The Liberal party did their best to secure occupancy rights for the tenants, and to eliminate the provisions allowing holdings to be taken up for so-called improvements by landowners and allowing the constitution of new *str* land. On all these points they failed, although the official members supported them about *str*. The solid block of landowners was too powerful, for the Agra landowners in the Council joined forces with the Taluqdars. The only considerable points on which the Bill was altered in favour of the tenants were the elimination of the right to eject an "undesirable" tenant, and the grant of the right to construct wells.

The question of tenant-right in Oudh will probably come to the fore again after the next elections to the

Legislative Council. Most of the tenants are keenly anxious on the subject. On Sir Harcourt Butler's figures in his note on the Act when it was introduced as a Bill, we find that over 49 per cent. of the tenants in Agra have recognized hereditary occupancy rights, and that another 18 per cent. would probably be found to have them were the matter brought into Court, while in Oudh 97 per cent. of the area is held by tenants without rights other than those we have been discussing. This difference is more than considerable. Besides the natural feelings of the tenants we have the non-co-operation agitation, while in Oudh there has arisen the "*Eka*" or "Unity" movement, very largely a no-rent campaign, having a member of a very low and semi-criminal caste as one of its leaders. The leading British newspaper in Upper India, the *Pioneer*, begged the landowners to be reasonable before it was too late, and to concede hereditary rights of occupancy, and, when the Act finally took shape, spoke of the "obstinacy and selfishness" of the Taluqdars. While the Bill was being considered in detail by a Select Committee the Liberal members of that Committee resigned because they considered that the Government both had committed itself to the side of the Taluqdars, and was assuming an unfair attitude over occupancy rights. Actually the Government's position was that it wished the Taluqdars to give way about those rights, but that it could not let official members vote for the rights unless they did give way. Then there was a passage at arms about the failure to send copies of the report of the Select Committee to those of its members who had left it. About the time of the final passage of the Act the newly-formed association of Agra and Oudh landholders—that is, the Oudh Taluqdars and many of the large landowners of the sister province—passed a resolution, which was forwarded to the Government of India, stating that they "bitterly resented the conferment of hereditary rights" on tenants, and claiming that "*sir* rights should be restored and extended," that is, that the area in which tenants can get no rights at all in either province should

be enlarged. In the hope that the Extremists would pat them on the back they flirted with sedition, and showed an entire failure to understand how desperately high prices, the greatest present-day evil in India, can be remedied, by recommending the widespread use of Mr. Gandhi's spinning-wheel.

Recently Colonel Faunthorpe, a member of the Indian Civil Service of some thirty years' standing, who did notable service with the army in the War, has investigated the "*Eka*" movement. He finds that the non-co-operators easily worked upon the tenants in several districts in which many Taluqdars and other landowners compel the tenants to pay rents considerably higher than those which they have entered in the official rent-rolls kept by the official village accountants. Naturally the tenants, who believe, not without reason, that the Courts may support them, have decided to pay, if anything at all, only the recorded rents. These landowners have been habitually cheating both their tenants and the taxpayers, for Land Revenue is a percentage of the rent-roll at the time of settlement. Plainly there are difficult times ahead. Letters which the present writer receives, or hears of, from India, whether from British officials or from Indians, almost invariably complain bitterly of the impossibility of making ends meet even on recently increased salaries. Until some tolerable ratio is reached between income and cost of living, discontent must continue. And the history of the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act unfortunately goes to show the existence of a spirit of crass selfishness among those landowners who take a prominent part in the politics of the United Provinces. Their attitude is reactionary, and their use of unrestricted authority in legislation might soon remind us of Sir Alfred Lyall's lines, put into the mouth of the Old Pindari, "If I were lord of the ryots, they'd starve ere I grew lean." The cry for a permanent settlement is largely a demand that all unearned increment is to go to the landowner instead of being shared, as now, with the State. Reactionary measures about land may bring about a revolt of the tenantry. On the other hand, it is quite possible that, as

the *Pioneer* indicated, the next elections may bring a majority into the Legislative Council which, actuated by mere repulsion from the present-day attitude of the landowners, may rush through measures going too far in the opposite direction, and creating a different and equally dangerous kind of unrest.

Since the above was written a further report from Colonel Faunthorpe has thrown additional light upon the "Eka" movement. To some extent it is a continuation of the "Kisán Sabhas," or Tenants' Associations, which came into prominence about the time of the riots of 1921. It does not seem to be definitely committed to the non-co-operation movement—in fact, it is drifting away from it. But it is still more clear that the chief fight it will put up will be against paying more than the actually recorded rents. And it seems to be shedding its purely criminal elements, such as the temporary leadership of Madari Pasi, a gentleman some of whose near relations have probably stood in the dock before me, even if he has not done so himself. Latest advices appear to indicate that the landowners on their side are abating none of their claims. The Landowners' Association is doing its best to belittle Colonel Faunthorpe's report, and would appear to have called a special meeting for the express purpose of denouncing it. Some of the language publicly used about the rights of landowners would appear to be more likely to meet with sympathy from Prussian Junkers than from owners of large estates in England. The protagonists of the Landowners' Association emphasize their loyalty to British rule; but assurances that it is the reactionaries who will never desert it are, to say the least, embarrassing to a Government which at the time is being falsely subjected to accusations that it has not really got its heart set on making a success of the system of administration set up by the Government of India Act of 1919.

So far as the question of fair rent goes, in all land except

what the landowners already hold as "Sir," or may be able to convert into "Sir," under the provisions of the new Act, the position of the tenants is now satisfactory enough. Newly admitted tenants succeeding when a tenancy has run out on the death of a life-tenant and the expiry of his heir's term of grace no doubt can still be rack-rented, but the rental will come up for revision at the end of ten years, and the Act of 1921-22 does, as a whole, mark a great advance on that of 1886 in the direction of encouraging good tenants to do their best with their holdings. The provisions enabling a landowner to turn out a tenant in order to take up the land for improvements, or houses, or the like—and one of the specified purposes is "obtaining land for his own cultivation to the extent necessary for the maintenance of himself and of members of his family dependent on him for maintenance"—will or will not work harshly, according as it is eventually ruled that the discretion of the Deputy Commissioner in applying this section is restricted or wide. If the Board of Revenue rules that the discretion is wide, and that no great presumption exists in favour of the landowner, then much depends on whether individual Deputy Commissioners use that discretion wisely, without being unfair to landowners or oppressive to tenants. The ten per cent. rule about new "Sir" land may in many instances give rise to disputes as to which of two or more tenants is to be the gainer or the sufferer under it. But that can hardly happen for a few years to come. Altogether, the general situation as between landowner and tenant will probably remain much as it is in the United Provinces until the next election. How that election will go it would be hazardous to prophesy. The course of prices will have a great influence on many votes. Should there be a succession of good harvests, tension between landowner and tenant is likely to relax. But if hard times continue, the Government and the Legislature may find themselves faced with difficult rent problems in both parts of the United Provinces.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, July 17, 1922, a paper was read by A. Sabonadière, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), entitled "The Tenancy Law of Oudh." Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present : Sir Archdale Earle, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. Hugh Spencer, C.I.E., and Mrs. Spencer, Major-General F. E. Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Sabonadière, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. White, Miss Stewart and Miss Taylor, Miss Hanley, Miss Beadon, Mrs. Martley, Mr. F. S. Tabor and Mrs. Tabor, Mr. E. C. Ormond, Mr. F. C. Channing, Miss Shaw, Miss Partridge, Mr. W. C. Dible, Mrs. Drury, Miss Corner, Miss Smail, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Sabonadière to read his paper on this abstruse subject. I do not think he requires any introduction from me. You know he has spent the best years of his life in the very country of which he is going to speak to us, and he knows the tenancy laws of Oudh equally well. I only hope that those who are equipped in the same way will make ready to engage in a little machine-gun practice, in order to enliven our proceedings and make London brighter. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. A. SABONADIÈRE then read his paper on "The Tenancy Law of Oudh."

The CHAIRMAN : I do not know whether I have to press very hard for volunteers to speak, but I think it would be just as well if the discussion is opened by Oudh men, although Bengal men may also join in. I understand Mr. Tabor has something to say, and I will ask him to open the discussion.

Mr. TABOR said he had not expressed any intention of saying anything on the subject, but it had occurred to him that the original difficulty arose to a great extent owing to the settlements being made on preconceived ideas, and not on what was actually found on the spot. The first settlements were made under the idea that taluqdars had no rights and ought to be got rid of, and that the land system of the North-West Provinces was the ideal system, so instead of the settlement officers inquiring what were the actual rights when they went to the villages, they tried to make their proposals in accordance with what they thought were their instructions ; for instance, in some villages they found no under-proprietors, and, thinking they ought not to make the settlement with the taluqdars, they made settlements with people who had no rights, but who simply resided in the village. That seemed rather an absurdity, as they had a duty to find out who were in possession of the land at the time. After the Mutiny, in which the Taluqdars were as much up against us as anyone else, the

Government swung round to the opposite policy, and, no doubt with the best of motives, Lord Canning issued his proclamation, which destroyed all rights in land of anyone except the few who had been loyal. Mr. Sabonadière called that a wise measure, but, of course, it aroused tremendous discussion at the time. In his opinion he did not think that a thing essentially wrong could be wise. At that time there were widows and minors who had rights in the land, who could not possibly have done anything against us in the Mutiny, and their rights were swept away. Lord Canning's idea was that they would have a clean sheet, and would give back their lands to the rightful owners. They proceeded to give back the land to the taluqdars by sanads, which put the taluqdars in an extraordinarily strong position, and when they came to give the under-proprietors and tenants their rights, the taluqdars stood on their sanads, and that was practically what they still did. He thought that was the origin of most of the difficulty of making reasonable settlements. In conclusion, he asked whether ordinary tenants, such as people paying Rs. 50, were going to have votes, to which the LECTURER replied that he had not studied the point, but he thought they would.

Sir LIONEL JACOB said that he had been very much interested in Mr. Sabonadière's paper, but he had been a little disappointed in one particular. Five years ago Sir Duncan Baillie read a paper before the Association on very much the same subject, and gave a pathetic description of the position of the agricultural tenants in Oudh. He mentioned to Sir Duncan that there was the probability of a great Sarda canal being made for the irrigation of Oudh, and he asked, if the canal came to be constructed, what would be the position of the tenants with regard to the cost of the necessary watercourses and watercourse bridges? Sir Duncan Baillie said that, though the expense ought to be borne by the taluqdars, he feared that it would fall on the tenants unless an Amendment Act were passed.

Mr. Sabonadière had told the meeting about the Rent (Amendment) Act, but he had said nothing about the canal scheme which had been sanctioned and was under construction. The change in the tract of country from cultivation by means of rainfall or wells to the use of canal water would necessitate a great mileage of new watercourses and many culverts. In the Punjab a large irrigation system might have 20,000 miles of watercourses, involving in the aggregate considerable expenditure, and Sir Lionel Jacob asked the author of the paper whether the new Act made any provision regarding the incidence of cost. The tenants being mainly tenants at will, the expense ought to fall on the landowners; but unless the new Act provided for this, he was afraid that the tenants would be forced by the taluqdars to construct the watercourses and to suffer the disabilities caused by such procedure. It was unfair that tenants at will, with their insecurity of tenure, should bear the burden of work which meant permanent benefit to the land.

Mr. SPENCER said he had been seventeen years in the Province before he was posted to Oudh. He came last from Bundelkhand, where the people were backward and mostly almost peasant proprietors, so he was very much astonished to find the position of things in Oudh such as it

was. When he was first posted there it seemed impossible to get at the cultivators. The taluqdars and their employees were a kind of blanket between one's self and the villagers, and he must say that, like the heathen Chinese, "for ways that are dark and for tricks that are vain" the Oudh taluqdar is peculiar. He had no doubt that they would find it just as easy to bully their tenants if they wanted to under the new Act as they did under the old.

Sir JOHN CUMMING said that he would like to endorse what Mr. Sabonadière had said from a broader standpoint. Up to the eighties of last century, owing to the special formation of the Indian Legislative bodies of those days, there had been a pro-tenant bias; but in the Legislative Councils of to-day this did not appear to be the case. It was therefore not a matter for wonder that on the occasion to which the lecturer referred it was not possible to enact greater benefits in favour of the tenants. He ventured to think that after the next election the conditions, at any rate in Upper India, would be different, and that a greater number of the members of the Legislature would be prepared to vote in favour of cultivators' interests. In that case it was possible that the Oudh Rent Amendment Act might have further amendments to the benefit of the cultivators.

Mr. F. C. CHANNING said that as an old Punjab officer he did not want to stand in the way of any Oudh man who wished to speak, but he would like to ask a question. Nearly fifty years ago, when he was a settlement officer of a district near Delhi, where he was engaged in revising a settlement made by John Lawrence, it used to be reported that there was a very great conflict of opinion in the Oudh Commission. The Chief Commissioner at the time was a very strong advocate of taluqdary rights, but there were a number of young civilians who held that the village communities were being unfairly treated as to their relations to the taluqdars. When he read about the late riots in Oudh he wondered, and he now asked the question, whether these were due to village communities in Oudh resenting their position as contrasted with that of villages of originally similar history in the Agra Province. There was only one case in his district which was similar to a taluqdary, and what John Lawrence (the future Viceroy) did there was to make the settlement with the proprietary body with a percentage to be paid to the superior owner, which carried with it no rights of management. He did not quite understand from the paper whether, when the settlement had been made with the taluqdar and there was a sub-settlement made, the control of the cultivation rested with the proprietary body or the taluqdar; whether the tenants held under the proprietary body or under the taluqdar. He added that on the general question in his experience what was found in different parts was a very great difference in what might be called the natural relations of the tenants to the proprietary bodies. In some cases the whole economic life of the village depended upon the rents paid by the tenants; this was the case where the landowner was a non-resident and the land was all let to tenants; here it was very essential that the tenancy should be protected. But there were also cases, and they were those which he mostly dealt with, where the cultivation was almost wholly carried on by the proprietary body, and there

was only a comparatively small part of the area cultivated by tenants, and here tenancy was of very subordinate importance. And in such villages where the tenants were relations of the proprietary bodies, they often paid at the same rates; while men of other castes paid more, and cultivators from other villages paid full rents. The question of the right principle to be applied between owner and tenant had always seemed to him an extremely difficult one. In the Punjab the matter had been settled two years before he joined, and it was only his business to carry out the Act. In some cases, too, special conditions affected the rents. He remembered one Punjab district where the usual rents were so extremely high that it would be impossible for a tenant wholly to live on his holding and pay the rent. What happened was that the population was so dense and the proprietary bodies were so numerous that almost all the tenancy land consisted of what might be called accommodation land—that is to say, a man who had not enough land to cultivate by the labour of his family and his own oxen would be willing to pay a very large rent for the little additional land, which he could cultivate at very little cost to himself. He did not know how far that state of things might apply in Oudh; but if it did, rents fixed with reference to such a standard might be very oppressive. There were also cases in which, in comparing the rents of occupancy tenants with those of tenants at will, it would have to be remembered certain necessary works were paid for by the owner in the case of tenants at will, but not in the case of occupancy tenants. The main questions he would like to put were whether the dissatisfaction of the tenants was as much against the village proprietors where they had the power of management as against the taluqdars, and whether there was a survival of the feeling of the old village communities against the taluqdars.

The SECRETARY (MR. STANLEY P. RICE) read the following letter from Dr. Pollen:

“July 12, 1922.

“DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

“I have just received the rough proof of Mr. Sabonadière's able paper on the Tenancy Law of Oudh, and it is clear that the old Oudh Land Question, which has been dealt with more than once by our Association, still survives. It would indeed seem that the amount of ignorance on all matters relating to land, which Indian lawyers and lawframers continue to teach themselves, still continues most surprising. But we all know that the one great and perfectly intelligible principle of English law is to make business for itself, and it would almost seem that this principle governs Oudh Land Acts. It would appear, however, from Lieut.-Colonel Faunthorpe's reports, that the main grievances of the tenants have gone, and that *nayrana* must cease, but that the ryots still suffer from a refusal of receipts for rent paid, and from unauthorized cesses. It is satisfactory to find that the 'Eka' movement, which owed much of its force to the Gandhi folly, is now on the wane. As the author of the paper points out (and those who have served in Oudh know), the Oudh tenantry are, as a class, a simple and harmless lot, provided they are left in peace in the occupation of their holdings. The truth is, as I found out in

my inquiries about Lapo, in Upper Sind, the land was at one time, just as in Ireland, common property, and belonged to the cultivator, subject to the payment of a share in kind to the chief man of the tribe (afterwards, unfortunately, called 'landlord'). When there was a crop the ryot paid; when not he didn't. And this was the plan that pleased both chief and cultivator. It is sad to learn from the paper that the landowners, falsely so-called, have been habitually cheating both the tenants and the taxpayers. But time brings strange revenges, and I hope undue advantage will not result from improper extension of *str*, or improper ejectments, and that it will never pay a landowner to put a low-caste keeper of fowls on the land, with cocks and hens, in order to get rid of the tenant and obtain mastery over the land. Hoping that there will be a good discussion on the paper, and with kindest regards to yourself,

"I am,

"Yours sincerely,

"J. POLLEN."

Continuing, Mr. RICE said that, with reference to what Sir Lionel Jacob had said, that the tenant is forced to pay for the cost of making the channels and bridging, he did not know whether people were aware that there was a movement on foot at present in India for forming Indian Irrigation Societies, of which seven were then in existence. The idea was that the villagers should club together and carry out the irrigation works on the co-operative system instead of by taking the very unpopular Government loan or by taking loans from the village moneylenders, which they had been accustomed to do. With reference to what Sir John Cumming had said, he was inclined to think that the pro-landlord attitude of the Legislative Assemblies was a reaction against the pro-tenant views of the Government. Very seldom was any sort of consideration for the landlord heard; the impression always was that the landlord was all right and the tenant had to be protected. It was quite possible that when the new elections had been held the new Assembly would be more pro-tenant than before; but that would be taking the Government view, and it was quite possible that the new Legislative Assembly might think that that approached too near to "co-operation."

The LECTURER, in reply, said that in many cases the original cultivating communities were still in existence, but they had simply been trodden down into mere cultivators or proprietors by the taluqdars. Varying conditions prevailed in different villages. Where there were both taluqdars and under-proprietors, undoubtedly the under-proprietors legally were the persons who had control of the village, but where the taluqdar was powerful and had a representative on the spot who chose to interfere, he thought the under-proprietors would usually find that they had a very bad time if they did not do things in the way the taluqdar wanted them done. In Bundelkhand, which Mr. Spencer knew better than he (the lecturer) did, undoubtedly it was the custom to treat people of the same caste as the landowners on better terms than people of other castes, and he thought there was a distinction made in some cases between tenants who lived in the villages and those who did not. With reference to Sir Lionel Jacob's remark about the

making of watercourses, he pointed out that the tenant had a life-tenancy only, and it would be very hard to make him bear the cost of making the channels and bridges. In villages which were not in a taluqa, and where a large proportion of the cultivation was done by the landowners themselves, he supposed things would be managed very much as they were in Agra, where he had never heard of any difficulty about the making of watercourses, and he imagined the practice was the same in the Punjab—that the people who used the watercourse constructed it and kept it up. In the villages where there was only one set of rights no doubt things would go through much as they do in Agra; but in taluqdari villages he fancied there might be a good deal of difficulty, and probably the taluqdars would use every means they could to make the tenants pay for the cost of construction, and the benefit of that would go to the taluqdars in an increased rent. Neither the Oudh Act of 1886 nor the present Amendment Act contained anything on the subject of the responsibility for paying the cost of canal outlets, and he could not remember whether the Canal and Drainage Act contained any provision with regard to the matter.

Sir LIONEL JACOB pointed out that when the canal was constructed the life-tenant might possibly be an old man, who would have to saddle himself with debt for the construction of the watercourses and bridges, and his son, who would only have the tenancy for a short time, would have to bear the burden.

The LECTURER agreed with Sir Lionel that it was not right that the tenant should have to bear the cost, and asked whether the Canal and Drainage Act contained any provision about the cost of watercourses.

Sir LIONEL JACOB replied in the negative and said that the cost was meant to be borne by the owner. He would like to say that Mr. Rice, when he talked about the co-operative movement, had rather misunderstood him. Somebody had got to pay the money eventually, and what he was saying was that it ought to be borne by the taluqdar instead of by the tenant at will, and he hoped that the Rent Amendment Act had made some provision for that.

The LECTURER said that the Amendment Act had no reference to the cost of making canals, although the construction of the Sarda Canal had been begun. He had not the least doubt that this canal would add immensely to the prosperity of Oudh. With reference to Mr. Tabor's question as to whether tenants paying Rs. 50 would have votes, he had not read the rules and regulations made under the Act of 1919, as he had been informed that they were of a very voluminous nature, but his impression was that the illiterate could vote.

In moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Mr. F. H. BROWN said that illiteracy was no bar to the vote, which was conferred on quite a small property qualification. Hence a large proportion of the tenants had been enfranchised. Although Sir Denison Ross might not have made a profound study of land tenures in Oudh, his altogether exceptional command in number and range of the Indian languages must have made him thoroughly familiar with the technical terms which appeared in the paper. Those who went frequently to the meetings of the Association felt

honoured to have the Director of the School of Oriental Studies in the chair, and hoped to see him there again.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the meeting, said he was very much obliged to Mr. Brown for saving him from a most embarrassing situation, as he came to the lecture as innocent as an unborn babe with regard to the subject. From what he had seen of the taluqdars they seemed very fine fellows, and they looked very fine fellows; but they seemed to have behaved rather badly at times and to have reaped the reward which people of that sort usually had, that they come off top dog. He did not know quite what the "next election" which had been referred to meant, but it seemed to him that if the people in England were more interested in Indian matters, the Labour party might have something to say on the subject; but that was quite beyond his realm. He thought the meeting had been a most successful one in the matter of promoting discussion, and he could only express his gratitude to the members for the vote of thanks which they had accorded him.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, a hearty vote of thanks (carried by acclamation) was accorded the lecturer for his lecture.

The LECTURER having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

INDO-CHINA: PRESENT CONDITIONS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

By GEORGES HEBMANN (CHEVALIER OF THE
LEGION OF HONOUR)

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AT a time when the attention of all the civilized nations of the world is called with particular insistence to the possibilities of developing their own resources and those of their colonies, it should be interesting to cast a glance on a country which, as a result of its geographical situation, the aptitude of its population, and its marvellous natural riches, is called upon to play a part of growing importance in the economic life of the Far East. This country is Indo-China, one of the finest parts of France's colonial estate, and which, within the short lapse of time during which it has been under French rule, has given such satisfactory results, that it could be said to have justified all the hopes which have been placed in it.

ORGANIZATION

HISTORY.—At the end of the eighteenth century, France had already obtained a footing on different points of the coast of Indo-China, but the creation of this colonial domain, the history of which would be too long to relate, actually dates back to the year 1862, when France occupied the three provinces of Saïgon, Bien-Hoa, and Mytho in Cochinchina, which was definitely acquired in 1867, when the three remaining provinces were taken over. In 1863 a protectorate was established over Cambodia, and in 1873 France occupied Hanoi in Tonkin. There is no need to retrace the well-known events which brought about the

signing of the Tien-Tsin Treaty of June, 1885, under which China acknowledged the protectorate of France over Annam and Tonkin. Gradually the pirate bands which disturbed the peace of the country were dispersed, and in 1889 the work of pacification was practically completed. Since that time, except for a few unimportant incidents, the country which nowadays forms the "Union Indo-Chinoise" has enjoyed peace under the liberal rule of France, whose authorities, respectful of the religions and customs of the native population, have striven to gain a whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the latter. That this result may be considered as having been achieved is evidenced by the fact that during the war Indo-China furnished an important contingent of soldiers and artisans who took part in the world's struggle. Moreover, the revolutionary tendencies which became so violently manifest in other European colonies have found little favour amongst the high classes of Annam and Tonkin.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. — Nowadays the various countries of Indo-China are, from an administrative point of view, grouped together under the name of "Union-Indo-Chinoise." It includes the colonies of "Cochinchina" and of "Laos" and the protectorates of "Cambodia," "Annam," and "Tonkin," to which should be added the territory of Kouang-Tcheou-Wan, leased to France by China for a period of 99 years from 1898.

The Union Indo-Chinoise is administered by a Governor-General, assisted by a General Secretary and a High Council of Government. The Governor-General is the representative of the French Republic, and is invested with numerous and far-reaching attributions. One of his duties is to prepare the Budget Bill, which, however, must be sanctioned by decree of the French President.

The Governor-General delegates part of his powers to Lieutenant-Governors and residents for the administration of the colonies and protectorates respectively.

A feature of the policy of France has been the main-

tenance, so far as possible, of the local administration as a foundation on which to establish her rule. In protectorates the rights of the Sovereigns and of the functionaries appointed by them are always respected. Furthermore, to ensure a smooth working of the French and native organizations, native assemblies have been created to be consulted on the affairs of the country.

GEOGRAPHY.—Indo-China covers an area of over 775,000 square kilometres—that is, one and a half times France's area, with an S-shaped coast of over 2,500 kilometres. This peninsula is divided lengthwise by a chain of mountains running from north to south, and separating the basins of the rivers Mékong in Cochinchina and Annam and Song-Coi (Fleuve rouge) in Tonkin.

These rivers, which at high water are navigable for a large part of their course, serve as a means of access from the sea to the interior of the country and the rich provinces of Yunnan and Kouang-Si in China, which now can also be reached by the Yunnanfou railway from Hanoi.

ROADS.—The network of roads in Indo-China is already considerable, and there is in particular a good road which, save for a small portion of about 80 kilometres in Central Annam, runs from Lang-Son, on the Chinese frontier in Tonkin, to Battambang in Cambodia, near Siam, so that in a few years, when bridges or ferry-boats are established on the Mékong and Bassac branch, it will be possible to drive in an automobile from China to Siam along the whole coast of the peninsula.

RAILROADS.—As regards railroads, the lines in operation extend over 534 kilometres in Cochinchina and South Annam, 174 in Central Annam. In Tonkin the network is more important. The lines which radiate from Hanoi (pop. 107,000) are the Hanoi-Na-Cham line to the Chinese frontier (167 kilometres), the Hanoi-Vinh-Benthuy line (326 kilometres), running along the coast in a southerly direction, and finally the Haiphong-Hanoi-Laokay line (383 kilometres), built by the colony, but operated by the

Compagnie Française des Chemins de Fer de l'Indo-Chine et du Yun-Nan, which built also the extension Laokay-Yunnanfou, penetrating into Chinese territory. This last line, in the construction of which the engineers had to overcome the greatest natural obstacles, is now extremely prosperous, owing to the importance of the traffic of the rich provinces of China.

PORTS.—There are numerous small ports, but there are only two so far of real importance: They are Saïgon (pop. 83,135), in Cochinchina, which, at the mouth of the Mékong, and with its important fluvial port of Cholon (pop. 226,537), is a most convenient outlet for the products of the rich provinces of South Cochinchina, Cambodia, and South Annam; the other is Haï-Phong (pop. 74,917), in Tonkin, which is on the direct route from Southern China to the sea. In 1919 over 4,000 ships, representing a tonnage of 2,300,000 metric tons, entered Saïgon harbour, whereas the figures for Haï-Phong were about 3,400 ships, with 667,600 metric tons, in 1918. Tourane is the port of Central Annam, and later on may assume greater importance when better means of communication to distant Laos are established over the mountainous regions of Annam.

POPULATION.—Indo-China is, as a whole, sufficiently populated, so that its economic development is not likely to be hampered by the lack of labour, as is the case in many new countries. The whole population exceeds 17 million inhabitants, corresponding to an average of 20 per square kilometre. This appears comparatively small; but it should be borne in mind that an enormous area of the country is thickly wooded and mountainous, so that, while the proportion is only 2 inhabitants per square kilometre in the Laos district, 10 in Cambodia, 27 in Annam, it rises to 53 in Cochinchina, and 59 in Tonkin; in the delta of the Song-Coi it even exceeds 333.

The white population, which is mostly French, numbers about 20,000, not including the troops, which before the war were about ten thousand strong.

RIVERS.—As already indicated, a salient feature of Indo-China is the great number of rivers which irrigate practically all parts of the country; the largest, the Mékong and the Song-Coi, end in wide deltas, which form the richest provinces of Indo-China. In Cochinchina especially the digging of the canals, which was begun on a large scale by the first military chiefs, and which has been continued since by the successive Governors, is one of the finest achievements which France can boast of having accomplished in her colonies; a consequence of the continuation of this wise policy has been the development of the rice production, which has trebled in the course of twenty years.

The conditions of living of the population have been, of course, determined by the geographical characteristics of the country, and this accounts for the fact that Indo-China is primarily a country of intensive rice growing and of marine and fluvial fishing. The local consumption of fresh fish is enormous, and comes immediately after that of rice, which is the staple food of the population.

NATURAL RESOURCES.

FISHING INDUSTRY.—In favourable years Indo-China exports over 30,000 metric tons of dried fish and 2,000 metric tons of fresh fish to neighbouring countries, and to Hong-Kong and Singapore especially. As by-products, about 3,000 tons of fish glue and oil are shipped from the colony yearly. From a commercial point of view, Cambodia, with the big Tonle-Sap Lake, is the main productive centre, and it should be mentioned that the renting of the fishing licence is an appreciable source of revenue for the Government.

The fishing industry could beyond any doubt be further developed if the obsolete methods still used by the natives could be gradually replaced by trawling. Though competition may come from Japan, and perhaps, from the Philippine Islands, so great is the demand from China that

this country is likely to remain always a good market for the Indo-Chinese production ; at the same time the fish oil industry could be also intensified, and larger exports would be easily absorbed in France or other European countries.

CATTLE.—Before turning to the capital question of rice production, we may say a few words of cattle raising. The most recent census reported in Indo-China 3,000,000 head of cattle (including 1,500,000 buffaloes) and 2,660,000 pigs; out of this total there are 1,200,000 oxen and buffaloes in Cambodia alone, which, in 1910, was able to export 31,594 oxen and 15,975 buffaloes to the Philippine Islands (33,000 oxen and buffaloes in 1911). However, the prospects of a great development for cattle raising are as a rule impaired by violent epizootics, difficulty of feeding during the dry season, and other climatic conditions.

In recent years an attempt was made to create frozen meat and packing industries ; two factories were established, one in South Annam, the other in Cambodia. In conjunction with this trade, it may be indicated that in 1913 3,139 tons of raw hides were exported from the colony, one-half of which went to France, the other half being shipped to China and Hong-Kong. Exports of manufactured skins are small (783 tons) owing to the imperfection of the tanneries ; but there is the possibility of a great expansion in this line when more modern installations attract the production of the Siamese Laos and of Yunnan.

RICE.—The chief source of riches for Indo-China is the cultivation of rice, for which the natural lay of the country and climatic conditions are most suitable. The rice fields now under cultivation cover about 4 million hectares (over 1,500,000 in CochinChina, 900,000 in Tonkin, and 700,000 in Cambodia). In 1920 the area sown with rice was 4,800,000 hectares, but there is still the possibility of recuperating about 1,800,000 hectares. The qualities of the rices grown, when carefully selected and hulled, compare most favourably with the best Burma and Java descriptions, but owing to the fact that until recent years the whole rice

manufacturing was in Chinese hands and the methods generally defective, the Indo-Chinese varieties were generally considered as inferior; efforts are made now to have selected seeds giving a better yield both in quantity and quality. Three or four years ago two important rice factories, operating with up-to-date equipment, were established in Cochinchina and Tonkin. The native consumption takes up about $3\frac{1}{2}$ million metric tons of rice yearly; up to 1913 the production averaged about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million tons, so that one million tons was available for exports. As production has developed, the exports have gone up from 250,000 metric tons in 1868 (1,286,804 tons in 1913) to 1,619,715 tons in 1918; for 1919 the exports amounted to 966,835 tons only. This big decline was due to the rise of the Indo-Chinese piaster, which exceeded that of the Indian rupee, so that rice importers were induced to make their purchases in Burma. These figures show Indo-China to rank immediately after Burma for rice exports; most of these go to China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands through Hong-Kong. Though competition may become keener, the situation of Indo-China in the middle of a population of over 500 million of rice-eaters is a guarantee of a sure outlet for her surplus. Besides, in the last twenty years export to Europe has been steadily increasing, and France under normal conditions is likely to become an important customer for her colony.

OTHER CEREALS.—Another cereal prospers in Indo-China; this is maize, which until recent years was hardly known outside Tonkin; now its cultivation spreads over all the regions of the Union Indo-Chinoise, and it seems to be well adapted for Cambodia especially. Exports, which amounted to only 107 tons in 1904, reached a maximum in 1913 with 133,000 tons, and have averaged 54,000 tons since.

Other produce are manioc, arrowroot, sweet potatoes, beans and peas, the production of all of which might easily be developed in Cochinchina and Tonkin, to leave a surplus

available for exportation to Europe ; there are also numerous fruits—mangoes, mangosteens, ananas, and litchis—but they are mostly consumed in the country, and some years would elapse before export could really become important. A first condition would be to have steamers adapted for the carriage of tropical fruits.

COFFEE.—Coffee can also be cultivated with success. Advantages have been granted to planters in the way of a premium paid on exports to counterbalance the abnormal value of the local currency. The exports barely attained 234 metric tons in 1909 ; they were more than doubled in 1919 (534 metric tons).

TEA.—Indo-Chinese tea, though inferior in quality to China tea, is generally admitted to be quite as good as the Ceylon brands, and with some efforts to improve the cultivation and preparation methods, it could be made to compete successfully with English and Chinese teas on the French market, which could easily take all the production. Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, with an annual consumption of 3,000 metric tons, would become also excellent customers.

SUGAR.—Sugar-cane growing succeeds in all regions, but great improvements are needed to obtain anything like the 10 tons yield per hectare obtained in Java, the present yield being scarcely 2 to 2½ tons ; however, in view of the enormous Chinese market at the very door of the French colony, it seems that it would be well worth trying to increase the production, which averages only 3,000 tons yearly.

PEPPER.—Indo-China is a large producer of pepper (4,000 tons yearly during the war) ; in a certain year the exportation exceeded 6,300 tons, one half of which went to France, and satisfied the whole metropolitan consumption. Nutmeg is also an important product, though the Indo-Chinese variety meets with comparatively little appreciation in European markets (837 metric tons in 1919).

COTTON.—Among the textile plants which grow in the

colony, particular attention should be given to cotton. The production is about 9,000 metric tons yearly, 6,000 tons coming from Cambodia, and the rest from South Annam. There are two kinds of cotton: one, cultivated along the banks of the Mékong, which are flooded each year, gives a short staple (18 to 22 millimetres) product, which is utilized on special looms; the other kind, grown on the high ground called "*terres rouges*," of incomparable fertility, is a most excellent product, with a long staple (28 to 29 millimetres), comparing favourably with the American "*good middling*." Since the war a large portion of land has been cleared for cultivation, and up-to-date ginning mills have been installed with American machinery at Kompong-Cham in Cambodia; they can produce 80 bales of 110 kilos per 12-hour day. There is another important ginning factory at Khsah-Kandal, dating back to 1891, which is in Chinese hands; it treats about 6,000 metric tons of raw cotton yearly, producing 300 tons of oil and 1,600 tons of oil-cakes. The total area available for cotton-growing in Cambodia may be estimated at about two million hectares; but one of the difficulties to be overcome is the lack of labour, for which the only remedy would seem to be immigration of Chinese artisans.

SILK.—Silk is another item of particular present interest in view of the keen competition of American and Japanese purchasers on the Chinese market, which render the supplying of European manufacturers daily more difficult. The silk industry was, needless to say, a fundamental one in Indo-China; but the methods applied by the native silk producers gave comparatively poor results. Owing to constant efforts, a material improvement has been achieved not only in quantity (1 kilo of raw silk for 18 kilos of cocoons against 26 kilos formerly), but also in the quality, which can now be assimilated to the Canton first grade; Tonkin pongees are also appreciated. Up to now, the major part of the production, was utilized locally, the maximum quantity exported being 101 tons in 1911; but it is considered in colonial circles that the production,

through private as well as official enterprise, could be tremendously increased, for the conditions are extremely favourable. There can be no fewer than five silkworm crops yearly. At present the area cultivated in Chinese mulberries is 8,000 hectares, with an output of nearly 4,000,000 kilos of fresh cocoons and 150,000 kilos in raw silk for Cochinchina and Cambodia alone; a methodical programme is now contemplated through the medium of a company founded by Lyonesse producers to bring the production to 900,000 kilos of raw silk within ten years.

TEXTILE PLANTS.—Other textile plants in Indo-China are jute, ramie, hemp, and kapok; plantations of the tree from which this raw fibre is obtained could be developed to some advantage in Cambodia especially. As much may be said of the coconut tree, the present production of coir used for the manufacturing of cordage being entirely absorbed in the country.

Rushes, which are extremely abundant in the seaboard districts of Tonkin and Cochinchina and other marshy districts of the peninsula, are utilized locally for the manufacture of mats; these articles are exported to Hong-Kong, from where an important portion is re-exported to Europe under a Chinese label. In the thickly-populated delta of Tonkin there is a local small industry which uses a number of other plants—rotins, latania, rice straw, etc.—for the manufacture of mats, baskets, furniture, etc.

BAMBOO.—A most interesting use of the bamboo-tree is the manufacture of paper pulp. A factory was established in 1912 at Vietry, and its yearly output amounts to about 3,000 metric tons of excellent wood pulp, part of which is utilized in a paper factory at Dap-Cau. This is only a beginning, and there are large possibilities for expansion, as the bamboo-trees are found in enormous quantities along the banks of the Tonkinese and Cochinchinese rivers and many other regions of the country.

Until now, the soda and chloride of lime necessary for paper manufacturing have been imported from Japan; but a chemical factory has recently been erected at Haiphong.

for the treatment of salt by electrolysis, and will be able to supply the chemicals necessary at a much lower price.

Other plants providing good material for the paper industry are rice and "*tranh*," an indigenous herb growing rapidly in all parts of the colony.

Experiments are being made also with the idea of utilizing the pine trees which cover large areas in the wooded regions of the interior.

ESSENTIAL OILS.—Among vegetable resources should be mentioned such oleaginous plants as coconut-trees, sesame, ground nuts, ricinus, and soja. In 1914 the exports of copra reached 8,100 metric tons; those of castor-oil were 899 metric tons; soja cakes are excellent as cattle food, and find a good market in England.

Numerous plants are available for the manufacture of essential oils and perfumes, such as citronella, lemon grass, ylang-ylang, cajeput, camphrea, cutch, coca, indigo, etc. These resources have already been exploited, but not nearly to the extent which the possibilities warrant; however, it should be mentioned that badian, the essential oil derived from the fruit of the Chinese anise-tree, shows up well among the exports from Tonkin; these exports averaged 98,000 kilos annually for the period 1909-1913, with a maximum of 240,000 kilos in 1913; the chief market was Hamburg.

TOBACCO.—Tobacco has been grown in Indo-China for a long time for local consumption; the native varieties are, however, unsuitable for European taste, and attempts have been made with good results to obtain better qualities. In 1920 certain quantities were imported into France for the Government.

RUBBER.—Last, but not least, in view of the possibilities of development which it offers, should be mentioned the cultivation of indiarubber trees. Some twenty years ago, Indo-China exported a small quantity of indiarubber produced by the trees growing in the forests of the interior; but the acclimatization of the *Hevea* has been attempted since with great success, and now practically all the

products exported come from Hevea plantations. The development of this industry is shown by the progression of exports which from 175 metric tons of indiarubber (wild and cultivated) in 1910 went up to 531 in 1918, and 2,976 in 1919 of cultivated Hevea alone. The abrupt drop in the price of the "hard Para" and "Plantation Crepe" on the London market put a temporary check on the production, but it is expected that the Indo-Chinese output may be brought up to about 8,000 tons yearly some years hence, when circumstances warrant.

MINES AND INDUSTRIES

COAL.—From the point of view of mineral resources, the fact of capital importance is the presence of coal in Tonkin. There are deposits in central Annam and Laos; but, for the time being, the Tonkin coal mines alone retain our interest. The most important are those of Hongai (operated by the Société Française des Charbonnages du Tonkin), covering 22,000 hectares in the Bay of Along, at 25 kilometres from Haiphong, with three centres of exploitation at Hongai, Hatou, and Campha. The reserves are estimated to be 12 billion tons; but there remains a long stretch of territory to be prospected. The Hongai coal is anthracitous and, as such, ill-suited for shipping requirements. Imports of soft coal from Japan are necessary; but it is hoped that they will be reduced in the future, as soft coal mines have recently been discovered in Tonkin. Other coal-mining concerns are the "Charbonnages de Kebao," the "Charbonnages de Dong-Trieu," and the "Anthracites du Tonkin," but the Hongai mines are by far the largest producers. Their output increased from 257,000 metric tons in 1908 to 576,000 metric tons in 1916 (544,000 metric tons in 1917). It could be easily brought up to 900,000 metric tons and later on to 1,200,000 tons, if the demand justified this development. The output of the other mines is only 150,000 tons. In 1917 the total output of the colony was 653,910 tons, out of which

313,680 tons were exported, the chief customers being Hong-Kong, the Philippine Islands, and even Japan.

The importance of coal for the prosperity of the colony is emphasized by the presence of important metal mines in the vicinity of the coal, thus opening fair prospects for the creation of a metallurgical industry. Iron is found in four principal districts: (1) That of the Red River (magnetite and hematite); (2) that of the Song-Cau (hematite); (3) that of the Song-Bang-Giang (magnetite); (4) the Dong-Trieu mines near Hongai. Some other mines have also been located in Laos, Cambodia, and Annam, but owing to the climatic conditions, lack of labour, and of coal, they are less interesting for immediate operation.

Whilst iron represents future prospects, zinc is already a paying industry. There are rich mines of blende and calamine in the province of Bac Kan in Tonkin: their holding in pure metal exceeds 60 per cent.; the annual output varies between 30,000 and 40,000 tons yearly, most of which is exported to Europe (production, 48,825 tons in 1916, and 42,552 tons in 1917; exports, 38,190 tons and 19,950 tons in the same years respectively).

Other mineral products are tin and tungsten (at Pia Ouac, production 600 tons in 1918), antimony and gold (Bong Mieu—120 kilos gold); manganese ore (pyrolusite) is abundant in Tonkin. Graphite is found also at Quang-Ngai, whence 7,200 tons were exported in 1919.

INDUSTRIES.—This survey of the natural resources of Indo-China shows the wide possibilities of expansion which are opening up for industry there. At present, rice factories and distilleries take the first place. The former are found practically everywhere; they are generally small and operated by obsolete methods. The most important (ten in number in 1913) are those equipped with modern machinery; they are owned by Chinese interests, and are established in the vicinity of Cholon, near Saigon. In recent years two French companies have been created, the "*Société des Rizeries d'Extrême Orient*" (capital 25,000,000 frs.) and the "*Rizeries Indo-Chinoises*." The rice alcohol which is

consumed by the native population is manufactured for its greater part by the "*Société Française des Distilleries de l'Indo-Chine*"; the manufacture is under the control of the Government. There are besides a few small distilleries, the number of which is legally limited. Numerous mining concerns are already established in Indo-China, but the metallurgical industry is still in its infancy. It should be mentioned, however, that owing to the fact that the engineering industry is already well represented by the Saigon Arsenal, the repair workshops of the Messageries Fluviales, the workshops of the Colony Railroads and other private concerns, there exists already an important nucleus of skilled workmen.

The timber industry counts a considerable number of native works. There are also a few saw mills, wood distilleries, and two match factories.

According to official figures, the number of industrial, commercial, and agricultural companies is 74, representing a capital invested of about 256 million francs; there are, besides, 22 important private firms.

This brief review shows that much remains to be done before anything like a rational exploitation of Indo-Chinese resources is really begun; but the fact stands out that the following products, among many others, offer great business possibilities: rice, cotton, silk, bamboo, fisheries, coal, and metallurgy. The country is sufficiently populated to supply the labour which, as a rule, is found pliable and adaptable to most kinds of occupation. In any case, China is near at hand, and could supply any amount of excellent labour.

The remarkable possibilities which are thus opening in Indo-China have not escaped the attention of the French colonial authorities. But whereas, prior to the war, there was less necessity to push on the development of the colony, the new circumstances born of the war are making it imperative that France shall devote more attention to her Far Eastern possession, which could procure her a large portion of the raw materials (rice, cotton, silk) for which she is now dependent upon foreign markets.

EXPANSION—FINANCES, COMMERCE

A wide programme has been recently established by the French Colonial Minister to equip the colony more fully for its part in the world's commercial future. This programme involves the construction of 2,322 kilométres of railroad lines, and in the first place the completion of the Trans-Indo-Chinese railroad (Vinh-Dongha section 300 kilométres, and Tourane Saigon section 530 kilométres), then the Cambodia railroad from Saigon to Batambang, and the connecting of the Tonkin lines with the Chinese railroads; the improvement of the ports of Saigon, Haiphong, Tourane, and Kouang-Tcheou-Wan; the extension and improvement of the networks of canals in Cochinchina; draining and irrigation works in Tonkin and Cambodia (in the latter region 7,000,000 hectares of land are barren; 3,000,000 hectares are of exceedingly rich soil suitable for rice or cotton growing); the building of dams for protection against the Song-Coi floods in Tonkin; the extension and improvement of the roads, etc.

The funds for this programme will have to be provided by means of loans. But the prosperity of the colony is such that the increment of charges to be incurred on that account is likely to be easily borne. It suffices to indicate in this respect that, according to official figures, the total funded debt of Indo-China in 1920 amounted to 388,643,798 frs., involving the payment of annuities of 18,558,760 frs. As the aggregate expenses of the budget represented 98,830,741 dollars, the annuities necessary for the service of the loans corresponded to only 6.26 per cent. of the total expenses, computing the piastre at the rate of 3 frs.; but as the currency stands at a premium, the present loan charges are considerably below this percentage.

This appreciation of the local currency is not without its drawbacks, as, from the point of view of French expansion, it prevents the inflow of French capital which is so necessary to regenerate the dormant forces of this huge country.

The question of the currency has been of paramount importance since the war. In 1914 the value of the piastre, which contains 24·03 grams of fine silver, was about 2·50 frs.; but the appreciation of the value of the silver metal and the decline of the franc were two factors which in conjunction with a favourable trade balance caused a tremendous rise of the piastre; the latter attained 16·50 frs. (maximum) in February, 1920; subsequently there were violent fluctuations, which in consequence of the difficulties they caused in the economic life of the country necessitated an action on the part of the Government; the latter, rejecting all radical solutions, such as the creation of a gold standard, a reduction of the fine silver contained in the coins or the introduction of the franc as monetary unit, determined that the piastre notes of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine should compulsorily be accepted as legal tender (*cours forcé*), and that the exchange rate with the franc would be fixed from time to time by decree.

A few statistical data will serve to show the development of the foreign trade of the "Union Indo-Chinoise" in recent years:

Years.	(In million francs.)		Total.
	Imports.	Exports.	
1913	305	345	650
1919	751	1,051	1,802
1920	1,097	1,181	2,278

Cochinchina accounts for 72·2 per cent. of the total commerce; Tonkin for 24·1 per cent.; Annam for 2·5 per cent.; Cambodia for 1 per cent. All the trade of Cambodia and South Annam passes through Cochinchina.

In 1920 the shares of France and of her colonies in the commercial exchanges with Indo-China were 20·6 per cent. and 1·6 per cent. respectively. Hong-Kong takes the first place, even before France. Important commercial transactions are also effected with China, England, Japan, the U.S.A., the Dutch Indies, and British India.

INDIAN RAILWAYS AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

BY CYRIL S. FOX, B.SC., M.I.M.E., F.G.S.,

Geological Survey of India

THE great cry which goes up from Indian industrial areas, particularly from the coalfields and other mining centres, is for better railroad communication and transportation facilities. The lack of railways throughout India has been admitted on several occasions. It is significant that the Government of India appeared on the London market last December in the rôle of borrower to the extent of £10,000,000 at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The whole of this money, it is stated, will be used for the improvement of the existing railways in India and in the construction of new lines. A good deal of reconnaissance survey work has already been accomplished, and the construction of several lines has been sanctioned both by private enterprise and by the State.

The East India Railway have surveyed an alignment for a new main line. This is to take off near Asansol or Dhanbad, and follow the Damuda Valley across the Jherria, the Ramgarh-Bokharo, and Kuranpura coalfields and over the watershed in the vicinity of the Aurunga and Hutar coalfields to the Sone Valley near Daltonganj. The line is projected to continue up the Sone Valley, and finally link with the present main line at Katni-Merwara in the Central Provinces. Such a line would open up a very difficult country, in which attractive occurrences of coal, iron ore, limestone, bauxite, corundum, and materials suitable for building purposes are known; and, in addition, it would tap the agricultural and rich forest tracts of the Palamau district and the States of Sirguja, Korea, Chang

Bhakar, and Rewa. The East India Railway have also sanctioned the survey of an alignment from Hutar, on the Sone-Damuda watershed, for 100 miles southward to Hesla. This line when built will give a southern outlet to the Kuranpura coalfield companies, and avoid the congested area about Asansol and Dhanbad.

The Bengal-Nagpur Railway have surveyed and now contemplate the construction of a line from Raipur, in the Central Provinces, through the wild Kalahandi country into the Madras Presidency, to join their Madras line near Vizianagram. In conjunction with this important feeder line they contemplate building an up-to-date harbour at Vizagapatam. The construction of these two projects will be carried out together. The same railway company have also sanctioned the survey of a 65-mile line from near Cuttack, up the Mahanadi Valley to the Talchir coalfield. This coalfield is being opened up under the management of Messrs. Villiers and Co. of Calcutta. Further north, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway contemplate the westward extension of their narrow-gauge Purulia-Ranchi-Lohardaga line. This alignment is to be carried through the hill country, south of Netarhat and Rajadera, of western Chota-Nagpur, into Sirguja State, and westward across the Bistrampur Basin into Korea State. It will finally, after crossing the head-waters of the Sone, connect with the Bilaspur-Katni branch line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at Sahdol. The tract of country through which this line will pass is so land-locked and difficult that practically all transportation is conducted by pack animals. There are at least four workable coalfields and other mineral resources in this region, to say nothing of the great grain and forest produce of Sirguja. So important is this area now considered that a special officer has been appointed to determine the lines of railways which are required for the whole Chota-Nagpur region, an area which is bounded on the north and east by the existing East India Railway, and on the south and west by the present lines of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

Similarly, the coalfields area of the Satpura uplands in the Chindwara and adjacent districts, further west, are also receiving attention. A reconnaissance survey of the so-called Central Coalfields Railway for this tract has been sanctioned.

Numerous other smaller railway surveys and lines have been sanctioned in India, in Indian States, and in Burma, each with a view to opening up mineral or agricultural resources or for the purpose of developing industrial regions which are at present starved owing to the lack of railway facilities.

The "Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into the Administration and Working of Indian Railways Report, 1920-21" has the following sentence (p. 7): "We therefore summarize extracts from the mass of evidence we have received, showing that the failure to meet the needs of the country is not temporary and confined to certain places or to certain periods, but universal and permanent."

Coal-mining constitutes the most important part of the mineral industry of India. About 90 per cent. of the total coal production, including all the coking coals, is obtained from the so-called Bengal coalfields of the Damuda Valley region—Jherria, Raniganj, and Giridih. Owing to these fields being fairly close together, any dislocation, due to railway congestion or labour, greatly affects the quantity of coal exported. In 1920 the Indian coal production was 17,082,711 tons as against 21,759,729 tons in the previous year. This decrease of 25 per cent. was largely due to labour troubles. However, there are several other coalfields in India, and as there is an eager demand for coal, one would have expected the deficiency to be made up from the Hyderabad and Central Provinces and other coalfields. That this expectation was not fulfilled was due largely to want of transport facilities; in fact coal raisings have frequently had to be curtailed on this account. The

demand for coal is increasing year by year; the present coalfields are not being worked to their full capacity, and, in addition, there are several untouched coalfields in the north-east (Chattisgarh) corner of the Central Provinces.

Metallurgical and other coal and coke consuming works are being erected in India in rapid succession—particularly enormous iron and steel works in the neighbourhood of the Bengal coalfields. This activity has been the result of the discovery of vast quantities of high-grade hematite in the tract from Mayurbhang State westward to the Kolhan subdivision of Singhbhum, and in the bordering States of Keonjhir and Bonai. Railway extensions from the main Bengal-Nagpur railway line have already been constructed, and in some cases are to be duplicated. The importance of this iron-ore region may be gauged when it is said that both the quantity and quality of the ore exceeds that of the iron ores of Mesabi, etc., in the Lake Superior region of the United States of America. The successful working and smelting of the American ores have been entirely due to efficient and cheap transportation facilities.* The Tata Iron and Steel Company of Jamshedpur have been working some time. In 1919-20 their output was estimated at 50,000 tons of pig iron, 75,000 tons of steel rails, and 60,000 tons of bars, girders, etc., valued in all at about five scores of rupees. It is estimated that this production might have been exceeded by from 3 to 5 per cent. if there had been an ample supply of railway wagons and no congestion of traffic on the lines. The Bengal Iron and Steel Company of Kulti, on the Barakar River, have also been producing pig iron for several years, and during the war they undertook the production of ferro-manganese. Lately both these companies have extended their works and increased their output capacity. There are other newly registered companies whose iron and steel works are either in course of erection or which are very shortly to be built.

* For several weeks each year the lakes are frozen so that large stocks of ore have had to be accumulated at Pittsburg near the steel works.

The Indian Iron and Steel Company are establishing works at Hirapur, on the line between Asansol and Adra. The plant which is in course of erection is designed for an output of 600 tons of pig iron daily. The biggest company of this kind is, however, the United Steel Corporation of Asia, Limited. They are to build works at Manoharpur on the main Bengal-Nagpur Railway, in Western Singhbhum. A new railway will be built northwards through Hesla to the Kuranpura coalfields. The projected works will at first annually produce 300,000 tons of pig iron and 200,000 tons of finished steel. This output is later to be increased to 700,000 tons of pig iron, and 450,000 tons of finished steel. The erection of the works will be carried out in three stages, and will require the supply of rolling stock on the following scale :

First stage: 492 wagons and 9 locomotives.

Second stage: 4,113 wagons and 74 locomotives.

Third stage: 7,723 wagons and 139 locomotives.

It is natural that with all these schemes in a producing condition India will be a very serious competitor indeed in the markets bordering the Indian Ocean. Further, with such developments taking place, the establishment of works for the manufacture of finished goods, hardware, machinery, etc., will follow. Already various works of this kind have been erected at Jamshedpur.

For many years India has been exporting her minerals under very disadvantageous conditions ; there is, therefore, the immediate prospect of her being able to use these valuable materials and export only finished manufactured articles, thereby becoming an important factor in the Eastern markets.

In view of the publicity given to Indian affairs of late, particularly to the state of unrest, it does appear curious that such great enterprises are being launched by firms long familiar with Indian trade and respected for their business sagacity. It is not too much to say that with better trans-

portation facilities, far better than can be hoped for for some time, India's speed of development would be more rapid than it is. Like other countries, India has been hit by the widespread economic depression; like most industries, her trade has had to face labour troubles; and on top of this she has been worried by the bewildering fluctuations of the rupee exchange. Nevertheless, there is a great desire to press on to the goal of solid commercial enterprise. This requires money, not in lakhs or crores, but in hundreds of crores of rupees. If this money can be produced and utilized in the establishment of railways and the development of industries the future prosperity of India is assured. Something is being done now. The recommendations of the Railway Committee have been approved by the Government of India, and an expenditure of 150 crores of rupees (£100,000,000) is to be devoted to Indian railways during the next five years. The first 30 crores of rupees have been allocated as follows: half for the duplication of existing lines, remodelling station yards, strengthening bridges, and the opening up of lines to certain coal areas; the other half will be devoted to rolling-stock—half of this for passenger carriages, and the remainder equally for locomotives and goods wagons.

These are beginnings in a big way, but the Indian resources will repay a far bigger outlay on railways, if only the work can be carried out with great expedition.

THE SUITABILITY OF THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT TO THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF EASTERN PEOPLES

BY WILLIAM SAUNDERS

III

It is always dangerous to generalize on questions of politics and economics, and never more so than when one is dealing with the East. If we take the case of India alone, with its population of 315,000,000 souls, with its vast differences and varieties of race, religion, language, and climate, the difficulties in the way of forming a just estimate on any aspect of the question in a work short of a treatise of encyclopædic character and dimensions seem almost insuperable. Yet, from the very nature of the case, it is scarcely possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions, even in the most detailed work, without making some such generalizations as will focus the matter into a picture capable of being grasped by one, if not at a glance, at least without having to strain one's visual faculties to any unreasonable extent. In dealing with the East, also, it should never be forgotten that one must think in terms of continents in order to obtain a just, complete, and balanced view of the subject. The national idea not only fades into insignificance, but becomes absolutely impossible, when such enormous political entities as Siberia, China, India, or even Turkey in Asia, are under consideration. Of course, the objection may be raised, Why should it be necessary for such unwieldy Empires to be bound up into single entities at all? The answer to this varies with each particular case, but, as a general rule, it is more or less geographical or ethnological considerations which underlie the fact, and

the historical point of view must likewise never be entirely lost sight of. This is particularly the case with India and China, and while, in regard to each of these great Empires, good reasons may be submitted for the existence of independent component nationalities, yet it is questionable whether their continued survival could be secured apart from the existence of the greater confederation of which they each form a constituent part. But to keep them together some binding force is essential. And the only possible effective bond for an Eastern Empire, as will presently be shown, is the consolidating power of an overruling despotism. It may be mild or it may be strong, it may be laid down upon constitutional lines, it may be insidiously bureaucratic, or it may be harshly autocratic, but a despotism it must be. A fatal simplicity if you will, but as history has shown throughout the ages, the despotic idea has ever been, and remains to-day, a simple necessity in the political conditions of Oriental peoples.

The first great element in the organization of Eastern Empires which necessitates the existence of, at the least, a strong but just and benevolent despotism, and which renders them quite unsuited for the reception of the principles and methods of Representative Government, is the extensive prevalence of the caste system and of racial antagonisms amongst the various petty nationalities and tribes of which they are compounded.

According to Mr. Ardraser Sorabjee N. Wadia, M.A., India never has been, and never can be, a united nation, and all the elements for the creation of a really self-governing community are wanting there. This deliberately expressed opinion of an educated Indian is amply confirmed by every political thinker or investigator who has ever devoted a single hour's consideration to the affairs of the East. It must not be supposed, however, that the average educated Oriental is unfit for the effective performance of an administrative office, and, in point of fact, every office in the legislative structure of our Indian Empire is now open to

Indians, who, as a general rule, perform their duties in a manner both creditable to themselves and beneficial to the Empire.

It might, on the other hand, not be impossible in separate, simple, tribal entities to administer their internal affairs according to the principles of Representative Government, but, for the reasons already given, modern methods are altogether out of the question. A primitive system, similar to the ancient Anglo-Saxon polity of village communities, and the wider scheme of hundred-moots, shire-moots, and Witenagemots, might be possible over areas limited in extent, and could not fail to prove advantageous as training-schools, fitting the people for the reception of a more extended and more complex system at some future date. Such conditions are, in point of fact, not unknown in some parts of the East, but the general political conditions prevailing throughout the Orient at the present day render it highly improbable for any measure of a more intricate character to attain even the smallest degree of success. The better a Government, the more consolidated must the nation under it become. Now, it cannot be too often repeated there can be no question that a reasonable system of Representative Government is, under a good constitution, the best possible arrangement for the ruling of peoples that the ingenuity of man has yet succeeded in devising. But, as John Stuart Mill points out, "political machinery does not act of itself. As it is first made, so it has to be worked, by men, and even by ordinary men. It needs, not their simple acquiescence, but their active participation, and must be adjusted to the capacities and qualities of such men as are available." For its adequate and complete effectuation three conditions, which have already been dealt with, and need not be further amplified here, are imposed; and it is only necessary to state, in connection with the present argument, that "active participation" in the above sentence implies not only the actual doing of all that may be necessary to secure the smooth running of the machine, but it likewise

connotes the subordination or elimination of any element that might tend to prevent or retard its progress. And unless the constituent members of any representative body are all prepared to subordinate the doubtful advantage of securing individual triumphs or intrinsic gains over the other members of the body—triumphs and gains which could only be obtained at the general expense of the greater confederation of which they form each a part—they are not only failing to consolidate the nation or Empire, as the case may be, but are actually weakening it, and laying it open to attack and probable subjugation by some neighbouring despotism. To such a community Representative Government would be, not only not a blessing, but a positive curse, and a danger to the national and individual peace of the district. And India, typical in this respect of the entire Eastern political system, once more, with the possible but problematical exception of Japan, is the outstanding example of this state of affairs.

IV

This brings us to the consideration of another great reason why the principles and methods of Representative Government can never, under the present systems, be regarded as suitable to the political conditions of Eastern peoples. The reason is, in fact, a dual one, but because of the bearing each part exercises upon the other it may, and ought to, be treated as a single and correlated fact. This reason—the extreme poverty and illiteracy of the great bulk of Eastern peoples—is, perhaps, the most cogent of all, and requires only the very briefest consideration.

The first and chief necessity of a perfect system of Representative Government is a high standard of ethical rectitude and moral integrity inherent in the people themselves, governed as well as governors. The very basis of the system is the general possession of moral independence and an ability on the part of electors to rise superior to the temptations of every form of alluring but sordid corruption.

But are Eastern peoples capable of attaining to such an ideal of ethical purity? It is a trite and accurate saying that human nature is the same all the world over, and in countries even where the social and economic welfare of the masses is exalted and comparatively secure frequent political scandals are not uncommon. There are few men so wealthy that they have no further desire to increase their store of gold, and unless their political monitors have taken care to imbue them well with the ethical aspect of the question, the danger of a people's succumbing to the temptation of corrupt practices, especially if the tempter carries in his hand a golden inducement to sin, is indeed not only great, but exceedingly difficult to resist. A vote, in the eyes of the poor and ignorant, is such a little thing—and what does it matter, after all, which way it goes?—while a sovereign is not earned so easily every day, and is not to be regarded by any means lightly when it does come along. An independent investigation throughout the most advanced electorate, even in this enlightened country, will show that similar lines of argument are not so uncommon as one would imagine. And when one finds such a state of affairs in a country where work is generally plentiful and wages good, where the most unfortunate are, comparatively speaking, not badly housed and fed, where education is free, and on the whole passably excellent, and where the moral standard in politics is admitted to be tolerably high, what can one possibly expect among peoples who have had no political training whatever, whose poverty is at the very uttermost limit of abjectivity, whose ignorance and illiteracy are proverbial, and the bane of whose existence is the constant dread of alien or official interference?

Such a people are no more fit to exercise the privileges and rights of self-government than are a flock of sheep or a herd of buffaloes. Ignorance is the natural concomitant of poverty, so that the real root of the matter is economic. It is not sufficient merely to make education free, for that

can have no practical effect so long as the labour of the child is necessary to enable the parent to eke out barely a living wage. Thus, it is evident that not only corruption, but a fatal ignorance as well, is the natural and only possible outcome of such poverty as one constantly encounters among the great bulk of Eastern peoples. So long as such economic conditions prevail it is hopeless to expect any improvement in the political status of the people, for to appreciate the mere fundamentals of Representative Government, and to understand the most elementary working of the system, a considerably greater amount of knowledge is required than is possessed by the average Indian, Chinaman, Mongolian, or Turk. And that knowledge, as we have seen, can only come with an improvement in the economic conditions of the respective countries. How that is to be effected is a matter that lies without the scope of this essay, but so far as one may judge from a mere hasty and passing glance it can only come from above, and thus, by placing the masses under greater obligations to their masters, riveting the bonds of despotism more firmly and securely than ever.

V

Still another factor which at present militates largely against the principles and methods of Representative Government being found adaptable to the needs and capacities of Eastern peoples is the wide superficial area of natural electoral districts with the usually thinly populated nature of the country. While the natives of Western Europe are mostly urban in character, Eastern peoples are chiefly pastoral or agricultural, living in hamlets and villages remotely distant from each other. They enjoy very little and very infrequent intercommunication with each other, and what outlook they have upon life in general, and human activities in particular, is of the very narrowest possible description. On account also of their extreme poverty, to which detailed reference has already been made,

the suffrage would require to be either an extremely low one or a complete manhood one; otherwise, hundreds of these villages would be utterly disfranchised. That is one difficulty, but even greater obstacles would lie in the problem of how to educate the electors in regard to the political questions of the hour, even if they were willing to learn or capable of assimilating the knowledge when it was put before them, and in the further problem of how to get the electors to a voting-booth in order that they might effectuate their privileges. Even if the Anglo-Saxon system of general assemblies and voting by show of hands were resorted to, it would mean bringing eligible members from enormous distances to attend such assemblies. No man could leave his fields or his cattle for the length of time necessary to travel to the assembly and back in the present prevailing economic condition of Eastern countries, and, of course, it is only the barest fraction of the populations who would take a sufficient interest in politics to make them wish to do so.

VI

For the proper and adequate working of a system of Representative Government it is necessary that the people for whom it is intended should be a race of open-minded, honest, and public-spirited individuals, a race in whom the general standard of intelligence is comparatively high, whose outlook upon men and matters is serious, and whose points of view are disinterested and patriotic. They must be self-reliant, and have acquired some habits of and training in legislative practice and political thought. Above all, their moral and ethical bearing must be above reproach. It is only by men of the deepest integrity, and possessing the keenest sense of what is right, just, and equitable in their public and private dealings, that the principles of Representative Government will ever find their utmost justification and fulfil their highest destiny. Representative Government is a system which, whatever its origin, has

grown up and attained its completest development in the West. It is thus very considerably a reflection of the peculiar genius of Western peoples. The methods by which its application is effected likewise contain a large measure of the spirit of the West. Here it is bred in the bone and nurtured in the flesh of all of us. We find it difficult to think or act politically otherwise than in terms of Representative Government. And it is not in our public affairs alone that we have employed the principle, but we have carried it into our business and domestic relationships to an extent possible only amongst a people as practical as we British are. There is scarcely a trade or institution in the country which does not employ it in some shape or form; and whether we propose petitioning Parliament, building a church, making a presentation, or attending a funeral, in any dual or corporate capacity, the procedure is the same—representation according to the principles and methods now under discussion.

To the Oriental, however, whose political tenets are bound up in the simple formula that "might is right," the idea of Representative Government is incomprehensible. It is too complex for his simple and unlogical mind. He has been brought up in the school of obedience, and he would no more dream of asserting his opinions against those of his Caliph or Sultan than he would of setting himself up in opposition to the gods of his religion. The character of Eastern peoples, estimable though in many respects it undoubtedly is, is widely different from that of the people of the West. Their caste and religion prevent them acquiring an attitude of open-mindedness, for example; and no one who has any knowledge of the prevailing political conditions could honestly accuse them of ever having shown any degree of public-spiritedness or of being possessed of any measure of political culture. The principles and methods of Representative Government, moreover, are entirely alien to the deep-rooted sentiments and traditions which they have inherited from countless genera-

tions of bovine ancestors, and they have a profound dislike for, and suspicion of, all kinds of innovations. True, there have been many so-called revolutions in Oriental countries, but the people themselves have never taken any active part in them. Such upheavals have really amounted to nothing more drastic than a turbulent change of dynasty, or the substitution of some masterful dictator for a bloated old autocrat whom luxury and self-indulgence has rendered decadent and effete. Even where the principles and methods of Representative Government are found in the East, it is only in very small, restricted, and isolated areas, and there they are probably only survivals of a very early custom of the Aryan race, in which the present system, so characteristic of Western peoples, may have also had its origin. But what is particularly certain is the fact that the present political conditions absolutely preclude the possibility of the system extending beyond these bare restricted areas. What the future may hold for the peoples of the East it is very difficult to foresee; but it may be said, in the words of Yuan Shih-kai, quoted in a recent volume on "The Court of Peking," that "the best hope lies, not in a sudden revolutionary destruction of the old order, but in slow, steady growth by educative processes, which shall enable the nation to adapt itself gradually to its changed environment." These words, although specially applied to China, may be referred with equal force to the rest of the Orient as well, and they may fitly be allowed to conclude, with the promise they hold, such an investigation as this. And at present nothing is more certain than the fact with the statement of which the second part of this essay opened, and with its repetition it must end—that under the prevailing political conditions the principles and methods of Representative Government are quite unsuited to the political needs and aspirations of Eastern peoples.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CHINESE COOLIE

BY A. NEVILLE J. WHYMANT, PH.D.

(*Late Lieutenant of the Chinese Labour Corps in France*)

MANY eminent scholars have written on China and things Chinese, but mostly their efforts have been directed towards the upper classes—their attention has been claimed by the mandarins, by the high officials. This is perhaps the first occasion on which it is claimed that the key to the psychology of the Chinese race is to be found in the examination of the nature of the humble coolie. For the coolie contains in himself all the characteristics of the nation in general.

Whatever may be said for or against the Chinaman, he is certainly primarily a puzzle. He is a mosaic of bizarre pieces, capable of infinite adaptability, while yet preserving his individuality. While yet being profoundly national, his ability to the end of self-adjustment makes him pre-eminently international. To his varied nature nothing comes amiss, and he encounters new sensations and records his feelings thereon with the enthusiasm of the explorer breaking virgin soil. His primitive clan instincts are perhaps the strongest to be discovered anywhere, and still his devotion to one of another race who studies and knows him well is yet almost as strong. So far as book-learning is concerned he is practically unlettered, but he has a full share of that real wisdom which in life and work is the more valuable.

To come from the general to the particular, I propose to divide my paper into the following subdivisions :

- (a) Pride of Race.
- (b) Histrionic Ability.
- (c) Simplicity of Outlook.
- (d) Duality of Personality.
- (e) Resignation and Fatalism.

- (f) Clanship and Fidelity.
- (g) Emotional Phases.
- (h) Predilections.
- (i) Ambitions.

(a) Of all the outstanding characteristics of the coolie, *Pride of Race* is undoubtedly the first. It needs not the deep classical training of the University to impress upon him the fact that his ancestry is a long and glorious one. The reverence toward the long line of the departed displayed by his parents in the home life early arouses in him a realization of the fundamentals underlying ancestor-worship. In later life it becomes for him a perplexing fact that foreigners are quite content to remain barbarians and do not try to emulate the great ones of the Middle Kingdom. And yet the coolie is not above copying those fashions and points of Western conduct which appeal to his sense of the desirable or proper. Chiefly this plagiarism takes the form of clothing the two extremities in Western fashion. While retaining his own native garb, he will consider himself the last word in smartness if he can boast a new pair of boots and a foreign hat. A neatly mended and quite efficient pair of boots arouses no enthusiasm whatever—they must be *new*, and the happiest and proudest coolie I ever met was one who had spent six months' pay on hats and caps, purchased as opportunity offered when we were near a town. Every kind of headgear from the gay Homburg of the boulevardier to the ordinary cloth cap of the errand-boy made its appearance on our coolie's head according to the occasion, and on the day of the Dragon Festival he appeared in all the glory of an Apache hat, wide-brimmed and complete with flowing plumes! In this he sees nothing incongruous: he is a Chinese, and he fully realizes that his fellows are all over the world, and to his mind a Chinese can do no wrong. One has merely to mention another race in comparison with the Chinese to find the fires of national pride still burning beneath the placid exterior. As an interesting sidelight on the coolie's appreciation of the West, I translate the following conversation which took place in the compound one evening behind the lines, with the sound of distant

firing as an accompaniment : " These guns and aeroplanes are wonderful things. I have not seen an aeroplane in China." " No ; you cannot see what you hit when you fire a big gun like that. There is a devil in it that travels many miles and then kills." A third broke in with these words : " I don't like these things at all. One might kill the wrong people, not seeing." " Still, they are wonderful, all the same," said the first. " I should like to know about them." " No," said another ; " don't you see, these foreigners have to work with the devil to make wonders like that, and nobody lives long with the devils. Because we appease the devils with our ceremonies and presents we are much happier than other people. I'm glad I'm a Chinaman."

The Chinese, moreover, have a belief that they are predestined to continue as a race to the end of time, even as they believe they began with it—that never was there a time when there was no Chinese race. A Westerner may not consider the Chinese, and least of all one so generally despised as a Chinese coolie, qualified to judge members of other races. Nevertheless, the utterances of a coolie on the Japanese, the French, the Americans, Germans, and other races, show a deep insight into human nature. My notes made amongst the coolies contain statements concerning all of these races ; some of them, however, it is politic to suppress. The native's pride of race causes him to base all his judgments on the, to him, axiomatic truth that the Chinese nation is pre-eminently the greatest. But this racial pride is not to be confused with what we know as patriotism—that is to the Chinese mind a thing apart, though also of great importance. The division between these two is something the Western mind fails to appreciate to anything like the same degree as the Celestial. The persistent ceremonial of thousands of years and the deep ingrained conservatism of the race as a whole seems to have bred in the bone of the native a deep conviction that when one member is disgraced the insult strikes to the very root of the whole nation. Thus is explained the solidarity of the Chinese under oppression or upon aggression from outside.

(b) *Histrionic Ability*.—Those who have had occasion to observe coolies during their leisure moments must have been struck by the infinite variety of postures assumed. In point of fact, the Chinaman considers himself an actor of no mean ability, and his confidence in himself is not misplaced, since he can readily assume any rôle which pleases him. The Chinese as a whole are an imaginative race, and the coolie is never so happy as when acting a part. Although his estate is low, yet in imagination he enjoys the rank of a mandarin or hears the plaudits acclaiming his actor's merit.

The prominent native festivals were always religiously observed as holidays in the Labour Corps, and entertainments arranged by the officers were given. The collaboration of the coolies was invited, and there were not lacking those who promised to perform in some way or other, to the amusement of the lazy onlookers. Some paired off for exhibitions of wrestling, and it was indeed strange to see two coolies, very lightly clad indeed, proceeding to the tussle with all the grossly exaggerated gestures and posturings of the professional wrestler. Some again obtained by means mysterious enough chalks, dyes and grease-paints, and made themselves up to look as fierce and repellent as the central figure of a Chinese stage-scene. They played at being doctor, fortune-teller, priest and magistrate, and all with an air of deadly seriousness which amused and yet carried conviction. It was obvious that as long as the performance lasted the participants were tasting the joys of another station of life, far removed from their common lot.

And this histrionic ability is not merely brought into play on such happy and light-hearted occasions. Those who have seen the Chinese as witness, as prisoner or as advocate will know that here, subconsciously often, comes into existence that power to assume a rôle at will. It has indeed frequently happened that the general conduct of a Chinese has been more persuasive and convincing than his tongue.

Passing now to (c) *Simplicity of Outlook*, we happen again on a curious contradiction of terms. Admitting that the vulgarity "as mischievous as a waggon-load of monkeys" so

often applied to the Celestial has in it a great deal of truth, yet the general run of Chinese have very simple ideas on life and its various activities. Their passivity, their calmness under stress of embittering circumstances, their easy valuation of life, and calm acceptance of the phenomena of Nature in general, point to the possession of a nature childlike in its simplicity. To a people accustomed to monstrous tragedies like the overflowing of the Yang-tse Kiang, with its accompanying slaughter; again, accustomed to droughts reducing millions to a state worse than death itself, such things as life and death assume an importance of far less significance than is the case with us. It is, perhaps, not surprising, considering all the circumstances which have moulded the Chinese temperament, to find that the Chinese philosophy of daily life is of a *carpe diem* nature. The moral division of the Far Eastern temperament is not so clearly defined as it might be. That which serves the purpose of the moment is most likely instinctively to be adopted to the exclusion of moral considerations calculated to prejudice the issue. There is no need, therefore, to differentiate between a white or any other kind of lie, since useless falsehoods find no favour with the Oriental. In my duties as interpreter I frequently found that the question of mendacity was a relative one, and only that lie which was likely to serve its purpose was persisted in. One reason for this is that the Chinese hates to be beaten in argument, and will thus hold his ground in any case. The simplicity of the native viewpoint may again be illustrated by the fact that he asks only that his side of the case may be heard fully before punishment is meted out to him. Often from the labyrinth of words and subtle arguments with which his Western judges have been regaled nothing definitely relevant may emerge, or, if relevancy is found, then there is nothing extenuating. But above all is it necessary, if he is to feel that justice has been done, to hear him out to the last syllable. The coolie is then convinced that his words have had their due weight and he has failed, and he takes his punishment like a man. The Chinese vanquished have an admiration for the victor that is whole-hearted and

sincere. Cases there are, of course, where he feels that he has been most unjustly treated, and he will act accordingly. Herein enters (d) *Duality of Personality*. But feelings, outraged or otherwise, must go very deep for that terrible vengeance of the Chinese to show itself. Where it is felt that personal animosity or race questions enter there is indeed a bitterness that beggars description. One such case occurs to my mind. An officer who despised the race from highest to lowest made a target of one particularly inoffensive but unhandsome coolie. This was naturally resented, not merely by the man in question, but by all the coolies generally. A peculiarly Chinese transgression had taken place in the company, and this coolie was nominated as the prime mover. Never before had he shown spirit even before his fellows, being a quiet, easygoing, happily natured worker. But from the first, suspecting the instigator, the coolie displayed another side to his nature; he became aggressive, abusive, and openly mutinous where this officer was concerned. Terrible curses streamed from his lips whenever he encountered the latter. On the day of the court of inquiry, when he, his witnesses, and advocates were lined up outside the orderly-room, and the prosecuting officer passed within, a perfect tornado of abuse *in English* came from the prisoner! Later I discovered from conversation in the compound that he had been saving up every vile word used by N.C.O.'s or drivers in difficulties with their horses, and had memorized them as a monologue for some such occasion as this.

(e) The Chinese at heart are fatalists, and their attitude of resignation saves for them much nervous energy, so freely dissipated by Western peoples. Time is a matter of little moment in the Far East, and life is as uncertain as prosperity. An examination of the historical records of China shows long periods of oppression, and not for long at a time has the mandarine of that empire been guiltless of gross extortion and injustice. So far from the law being hailed as the guardian of the poor and ill-used, it has passed into proverbial wisdom as something to be avoided like the plague. Hence the Chinese leave litigation severely alone, preferring rather to struggle

under injustice than to enforce their rights against such heavy odds. Thus, had not the moral teaching and cosmogony of the Chinese tended to emphasize the predestination of things, the manner of events and long custom must have of itself brought about this effect. So long as the average native can manage by ever so narrow a margin to live and have a little leisure for his dreams, he is content not to struggle and to accept his hardships as inevitable. Nor was it advisable to strive to attain high office, for those above delegated their duties, burdens, and censures to you, while those below were plotting and conniving at your downfall, that they might fill your vacated seat. The severity of the punishments enumerated in the old-time penal code brought an indifference to pain and suffering that is the wonder of the outside world. Stimulus and enthusiasm were thus alike to be avoided; better be content with the present than strive after an unknown which conceivably hid greater evils than those of which they knew. Not so much was it laziness which prevented their striving as a nature exemplifying the famous dictum of Horace: "No one desires the unknown."

(f) Something has been already said as to the *Clanship and Fidelity* of the Chinese. It is common knowledge that the early Chinese were clearly divided into actual clans, and that well-defined laws were drawn up as to blood-relationships and marriage. There seems to have been an unerring instinct at work in this connection, and under stress of historical circumstance the whole empire became a family under the Emperor—himself the Son of Heaven—each clan a subdivision of the great family. In the "Great Learning," one of the Four Books, there is a luminous passage showing how the peace and prosperity of the empire depend upon the individual himself, so that each personally is brought to realize his tremendous responsibility to the State. And through the years a new idea is born—an idea that not merely is it one's duty, but a lovable service, so to behave that the benefaction visits the State. So deeply rooted is this idea that it is frequently employed between natives and foreigners. The native is in effect a psychologist—not,

perhaps, academically so qualified, but is, by virtue of his instinct and his accumulated experience, competent to appraise those who come in his path. Once the affection is fixed, there it remains; it is a case of fidelity difficult to parallel. The Hebrews and the ancient Greeks and Romans quote examples of marvellous friendships, but it is not an exaggeration to say that modern Chinese friendships are of a more enduring nature than any known in the West. The swearing of friendship is a ritual, the preservation of it essential, and through all kinds of troubles and difficulties it will hold fast.

(g) *Emotional Phases*.—Contrary to general opinion, the Chinese is an essentially emotional being. His outward bearing has tended to obscure his real feelings, and his calm, sullen demeanour under cruel torture has hidden his innate sensitiveness. One has only to consider the importance given to the idea of "losing face" to understand that the Chinaman hides more than he shows.

A case comes to mind of a coolie who was deemed by the Commanding Officer of his company intractable. He had not only pleaded "sick" on three successive mornings, but had refused food (a most incredible happening). I was asked to interrogate him, and found that he was mourning the loss of his mother. On inquiry of the native interpreter, I discovered that no letter bearing such news had arrived. I challenged the coolie, who, however, persisted in stating that he had had news of his mother's death. Two days later a letter addressed to this coolie was delivered at the camp, in which was communicated the death of his mother. The coolie was inconsolable, and three days later he hanged himself in a latrine. Thus is a curious sidelight thrown on the emotional nature of the Chinese.

Another coolie, giving way to the tremendous passion for gambling, not only gave away all he had in liquidation of his debts, but gambled on his contract, which at fruition would be worth between two and three thousand dollars. He then invented an ingenious explanation intended to enlist the sympathies of the white officers, and brought the winner into court on a charge of attack on personal and jealous grounds. His

accusation, after due cross-examination, failed, and he took his defeat manfully.

Yet a further instance. Each coolie, in addition to his monthly pay in France, had a sum paid to his nominee in China. Had he no father, then, generally speaking, he nominated his elder brother as recipient of the money, to guard and hold it until his return. On this occasion a coolie, having no father, nominated his elder brother as trustee for his moneys. A letter arrived announcing this brother's defalcation, and the coolie appeared at the orderly-room asking what could be done. Apparently, the absconded sum was the total of eighteen months' value, and as such was viewed seriously by the Officer Commanding. Finally, the coolie was told that inquiries would be instituted and justice would be done; whereupon he drew himself up to his full height and ejaculated: "You shall not prosecute my brother, sir!"

(h) *Predilections*.—Many stories might be told of the coolies and their predilections. Some had brave ideas of deserting (instead of returning to China, as provided in their contracts) and buying up hotels in London! All this on 3,000 dollars at the very outside! It is difficult indeed to know where to stop in recounting these stories, but if one more carefully considered the existing data concerning China it would be found that, not among the highest in the land, but alongside the lowest, is to be found the key which will unlock the door of the mystery of the Far East.

(i) *Ambitions*.—With regard to his ambitions the coolie is as great a puzzle as ever. What has been said before as to the lack of stimulus and enthusiasm toward any given achievement, while true, yet receives its negation in the wild flights of imagination in which the coolie indulges as soon as a doorway of possibility is thrown open to him. Let him unexpectedly receive money and immediately he projects schemes of a financial magnitude far beyond his means. Praise his judgment, his discretion, and at once he imagines that he will some day be fitted to be chief counsellor at Court. He has ambitions toward the betterment of social conditions only to see his superiors

broken on the wheel of their efforts. He thinks of the Great Yu and his wonderful system which succeeded in draining the Empire, and he himself will be a great engineer even surpassing his illustrious predecessor. And then he sees the foreigner using devices he cannot even comprehend and achieving without difficulty what his compatriots have failed to do through the centuries. In short, in every direction he finds himself beaten back by force of circumstances over which he has no control and cannot understand. Thus is he turned in upon himself, and his philanthropic daydreams are stultified. In this way the ambitions of the native become personal and self-centred, and the lofty ideal of the best for the many becomes a creed of personal satisfaction. And even here he is not excessive—he seeks for himself a little indulgence, a little pleasure, a little learning, sons to cheer his old age, to perform the necessary rites after his death, and to carry on the illustrious name he received from *his* father—and the world may go by. In truth this seems pathetic, hopeless, but in his fertile and active brain the coolie lives the lives of all the great illustrious ones before him; he is many times Son of Heaven, and he rules the world. From the beginning of time he has dreamed, and he will dream on yet through countless ages. Let us leave him with his things of gossamer and sunlight and return to our books.

THE STORY OF THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY"—II

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

I was unable to conduct the journal exactly on the old lines, because up till then the distinguishing feature of the *Indian Antiquary* was its contribution to epigraphy, relying partly on its own staff and its reputation for the loan and discovery of suitable epigraphic matter, and partly in latter years on the assistance of the Government in forwarding subject-matter supplied by its officers. But the Government decided about 1888 to make arrangements for the reproduction of the inscriptions of the country generally by its own officials, and the publication was to be on the lines established by the *Indian Antiquary*. The decision obviously fell hardly on the journal, and in 1892 an arrangement was completed by which the Government journal, the *Epigraphia Indica*, was published as an official quarterly supplement of the *Indian Antiquary* in the same format. For various reasons nothing was actually published till 1894, but between that date and 1914 ten biennial volumes were produced, and then the European War intervened. After that time two more volumes were produced up to 1920. In that year the old agreement came to an end, and the *Epigraphia Indica* is now a separate Government publication. Its editors have been Drs. Hultsch, Sten Konow, F. W. Thomas, and Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. During its connection with the *Indian Antiquary* 464 inscriptions were edited and published, together with 624 plates. The *Epigraphia Indica* thus proved itself to be an invaluable aid to accurate historical study, and the *Indian Antiquary* had reason to be proud of such a daughter, although it was always a costly one to the mother journal. Perhaps its most striking result, as regards the future of Indian research, is shown in the fact that its advent caused the modern Indian scholars "to find themselves," and thus not only did it secure an Indian editor, but ninety-one of the contributions, or about a fifth, were from Indian epigraphists. In addition, there were published in it five of Sewell's great contributions to Indian chronology.

Severe as the loss of epigraphical papers was to the *Indian Antiquary*, through the kindness of Fleet and other old friends it was still able to retain its touch effectively

with its old love, epigraphy; on chronology and geography it never lost its hold. In fact, in 1893 (Vol. XXII.) appeared Taw Sein Ko's all-important "Kalyani Inscriptions of Burma," and in Vol. XXIV. (1895) Bühler's "Origin of the Kharoshthi Alphabet." In chronology notable articles were published by Mrs. Rickmers, better known as Mabel Duff (1893), Vincent Smith (1902), and many others; in geography by Stein (1897) and Burgess (1901).

But of course, in the circumstances, the journal had to look to other spheres of usefulness for its continuance at the level it had so long established; and it was not disappointed. Even in 1892 two new contributors of note came to the rescue in the persons of Dr. W. Crooke and Colonel Waddell, each with the first of many contributions on the folklore, ethnology, and religion respectively of India and Tibet, their special fields of distinguished research; and with them there came forward writer after writer on these subjects. Dr. Hoernle began his famous "Studies on the Bower Manuscript" in the same year. Then, in the following year, 1893 (Vol. XXII.), came Sir George Grierson with the first of many tentative articles on Indian literature and the dialects in which it is conveyed, preparatory to his splendid series of volumes containing the "Survey of Indian Languages." Some of them were on the original studies of those working with him. In 1894 Sir James McNabb Campbell's "Spirit Basis of Belief of Custom" began part of its course—perhaps the deepest mine of information in that direction that still exists. Also then appeared my own edition of Burnell's MSS. on the "Devil Worship of the Tuluvas (Malabar Coast)," which I followed with a long series of articles on quite a different group of subjects, a detailed study of Currency and Coinage among the Burmese, in 1897. In 1899 (Vol. XXVIII.) commenced my still longer series on the "Andaman and Nicobar Islands" from many points of view. The year 1900 (Vol. XXIX.) and also Vol. XXXV. (1905) found my account of the "Thirty-seven Nats, a Phase of Spirit-worship in Burma," afterwards made so much use of by Ridgway in his "Drama and Dramatic Dances in Non-European Countries."

The contents of these volumes were perforce of a more miscellaneous description than heretofore. Thus, rock-carvings in Tibet (Francke) and in Madras (Fawcett) claimed attention, and so did details of the history and travel of the earlier Europeans in India from myself and other writers. And I must not omit here contributions from Stein, foreshadowing his world-famous journey in

Central Asia. Indeed, it may be said that hardly any section of research, ancient or modern, is absent from the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* during these twenty years. All sorts of well-known names from many different countries appear at the head of the articles contributed: Dwight Whitney, Thibaut, Liebich, Pope, Deussen, Macauliffe, Donald Ferguson, Sir Charles Lyall, Luard, de Milloüé, Pereira, Youngson, H. A. Rose, de la Vallée Poussin, Dames, Senart, and so on. The very enumeration shows the wide range and quality of the knowledge brought to bear on the subjects studied.

It was at this time that a new phase in research began to become prominent. Indian scholars in large numbers had become proficient in English and had also become well acquainted with modern European methods and principles of criticism. The pages of the *Indian Antiquary* have faithfully reflected this notable change. In the first twenty years the Indian names are not many, and then chiefly none but the greatest; in the next twenty they increase largely in numbers, and in the last ten they have preponderated, representing quite the younger generation, that has to make its name, as well as the veterans, who are among the most distinguished.

During the last ten years Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, son of the great father, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, has been joined with me as editor, and the journal has been kept on the old lines, with the difference that the bulk of the contributors are Indians, and worthily have they lived up to its old traditions. Especially have they shown a fine courage in investigating such difficult subjects as phases of their own religion, philosophy, and ethnology. The object of the journal is to search out the truth, not to restate prejudices, and in securing this object they have exhibited a fearlessness which is remarkable.

It is obviously not necessary to go as deeply into the story of recent research as into that which preceded it and indeed made it possible. But I would note Kaye's studies of epigraphic numerals (1911), my coadjutor's studies of the Hindu population, and Tessitori's in Gujarati phonology—alas! cut short by his early death. Also Creswell's studies of Eastern architecture (1915) and Turner's phonology of Nepali. Vincent Smith's discovery of Basa's Plays and R. Shamasastri's Chanakya Land Revenue will remind the expert of current controversies. Lastly, I would conclude this all too brief and all too inadequate review of many years of joint work with the remark that the interest of scholars is as great as ever

in the now old journal, and the contributions still on hand as numerous and to the searcher as interesting as ever.

In 1904 the principle of printing books in parts as supplements was commenced, and in this way ten volumes have been produced, and more are on hand on very various subjects connected with Indian research by well-known writers.

The list of contributors reaches a total of 527, every one of whom has been an earnest student of things Indian, the great majority acquiring their knowledge at first hand. These scholars have never been paid for a contribution, and the principle of honorary labour has been consistently followed from the beginning. The editors and proprietors have been generally out of pocket on the closing of the annual accounts, so that all the work bestowed upon the *Indian Antiquary* has been a labour of love, as it ought to be. Everyone, including printers, illustrators, and publishers, seems to have taken a pleasure in contributing, each in his own way, what he could towards the elucidation of the truth in connection with the past of India.

The principles which have guided all concerned are illustrated in the sonnet which I have ventured to address to my colleagues, past and present, so many of whom have not lived to see the journal for which they did so much celebrate its jubilee.

We've struggled, You and I, for fifty years
To pierce the veil of mystery that lies
On India's past so heavily, and cries
Aloud for rending with the searcher's shears.
We've sought and found no guerdon but the fears
Unflagging effort brings to him that tries
And greatly longs, or joy when he espies
A little light that, dancing, laughs at tears.
No recompense in kind for you and me
Shall issue from the light our labours find
To guide the realm's activities aright.
What of it? Is it not enough that we
Have won unswerving steadfastness of mind
To reach the day that waits upon the night?

May I add by way of postscript that in order to render the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* as valuable as possible, general indices to the first fifty volumes relating to authors and subjects are being prepared with all the cross-references necessary. It is hoped that the entries in the indices which relate to inscriptions, their dates and find-spots, and also the dynasties and eras concerned with them, will be found to be specially valuable to students in the future.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

SIR,

The subject-matter of discussion would take many pages to deal with exhaustively, but my opinion, quite briefly stated, is as follows : Mr. Lloyd George has rightly paid a tribute of praise to what has been a Service of such a high and understanding character as has never existed elsewhere in the world when acting on behalf of a people of another race.

But in India, as elsewhere, the masses of people who benefit by good administration seem to be overwhelmed by a small section who advocate ideals of nationalism in preference to furthering the material prosperity that the country already has.

The policy should therefore be to reconcile an infiltration of nationalism without destroying the well-being of the population, who are not capable of resisting the pressure applied by the extremists.

There lie before the Indian Civil Service difficulties and many forms of unpleasantness in the future, but I am so convinced of the enormous good that they have rendered India in the past on the one hand, and on the other that it has not been shown that Indians can yet manage their own affairs to the benefit of all classes and sections of the people, that I hope members of the Indian Civil Service will take heart and still help to guide the destinies of the Indian Empire on the path of peace and goodwill. This is only a general view, and I know that in detail the Service has minor points of grievance that require redressing.

Yours faithfully,

LAMINGTON.

JAPAN AND AMERICA

How to prevent war with Japan is a thought in the minds of many Americans at present, for all who realize the infinite value of peace and the horrible conditions of war are willing to do all they can to prevent anything that will lead to such destructive conditions.

The Japanese are natural farmers, and if Americans would use their God-given opportunities to cultivate their lands, instead of crowding the cities and living in small unhealthy quarters, each one struggling to be a millionaire, not only would questions of high prices be solved, but more healthy conditions would follow, and there would be considerably less land for people who come from other countries to make money out of either by use or abuse.

The Japanese are also known to be very ambitious and energetic. This is probably the result of Shintoism, which was their earliest religion. From this religion they learned to be extremely clean, to live simple lives, and to do with all their might all that they had to do.

After Shintoism came Confucianism, being also a simple influence. Then came Buddhism from China, bringing pomp, splendour, decoration, priests, and incense.

At the period in Japanese history when Buddhism was strongest the Christian missionary entered Japan, sent there by the Christian Churches of America and other countries, and preached the doctrine of Christianity, which is the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and goodwill to all. The American missionary carried also the high ideals of the American Constitution, which is fair play to all.

From then till now the Japanese have been slowly turning towards the West, dropping many of their former customs, learning the English language, and accepting the Christian ideas of God.

The relations existing between the Japanese people and their Emperor can be understood by asking a Japanese child what he loves best in the world. He will say, "The Emperor, of course." Then ask him if he loves the Emperor better than his father and mother, and he will say, "The Emperor is the father of my father and mother." And if he is asked what he will give the Emperor he will say, "All my toys and my life when he wants it." These children are not trifling, and travellers who come from Japan claim that the Emperor is strongly inclined towards Christianity.

Now with missionaries, who are one class of people calling themselves Christians, entering Japan and being accepted as citizens and residents, and making promises of brotherly love and goodwill, and another class of people, also calling themselves Christians, who are without interest in the Japanese or any so-called heathens, and lacking the knowledge in many cases that promises of brotherly love are being made, in which they as Christians are being involved, the Japanese finds himself in a peculiar position when he learns that when his people come to America they get a polite invitation to return to their own country, as they are not wanted here. He, of course, wants to know where the trouble is.

To treat the Japanese nation, including the Emperor, as if there could never be any association between them and other people, to retain occupancy in Japan while sending the Japanese out of America, might seem a one-sided condition to people more dense than the Japanese.

The following is a paragraph taken from the Japanese press, printed in the *Japan Magazine*:

"Time was when some Japanese exclusionists thought that the opening of the country to foreign intercourse meant the conquest of Japan by foreign countries. Even after the Meiji Restoration, when the revision of the treaties was being keenly discussed, the late Mr. Ochi Fukuchi, one of the most influential journalists of the day, wrote a book in which he predicted that if foreigners were allowed to live

anywhere they might choose, the main streets would be filled with foreign shops and the Japanese would be compelled to retire to narrow back alleys. But nothing of the kind has happened. We wonder if the anti-Japanese agitators in America are not possessed by similar bogeys. How can the presence of only 100,000 Japanese in America, whose population totals close upon 100,000,000, be a menace to her? There is no reason why the Japanese should be excluded simply because they are Japanese. We wonder if the Americans are not suffering from the disease of fearing Japan."

If the Japanese were the only people who came to America for purposes of gaining, if they were the only people of whom it can be said some have tainted morals, if they were the only people who sometimes fail in their expressions of Christianity, then perhaps it would be the correct thing to ask them to go away; but while so many other people come here for money, for positions, for personal benefits of all kinds, it seems short-sighted to try to get rid of one condition while at the same time tolerating or accepting the others. Why not have laws fair for all?

EMIL DA COSTA.

RUSSIA AND EUROPE

SOMETHING very strange is happening in the world. Questions of importance, even of very great importance, are taking place every day, and yet people do not pay the slightest attention to their inevitable results. Very conspicuous, to my mind, is the utter negligence shown by the public to even recent history. Take, for instance, the question of Russia, and the terrible effects for the world, which are quite unavoidable, unless at this eleventh hour there is a fundamental change. We hear and read in the newspapers monstrous facts threatening no less than 150,000,000 people, which are described as if they were quite natural and could be tolerated; whereas a few years

ago, for instance, the whole of Russia seemed to be mad about the building of schools, the improvement of education, the position of the clergy, and the condition of the peasantry. What do we see now? The very opposite of all these noble ideals is enthroned everywhere. Churches, palaces, schools, museums, universities, are destroyed, religion forbidden. Yet in the past the Russian people, not content with looking after their own duties at home, spread their philanthropy even to London. It is within recent memory that the Russian Hospital in London for wounded officers was established at 8, South Audley Street. It was opened by Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, in the presence of the Grand Duke Michael and the Russian Embassy. After the ceremony Mr. Asquith thanked M. and Madame Mouravieff Apostol heartily for their generous gift to England. *Tempora mutantur!* Now matters have come to such a pass that conditions have become too monstrous to be credible or even mentioned. Even cannibalism seems to be introduced. Thus public opinion seems actually unable to realize that such things cannot go on indefinitely and unpunished. The same fallacy was to be observed during the European War. People became used to the idea that the end would never come. Then in November, 1918, the war suddenly stopped almost without warning, and nobody knew what to do or foresaw the consequences. To this lack of foresight, it is now commonly agreed, is due the present chaos in Europe. Now, surely, with this eloquent example before us, we will not commit the same blunder with regard to Russia. Nevertheless, it seems that the indications lie in that direction. Who is ready with a policy towards a new and regenerated Russia? Some say that this happy event lies far away in the distance. Was not the same argument heard with regard to the end of the European War?

But in the present case the Bolsheviks themselves, according to *The Times*, the *Morning Post*, and other papers, foresee the speedy end of Bolshevism. When

these prophecies are realized, will not the whole of humanity be again taken by surprise and demoralized? Who will be prepared with a new policy?

When Russia is reconstituted, with God's help, there will be in the Government many new men. Nevertheless, they will have vivid memories. The other day I received a letter from Russia, which is full of praise for the work done for my stricken country by America. Also my friend, Madame Lubinoff, who came recently from Warsaw, where she was struggling to help the Greek Orthodox community, states that no Russian, even among the peasantry, will ever forget the good connected with the word America. I am glad to say that English people, particularly the Red Cross, are also helping in the same way. What would readers say if someone humbly suggested a new combination to assure the world's peace—England, Russia, America, and France?

I should like to refer with pleasure to my own experience of English gratitude when some years ago I was collecting for the starving Tomboff Government. I remember that when I returned to our country place, there I found, to my amazement, that my son was discussing the position with the Committee, amongst whom were several illiterate peasants, who solemnly passed a vote of thanks to the British people.

More than ever the civilized, scientific, and religious element is needed in Russia now, after these last years of bitterest persecution, resulting almost in annihilation. In this respect it seems to me important that England should realize the importance of her own contribution. Otherwise, I am afraid, these posts would fall into the hands of less desirable elements. Here I may quote what I wrote in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* (May, 1916) under the title of "The Unpardonable Sin in Time of War":

"Let us also remember that at the beginning of the war the directors of very many Russian banks turned out to be Germans, who undoubtedly acted in every way in their

own interests. Such banks, of course, support and give credit principally to German enterprise in Russia, and turn Russian undertakings into syndicates in the interests of German trade."

Can we not again see the same "writing on the wall"? There was a time not long ago when my dream was to see Russia and England on terms of closest friendship, and some men who could be described as really great worked for it both in Russia and in England. This work will, when the moment comes, have to be taken up afresh in both countries, with God's help. Where are the great men ready for that work? Upon whose shoulders will the mantle of Gladstone descend?

OLGA NOVIKOFF.

"LORD READING'S TASK IN INDIA"

SIR,

In the July issue Mr. Pennington, commenting on my criticism on "Lord Reading's Task in India," remarked that my article was merely to justify "Mr. Gandhi's ideas," but I fairly assure him that my views are not identical with those held by Mr. Gandhi. The main contention of my article was to explain the present political difficulties and to analyze the causes for full understanding of the subject. The European critics generally forget that India, with her illiterate and superstitious population, is not Europe, and Indian agriculturists, over head and ears in debt and with small leaseholds, are not the rich American or European farmers, sufficiently rich to launch agricultural schemes on a scientific basis, and intelligent enough to study the markets and to dispose of their surplus to their best advantage. The case is more serious, as the major portion of the profits of agricultural produce of this country goes into the pockets of brokers and middlemen; the cultivators get only the subsistence allowance. As, for example, the cultivators of East Bengal, who are the growers of jute, and who are

undoubtedly much better off than their brother cultivators in the rest of India, can hardly make much profit from this profitable jute-growing industry. The real profits go either to middlemen, or to the European exporting houses of Calcutta. When India came into contact with European civilization, the first want that she felt was the want of money. The comparatively rich people of India began to imitate the costly European habits, to copy which they had to incur debts. The agriculturists and ordinary people, who remained up to this time contented with simple things, were tempted to use the foreign articles, and to procure them they had to go beyond their means. It cannot be denied that industrialism is already feared in Europe, and in India it has done incalculable mischief. The cottage industries, which were the support of numerous classes of people of this country, have been ruined. Sturdy peasant-folk have been tempted to go outside their villages and to work in mills, amidst most insanitary conditions, on bare subsistence allowance. The rise in price of labour has never been in proportion to the cost of living; the statistics will prove this. On the other hand, cultivation has been left to inferior hands with insufficient funds, the result of which is that India is showing signs of diminishing returns.

This rise in the cost of living has driven the people of India to live below the margin of starvation, and it is an awful truth that a large percentage of the people of this country have to remain satisfied with one meal a day. Is not this fact more dangerous than the periodical famines of ancient India, which affected temporarily one part of the province only? This grim fact and stern realities cannot be lightened by mentioning the fact that some Gujratis, or Persians, or Vantias have grown immensely rich by following the example of the European merchants. It is true that the introduction of co-operative banks has greatly benefited the cultivators, but the scheme is still in its infancy, and will take many years for its full development to be of any substantial help to the peasantry.

The fact is this: that a hungry people is a dangerous thing. India never wants separation from the British Government; she wants food to live upon, and this is gradually becoming very scarce here in India. To pacify the Indian people we have to supply them with food, and to do that we have only two instruments—the restoration of cottage industries and the curtailment of foreign trade. As the majority of the Indian people are poor, ignorant, and immobile, to talk to them of America and science will be useless; but protection, and consequently more work and more food, will be something to them.

It can, of course, never be over-emphasized that the British rule in India has secured peace and security to her three hundred millions of inhabitants, with other blessings; but to make the British administration in India an all-round success, it now remains to make the people prosperous. A happy and prosperous India will be a better asset to the British Crown, and a more able partner in the Imperial Government. To achieve this, the Government of India have to become a little more sympathetic to the feelings and the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people.

RAI LALIT MOHAN SINGHA RAYA BAHADUR, M.L.C.,
Zamindar of Chakdighi.

15, LANSDOWNE ROAD, CALCUTTA,
August 8, 1922.

"SHINAR" OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE "TOWER OF BABEL" IN THE BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS

A REJOINDER

SIR,

I regret that I was given no opportunity of refuting in the July issue of the REVIEW the intemperate outpourings of your joint correspondents in that issue on my article in the April number, as their misstatements and misrepresentations are calculated to give a false impression, and may meanwhile have misled some of your readers not conversant with the subject and the status of the writers of that letter. These writers give their letter an official character by prominently inserting the name of their departmental office, presumably to gain for themselves an appearance of

authority to which they could not otherwise individually lay claim. But it is a well-known and significant fact that, despite the unrivalled richness of its material, the leading experts and scholars in Assyriology in this country, with the sole exception of two former members of the staff of that office (Dr. Pinches and the late Professor King), have all been found outside that department of our national museum.

First, then, in regard to their assertion that I have no "expert" or "competent" knowledge of the subject, I may mention that I have devoted my entire time during the past fourteen years to the intimate study of Sumerian and cuneiform and allied scripts, and to the history of the people who used these scripts; and in the course of these researches I have personally visited the ancient city under reference, Babylon itself.

Unlike, however, the two professed "expert" writers of that letter, I make no claim to omniscience or infallibility on the subject, but am merely an unbiassed independent student of the History of Civilization, working by recognized scientific methods in the vast new-found field of Sumerology, first discovered within the past four decades or so, and as yet largely unexplored, and in which every year unearths fresh discoveries which necessitate the discarding of many of the old views and theories of Assyriologists. The difficulties of keeping abreast with the new discoveries are not lessened by the fact that these discoveries are published in widely scattered form in countless monographs and periodicals over Europe and America. My would-be critics are no doubt writing with what information they possess or have been taught; but that they are not possessed of all the information on the subject on which they so confidently write is borne out by their own letter, as we shall see.

In their rambling letter these "experts," so obscure, evade and confuse the points at issue, garble my article, and ascribe to me statements which I never made, that it is necessary for me here to remind the reader briefly what this commotion is all about.

As fresh material is discovered regarding the "Sumerians," the highly civilized ruling race of antiquity, who descended from Asia Minor into Ancient Mesopotamia and first civilized that country before 3000 B.C., it becomes sometimes possible to apply the new-found knowledge to the solution of numerous outstanding problems in Biblical and Early Babylonian history and geography.

One of these outstanding unsolved problems was the name "Shinar," used by the Early Hebrews in their Old Testament as a title for Babylon and Babylonia. No name for Babylon or Babylonia, or "Land of Babylon," in any way resembling "Shinar" had been found in Babylonian records. On this outstanding problem the late Professor King wrote: "There is little doubt that Shinar is to be identified with the land of Babylonia, *but the origin of the name has not been determined.*"* And it has remained undetermined up till the date of my article.

In the course of my revision at first hand of the spelling of historical names in the original texts in the Sumerian and in its derived cuneiform

* J. W. King in "Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible," 1910, p. 849.

or wedge-headed scripts, I observed that a not infrequent Sumerian name for Babylon, which is usually transcribed or transliterated by Assyriologists as "*Bab-ili*"—and so leading students of Comparative History who are dependent on the transcriptions of Assyriologists to believe that that word "*Bab-ili*" existed in the text, *where it does not*—really reads by its late Sumero-Babylonian glosses "*Tin-Tir*," and by its own primary intrinsic Sumerian ideographic values "*Tin-She-nir*" or "*Ti-She-nir*." This latter Sumerian form of the name for Babylon suggested to me that it was presumably the hitherto unknown Sumerian source of the "*Shinar*" of the Early Hebrews.

Further examination tended to confirm that identification. Moreover, the fact that the Sumerian "*She-nir*" literally means "The Great Tower of Grain," and with the prefix "*Tin*" or "*Ti*" means "The Great Tower of Grain of Life," suggested to me that the fabled "Tower of Babel" was probably in reality a great State granary. The Sumerians are known to have been in the habit of erecting State granaries as an economic provision against famine, of which the structural remains still exist, as noted in my article. It thus appeared probable that the title "*She-nir*," or the "*Shinar*" of the Hebrews, denoted Early Babylon as the site of one of the greatest of these Sumerian "Towers of Grain"; and that in later ages, when its real origin and economic meaning had been long forgotten, the Semites embroidered the floating tradition of the old tower with fiction and legend, imagining that it was a solid tower erected by a proud and godless race to defy the God of Heaven.

It was the account of these observations with confirmatory evidence, in what most people would consider a welcome attempt towards solving the "*Shinar*" and associated "*Kasdim*" problems, and as a contribution to the historical basis on which part of the Old Testament geographical traditional nomenclature seems to rest, which forms the article in question, now the subject of attack by your irascible letter-writers.

I shall now take up the chief assertions by these joint writers in detail to expose their misrepresentations and falsity.

The first remark which has aroused these writers is invidiously extracted from a mere footnote some distance on, and is exalted by them into the chief place, as if it were the subject of my article. It states in reference to the arbitrary substitution by Assyriologist transcribers or transliterators of a different name from that occurring in the texts that "most modern Assyriologists with unwarranted licence transcribe these (Sumerian) signs of '*Tin-Tir*' as (the Semitic) '*Bab-ili*' or Babylon."

Your "expert" correspondents cannot, of course, deny the fact that such substitution has been habitually made by Assyriologist transcribers, or the full proofs have been duly cited in that footnote to my article. But they audaciously deny that such substitution and consequent disappearance of the textual Sumerian name is either "arbitrary," or "unwarranted," or misleading to historical students on the part of the transcribers or transliterators of the texts.

It is interesting to hear the disingenuous excuse which these professed

scholars offer in justification of this arbitrary substitution of a totally different name from that occurring in the texts. It is that the late bilingual Sumero-Assyrian glosses state that the Sumerian "*Tin-Tir*" (or, as now seen, "*Tin-She-nir*" or "*Ti-She-nir*") was the same city which the Semites called "*Bab-ili*"—a well-known fact which I had already noted in my article in explaining how this substitution came to be arbitrarily made.

To advance such a specious plea in justification of the arbitrary substitution of different names from those in the texts illustrates the quaint mental confusion of the writers in not recognizing *the necessity for scrupulous accuracy in the transliteration of historical proper names in texts*, nor the radical distinction between transliteration and translation. Such transliterations as they defend are as arbitrary, unwarranted, and unscholarly as would be the arbitrary alteration by a modern Latin editor of the title of Cæsar's "*De bello Gallico*" into "*De bello Franco*," and at the same time leading the student to believe that the latter name existed in the text. If such arbitrary alterations and substitutions be practised, there is an end to all confidence in "official" and other transcriptions representing faithfully the historical names actually occurring in the texts.

They have apparently excited themselves needlessly about the reputation of M. Thureau-Dangin and the late Professor King, whose high repute as experts in Assyriology is too firmly established to be in any danger from anyone, and least of all from one who so fully appreciates it, and is so deeply indebted to their labours. I merely, in the obscurity of a footnote, mentioned the fact that even well-known experts failed to transliterate or "transcribe" faithfully the name in question ("*Tin-Tir*" or "*Ti-She-nir*") as it occurred in the texts, and substituted a different name (*Bab-ili*), for which the word-signs possessed no such Sumerian phonetic values, and thus misled students of Comparative History in regard to the real name actually written in the texts. And I instanced these two experts as habitually suppressing the "*Tin-Tir*" of the text, and substituting the altogether different word *Bab-ili*, which is written with altogether different word-signs; and for this I cited detailed proofs which cannot be gainsaid.

Regarding the next series of their objections—namely, those referring to my evidence for the reading of the Sumerian word-signs for Babylon by their primary ideographic values, as "*Ti-She-nir*," or "The Great Tower of Grain of Life," instead of the "*Tin-Tir*" of the later Semitic glossaries—I must refer the reader to my article for the evidence and the detailed proofs on which this reading rests, and for the evidence that "*She-nir*," as the apparent source of the Hebrew "Shinar," or "Senaar" of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, is presumably a shortened form of "*Tin-She-nir*," from which the prefix *Tin* or *Ti* (meaning "Life") has in course of time dropped out of use.

This "*She-nir*" or "*Tir*" element of the Sumerian city-name for Babylon is found occasionally in documents from the Early Sumerian period of about 2950 B.C. down to the Medo-Persian occupation. In noting this fact on the third page of my article, I find that I inadvertently omitted there the words "element of" before "city-name" in discussing the written forms of the signs for that element; but that it was merely this

element of the city-name, and not the city-name itself, I was referring to is evident from the context. As the present enquiry into the meaning and usage of that element "She-nir" now establishes a presumption that that compound word-sign originally meant "Great Tower of Grain," it is now desirable to re-examine all the known instances in which this compound sign occurs in early documents, to see from the context whether it has always this meaning, and whether in some cases it may designate the city of Babylon. In this regard, the determinative affix *Kī* (literally "Land," but usually translated by Assyriologists "City") is not invariably affixed to the name of Babylon and other cities, as your correspondents assume. Indeed, one such instance occurs in a recent transcription by one of your correspondents himself.* Besides, as a fact, *Babylon is actually called "Shi-nir" in Babylonian documents*, as we shall see later on.

The fact, moreover, that the late bilingual Sumer-Assyrian glossaries give the trisyllabic word-signs of "Ti-She-nir" (with the pronunciation of "Tin-Tir") as a title for Babylon presumes the very early use of this title for Babylon, apart from its use as a fashionable title in the Neo-Babylonian period, as these glossaries deal mainly with Early Sumerian words which had become more or less obsolete.

These writers say "the excellent illustrations which accompany the article have no effect on the argument whatever." On the contrary, however, they have all the effect on the argument which they were intended to have, and that is a great deal. Thus they prove unequivocally that the two pictographic Sumerian word-signs for the so-called "*Tir*" element of this Sumerian name for Babylon consist of two syllabic word signs—not one—and that these signs read by their ideographs "*She-nir*," with the literal meaning of "The Great Tower of Grain." Moreover, these illustrations also prove that the signs actually picture graphically "A Great Tower of Grain." Still further, these illustrations prove (see Figure 5) that the later common abbreviated title for Babylon usually transcribed or transliterated as "*E*" by Assyriologists is the identical word-sign of the second syllable in "*She-nir*," with the Sumerian value of *Nir*, the significance of which fact will be seen later on. And in favour of *Nir* and not "*E*" being the original value of this sign, I should mention that Barton, in his authoritative Sumerian glossary, specially notes that this *E* sign "designated Babylon through the accident that the Neo-Babylonian form of the sign is identical with the last part of the Neo-Babylonian form of *Tir*"†—that is, "*She-nir*."

Nor is it a new thing for Assyriologists, in attempting to "restore" into Roman letters the unknown forms of Sumerian proper names, to prefer the intrinsic ideographic phonetic values of Sumerian word-signs in some cases to those of the late bilingual Assyrian glosses, where it suits their theory or purpose to equate the name to a better-known one.

* "Cuneiform Texts in British Museum," xxxv., 1920, ed. C. Gadd, p. 9, pl. 21; also L. W. King, "Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings," ii. 3, and 27, 76.

† G. A. Barton, "Babylonian Writing," ii., p. 137.

So much, then, for the dogmatic assertion of the writers on "the non-existent 'Ti-She-nir' which he has evolved," and "that it (the two word-signs in question latterly read 'Tir') is to be read 'She-nir' is demonstrably false"—an assertion for which they are careful, however, to attempt no demonstration. Indeed, they stultify themselves completely in the adjoining lines, where they write: "The discovery that the sign 'Tir' is a compound of 'She' and 'Nir' is no discovery; it has long been common property, and is, indeed, obvious"—though they have just denied in the previous lines that "Tir" has any such value! This shows how hopelessly impossible it is to attempt to reason with such people.

Similarly as regards their remark, purporting to be a reply to a statement which I never made, they sagely inform me that "the Hebrews were not the people who *first* 'misrepresented and embroidered with fiction' the origin of the Tower of Babel"; because, as they inform me, "the miraculous circumstances which led to the building of Esagila and Etemenanki by the divine Anunnaki (spirits) are described at length in the sixth Tablet of the Creation Epic." I am, of course, grateful to have this bit of commonplace old information retailed again, though it is not at all clear how the myth of the miraculous building of this Babylonian temple and tower by spirits explains the legend of the Tower of Babel, built by human hands in antagonism to the divine spirits. Nor did I say that the Hebrews were the *first* to embroider the ancient legend of that tower. But your erudite correspondents have omitted to add the significant fact that these mythological Creation legend (miscalled by them "Epic") tablets of the Semitic Babylonians are found by the best recent experts to date no earlier than the sixth century B.C.—that is, within the period of the Hebrew exile in Babylonia, and about the same time to which is usually credited the compilation of the Book of Genesis.

Respecting the Hebrew spelling of this old city-name for Babylon as "Shinar," these writers assume that the Hebrew spelling is a strictly correct rendering of the Babylonian name. But it is a notorious fact that the Hebrew spelling of foreign proper names in the Old Testament is, as a rule corrupt, and usually affords merely a general resemblance to the proper spelling of such names. To appreciate this fact, one has only to turn to the well-known names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings called by the Hebrews "Nebuchadnezzar," "Sennacherib," "Amraphel," etc., and compare the Hebrew spelling with the real spelling, as found in the actual original inscriptions of these kings themselves, as transcribed by Assyriologists, wherein, for example, the Hebrew "*Amraphel*" is assumed to be intended for the name really spelt by that king himself as "*Khammurabi*." Similarly the name of the great ruling race of pre-Jewish Palestine and Syria, which in the Old Testament is variously spelt "*Heth*" and "*Hitti*," and latinized in our English version into "*Hittite*," was really spelt by the people whose title it was, and also by the Babylonians and Assyrians, as "*Khatti*."

In view of this common corruptness in the Hebrew spelling of Babylonian names, it is no valid argument against the Sumerian "She-nir" being the original source of the Hebrew "Shinar" merely to point to the

differences in the vowels in these two names. That the first vowel in the original name was an *e* is probable from the form of the name in the Septuagint version being spelt "*Senaar*," as I pointed out in my article. And it was because the present *i* in "*Shinar*" does not exist in the Old Hebrew texts of the Old Testament, but was introduced conjecturally by late Massoretic rabbis, that I spelt that Hebrew name alternatively as it literally occurs in Old Hebrew, "*Sh-n-ar*"—which rendering, however, is too strictly literal to please your correspondents. This corruptness of the Hebrew spelling, which is especially lax in the medial vowels, would also explain how an *a* ("*ayin*") appears in the Hebrew "*Shinar*" in place of the *i* in the Sumerian "*She-nir*."

Lastly, regarding my remark that the form *Bab-il-lu*, or "Place of the Gate of God," occurs in Babylonian and Assyrian script as a common Semitic spelling of the name for Babylon (instead of the "*Babili*," as habitually rendered by these writers and others), I am, of course, grateful to your erudite correspondents for informing me that "it was not normally spelt *Bab-il-lu*, as he supposes; if such a spelling does occur, it is merely a scribal vagary." Unfortunately for these correspondents, however, this "scribal vagary" not only does occur, but it is the rule in the earlier Semitic spelling of that city-name. And what is of special significance, it is "*Babilu*," and not "*Babilî*," which is given in the glossaries as the Semitic equivalent of the Sumerian name in question, "*Tin-Tir*" (or "*Tin-She-nir*").* Indeed, I would point out to the senior of these writers that in the very latest cuneiform text published by himself in 1921,† in almost the only instances in which Babylon is expressly mentioned, it is in the form of this "scribal vagary *Bab-il-lu*"—which three-syllabled word of the text, moreover, is arbitrarily and inaccurately habitually transliterated by that writer as "*Bab-ili*!"

This Semitic form of spelling the name of Babylon as "*Bab-il-lu*" accounts presumably, as I showed in my article, through its Sumerian values of "*Ka-ash-ra*," for the Hebrew alternative title of "*Kashdi*," "*Kashdim*," or "*Kasdim*,"‡ for Babylon and Babylonia, the Babylonian original of which also had not been found. In forming "*Kashdim*" out

* Thus Prince, "Sumerian Lexicon," 333, 381; "*Babilu*," G. Howard, "Clavis Cuneorum," 87 (455).

† S. Smith, "First Campaign of Sennacherib," 1921, lines 16 and 30, pp. 58 and 63; and L. W. King gives "*Babilu*" for the "*Bab-il-lu*" of the text in his "Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings," ii. 48, 195; though the very same word-signs he elsewhere renders variously as "*Babili*" (pp. 8, 27, 76) and "*Ka-dingir-ra*" (pp. 98, 100, 185)!

‡ This Hebrew word—for which "*Chaldea*" and "*Chaldeans*" is substituted in our English version of the Old Testament, because "*Chaldea*" is substituted for it in the Greek Septuagint—is written in the Old Hebrew texts without any diacritical marks as "*K-sh-dia*" and "*K-sh-dim*." But the later Massoretic scribes, who introduced the diacritical dots, manufactured out of the letter *Sh* two letters, *Sh* and *S*, by placing conventionally a dot on one or other limb of this letter (see Gesenius, "Heb. Dict.," 1010 and 1031). And in this particular word they placed their dot so as to make the letter read arbitrarily *S* and the word "*Kasdi*" and "*Kasdim*."

of the Sumerian reading of "Ka-ash-ra," for the word-signs "Bab-il-lu," the later Hebrew copyists, as I noted in my article, obviously confused the letter *r* with the extremely similar Hebrew letter *d*, and added the Hebrew plural affix *im* to denote the "lands" or "people" of Babylon. The Old Testament evidence for this usage of the Hebrew "Kashdim" to include the whole of Babylonia I duly cited in my article.

Yet your correspondents, characteristically shutting their eyes to these specified facts, which identify the Hebrew "Kashdim" with "Babylonia," adhere to the notion of the earlier Assyriologists that "Kashdim," presumably because it is rendered "Chaldea" in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, is identical with the "Kaldū" district of Lower Babylonia of the late Assyrian period. That "Kaldū," however, was merely a late deltaic coastal district to the south of what was usually called "Babylonia" proper. "Chaldean," on the other hand, was applied to a pre-diluvian native of Babylon by Berosus, the Babylonian priest of Bel, who wrote the ancient traditional history of Babylonia for the information of the Seleucid King Antiochus I. (281 B.C.); and he calls the first dynasty of Babylonian kings "Chaldeans."* Greek writers, whilst restricting the term usually to the priests, appear occasionally to refer to Babylonians broadly as "Chaldeans,"† and mention Chaldeans in Northern Mesopotamia as far as Kurdistan.‡ And one of the foremost Assyriologists the other day writes: "Chaldeans—that is, Babylonians."§

Befogged, however, with their confused notions on the subject, it is not surprising that these progressive writers express their contentment in still "holding to the perfectly satisfactory identification of the Heb. *Kashdim* with Assyrian *Kaldū*." The full significance of this admission will be evident to your readers when it is remembered that this "identification" depends mainly upon the absurd assumption of the older unscientific philologists that "*Kaldū*" has become "*Kashdim*" through dialectic phonetic change—a change which would be palpably in defiance of all the known laws of phonetic change. Your correspondents are therefore to be congratulated upon their die-hard credulity.

It is thus seen that all the attested evidence which I have adduced for the hitherto unrecognized Sumero-Babylonian sources of the Hebrew Old Testament names of "Shinar" and "Kashdim" still remains wholly unshaken by the dogmatic assertions and misrepresentations of your professed "expert" correspondents in their letter in question. Instead of defending obvious and misleading inaccuracies, and the arbitrary suppression and substitution of important historical names in the texts, your correspondents would be better employed in trying to render more faithfully accurate than heretofore their transcriptions or transliterations of the cuneiform texts for which they are paid to be the official transcribers.

Confirmatory evidence, moreover, for my identification of the Sumerian

* "Cory's Ancient Fragments," ed. Hodges, 51 f.

† Thus presumably Herodotus, 7, 63; Strabo, 1, 2, 15; Diodorus, etc.

‡ Xenophon, "Cyropedia," 3, 1, 24; 3, 2. "Anabasis," 4, 3, 4; 5, 5, 9; 7, 18, 14.

§ Professor S. Langdon in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1922, 470.

"*She-nir*" with the "*Shinar*" and "*Senaar*" of the Hebrews has transpired since writing that article, to which the reader is referred for the further details.

Dr. Pinches has kindly called my attention to his article on the "Eridu" title of Babylon in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" (1913, p. 154 f.), wherein it is conclusively proved that "*Shi-nir*" was a recognized early title for Babylon. In that article is cited a bilingual text published by the Abbé H. de Genouillac in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (vol. x., 1913, pp. 69 f.) proving that a title for Babylon was "*SHI-NIR GAL*," or "The Great *Shi-nir*." This title was provisionally read by Dr. Pinches as "*Igi-Nir-Gal*," but, as he now observes, the word-sign for *Igi* has also the phonetic value of "*Shir*" and thus can restore the name to "*Shi-nir*." In this variant of "*She-nir*," or "The Great Tower of Grain," the first element in the compound name, "*Shi*," means "Life"; and thus gives the meaning of "The Tower of Life." This appears to be a clever periphrasis of the full title "*Ti-She-nir*," or "Tower of Grain of Life," as a poetic reference to grain (as bread) as "The Staff of Life," as already mentioned in my article.

Here I am content to leave to the judgment of the reader and unbiassed Assyriologist experts my attempt to explain the hitherto unknown origin and meaning of the Hebrew titles "*Shinar*" and "*Kashdim*" for Babylon and Babylonia, and the light it seems to throw upon the historical economic origin and purpose of the Tower of Babel—an attempt which is seen to rest so largely upon the solid foundation of fact.

I am, yours, etc.,

L. A. WADDELL.

August 12, 1922.

EINSTEIN AND THE STRAIGHT LINE

BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

It may be possible to explain the main point here involved without calling upon the average reader for the application of mathematical principles, of which most of us are of course ignorant. During the Boer War, when Sir (then merely Professor) Oliver Lodge first foreshadowed the possibility of communicating with Ladysmith, a few miles distant, by means of a sort of wireless telegraphy, numerous developers of his original idea communicated their views to the public press, and before long Marconi's system was in full working, over sea as well as land, for short distances; it was soon thought wonderful that our naval units manœuvring in the Irish and North Seas could send secret messages to each other from distances of fifty or a hundred miles apart. No use whatever of wireless was made during the Boxer War of 1900; and scarcely any, if any at all, during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Many correspondents argued that impracticably long poles would be required to neutralize the curvature of the earth if we wished to send wireless messages over long distances; in other words, that electricity, unless guided along, as, for instance, by wire,

must travel in a straight line; light, sound, etc., in most men's minds, were equally supposed to travel straight to the earth, or move straight when on the earth. But it is easy to show in a popular way that there cannot be such a thing as a straight line or a "water-level." Take, for instance, a yard measure constructed with microscopical exactitude, so as to correspond with a perfect "horizon" of mercury or water; there is no limit to fractions of size or to multiples of size; each millionth or billionth of the yard would be perfectly straight, as we all can clearly imagine. A second yard constructed in the same way and placed end on end with the first would be perfectly straight for all our earthly purposes, and so on with even a hundred or a thousand yards; but sooner or later the line of yards must bend—that is, each part of it is attracted to the earth's centre, just as tides are shifted by attraction and counter-attraction. What electricity is at present no one can define, but however "far out" it may extend into space, some of it at least would seem to be, like water, subject to the earth's attraction; hence wireless messages, such as Dame Clara Butt's recent concert despatched simultaneously with one "effort" over hundreds up to a thousand miles or more, must follow the curved line of the earth's circumference.

Some forty years ago the writer had a long conversation with a really competent mathematician, who had, after months of experiment and study, found it impossible to "square the circle," an operation which, he said, had defied humanity for centuries; that is to say, no matter how minutely you measure the circumference line, you cannot prove that it is equal to the sum of any square's four straight lines. Perhaps, now that the Einstein straight line—whilst just as useful as it was before for Newtonian purposes—is "written off" for astronomy, we ought to say "it is impossible to circle the square," and not "it is impossible to square the circle"; if a straight line, no matter how long or how short, cannot exist, then four straight lines at right angles cannot exist; *a fortiori*, a cube's contents cannot be proved mathematically to correspond with a globe's contents—*i.e.*, on the basis of an appropriate circle having been squared so far as possible with our present knowledge.

Euclid's definition of a straight line, whilst perfectly good for practical human purposes, cannot be true for astronomical purposes, for there are no stationary "points" between which to give the distances. So there cannot be such things as parallel "straight lines that never meet." The return path of many a comet (appearing to us on the earth only once in many tens, hundreds, or possibly thousands of years) may be strictly parallel (in our earthly conception of the word) to its "going" path for tens, hundreds, thousands, or even millions of miles; and yet at each "end" of its course there is a turning-point, to approach which it must "break" the supposed parallels; hence the accepted ideas of parabola, hyperbola, directrix, focus, axis, and so on, must perhaps in future be taken *cum grano*.

It is not easy for the passenger travelling between Vancouver or San Francisco to Nagasaki or Hakodadi to understand the difference between great circle and short circle navigation; he is told that the navigation by a

certain circle is the shortest and straightest line between say, Victoria and Hakodadi, skirting the Aleutian Isles; but, on consulting the charts, he is quite unable to reconcile an apparent excursion far away north, and then back south, with the "shortest straight line" to Japan.

Another question arises: If a straight line in the Euclidean sense be incompatible with cosmic movements, and if a circle which has no end and no beginning is the ultimate cosmico-mathematical unit, why should we assume that there must be some limit to space? All we know is that perpetual motion, attraction, and counter-attraction govern space, so far as regards the units of the cosmos; and age by age we have after patient observation acquainted ourselves gradually with the difference between sidereal, solar, and lunar years, the precession of the equinoxes, and so on. Sumerian, Egyptian, Chinese, and European observations extending over 6,000 years or more show that there is now hardly a minute's change in time so far as our solar system is concerned. Why should we assume that there must be an end to "things" as there must have been a beginning? The fact that we human beings can think may appear to us supremely important; but we go and come with the same helplessness as the microscopic insect, whose corporeal arrangements are just as complete as ours, though its life may not last a day, and though its world may not extend over a fraction of an inch in space. The instincts of dogs, bees, eagles, vultures, beavers, and ants are much finer than ours in some respects; they come and go, enjoying life while it lasts, just as we do. Our capacity first of thinking, then of speaking, next of writing, at last of telegraphing, telephoning, and flying leaves us (as mere animals) much as we were 6,000 or 60,000, possibly 600,000 years ago. Dean Inge seems to support this view. Nothing could be more startling and at the same time nothing could be simpler, than the latest strange but self-evident thought that a straight line is impossible in nature; the next great discovery, possibly even simpler, may be that the conception of a beginning and an end is but a gratuitous assumption based upon our narrow earthly experiences; meanwhile all our thinking seems to have left us, so far as contentment and happiness are concerned, much as we were untold centuries ago.

P.S.—In the *Journal de Genève* of July 24 M. René de Saussure has an interesting article on "Le Paradoxe d'Einstein."

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

INDIAN HEROINES

BY STANLEY RICE

WHAT is a heroine? In these modern days we are apt to call by that name the central female figure of any work, be it dramatic or fictional, though there may be nothing heroic about her. Little Nora, the poor puppet of the Doll's House, is in this sense as much a heroine as is Flora Macdonald, the egregious Becky Sharp as the majestic Romola. These are the types of various phases of human nature which in any given work have been given prominence, and we dignify them all equally by the name of heroine because we have come to regard a certain realism as essential to any true work of art. For this we have, perhaps, to thank the vogue of melodrama—at least, in part—for the heroine of melodrama is a compact of the virtues cast by Fate into the lap of misfortune, from which the equally immaculate hero rescues her, thus bringing to nought the wiles of the villain. That was not the conception of the ancients. Both Greece and India taught religion through the ethics of the stage; there is something terrible, majestic, grand—in a word, heroic—about the great Greek figures. Just as Lady Macbeth, in spite of the ambition which drove her into the murder of a guest, moves our admiration because of her force of character, so far removed from the hesitations of the conscience-stricken husband, "letting I dare not wait upon I would," so the great figure of the Æschylean Clytemnestra stands out majestic in the very enormity of its wickedness. For you can inculcate ethical doctrines as well by exhibiting sin as by exhibiting virtue, and so you find that on the female side, at any rate, the Greek heroines, with certain notable exceptions, are painted in dark colours.

It is because India has taken the opposite line, has chosen to invest her heroines with all that is lovely in the eyes of her writers, that we are apt to dub them conventional. Human nature, we argue, harking back to our realistic bias, could not be so perfect as this, and therefore the

picture must be untrue. Woman, we think, is made up of vice and virtue, of weakness and strength, and the portrait of the perfect woman is drawn in colours which are all light and no shade.

Such an estimate is, however, fundamentally erroneous, fundamentally because we should never lose sight of the central idea of Hinduism that God is made manifest in the whole and in every part. The perfect woman is the embodiment of the divine in its female manifestations, and is held up to future generations as the type of excellence, the type which every Indian woman is to follow. As Mr. Ramaswami Sastri has said in a recent book, which, though extravagant in its praise of Hindu culture, and conspicuous for a want of grasp of all that Western culture means, has nevertheless set before us an enlightening view of Indian arts and literature: "The eternal ideals revealed in the Vedas were affirmed and realized by the epic heroes, and proclaimed in the epics themselves." It is because the women of the great epics and the great dramas embody these ideals that they have struck such deep roots into the soil of Indian life, while the ephemeral heroines of modern Hindu literature pass like shadows across the stage, and, like shadows, leave no trace.

With this shining example before her, not merely enshrined in the perennial pages of the Mahabarata and the Ramayana, of Sakuntala and the Toy-Cart, but interwoven into her daily life, it may easily be granted that the estimate of the Hindu woman as a mere household drudge is very far from being the truth. It has sometimes been flung in the teeth of the Hindu that his marriage system is too one-sided; the man has his freedom, the masculine character is allowed to predominate too obtrusively, while the woman is subordinated in everything. She is bound to the man, not of her choice, but of her parents; she is tied by a chain, golden or iron she is not of an age to discover. She cannot be a helpmate for her husband, because she has never been allowed to develop her mind. Yet even a severe critic of modern Hindu culture exclaims, "All the pride we still may feel for our culture is due to the saintly virtues of our women." When the question is one of race and culture, it is the women that count, and not the men. We cannot fairly judge the Hindu ideal of womanhood by what we can see on the surface. It is true that the woman of India has not the freedom of her sister in the West, either in the choice of her mate, or in her goings out and comings in. Yet, after all, has the European system been without its

failures? Have boy and girl the wit to make the momentous choice of their lives? It is certainly unfair to speak of Western marriage as "mere post-puberty choice of attractive and attracted eyes," but we must admit that there are as many unhappy marriages in Europe as in Asia. We must look beyond the external relations of both to the spiritual influences which man and woman exercise one upon another. We must, in a word, look beyond the material to the ideal.

What, then, was the ideal which was embodied in the great heroines of the Indian epics? Not, perhaps, that which we would naturally ascribe to the European woman, yet well suited to the Indian temperament and the Indian system. For, to the Indian heroine, the first of all maxims is unwavering devotion to the husband. To her the Miltonic line is the golden motto:

"He for God only, she for God in him."

It was an ideal hard to follow. The woman's weakness almost overcame her resolution. When Rama is exiled, and Sita of her own free will elects to accompany him, the hard reality is forced upon her.

"Sita, in her silks arrayed,
Threw glances trembling and afraid
On the bark coat she had to wear,
Like a shy doe that eyes the snare."

Yet love and that intuition which saw only the divine in her husband prevailed, and she shares his exile. But the woman had to pay. The man, half god, half hero, could fight with giants and overcome them; the woman is ravished from his sight to an exile in a far land in the power of a cruel enemy. Nor is Sita the sole example of this intuition; it is, in fact, the central idea of the greatest typical heroines in the epics. Like Britomart, they bear always the unbroken spear of wifely devotion and the untarnished shield of wifely chastity.

There was no compulsion in this devotion. Sita might have remained at home during the exile of her husband; Damayanti had good cause to cast off the faithless Nala; Draupadi was not called upon to put her life and, as it chanced, her liberty in jeopardy for the sake of her Pandu husbands. And what shall we say of Sakuntala, whose love and devotion rose superior to the apparently heartless rejection of her by her royal lover? What, above all, of Savitri, the Alcestis of Indian literature, who, though the supreme sacrifice of life was not required of her, was yet willing to enter the very gates of death rather than be left

on earth without her husband? The Hindus reverence Savitri, perhaps, above all other women, save only Sita, and not without reason. It is invidious to make comparison with the Greek queen, of whom her own maid said :

"What must she
Who seeketh to surpass this woman be?"

Let us not say that one has surpassed the other; let them shine as twin and equal stars in the firmament of womanhood: Alcestis, the queen, who visibly laid down her life for her husband, though not without that shrinking from death that is the heritage of mortal man;* and Savitri, the Indian princess, wilful in marriage, yet prepared joyfully to follow Yama to his dread domain, from which she knew well there could be no return. Which is the greater, which the more shining example—she who laid down her life though it cost her an effort, or she who was willing to lay it down with all the exaltation of a sati? We will not decide; rather, like Timotheus and Cecilia before Alexander, "let both divide the crown." But at least we may acknowledge with regret that Europe, which has long revered the sacrament of love in the one, has all too little recognized the triumph of love in the other.

Though we have often been reminded that woman is inconstant, variable, and fickle, it is remarkable that the epics of all nations in which the woman is depicted in any detail attribute to her a constancy of purpose which they deny to the man. In those martial stories which take as their theme the prowess of heroes there is, indeed, little place for the woman. Helen of Troy is not really a heroine in any sense of the word; those who seek to exalt her to that rank, in order, it may be, to compare her with other women of the truly heroic kind, do injustice both to the "Iliad" and to the Greek conception of womanhood. She is simply the focus upon which the war is centred, "the *face* that launched a thousand ships." And in like manner the pale figure of Aude flits across the last pages of the "Chanson de Roland," only to vanish again in the darkness of death. But the Indian heroines stand out of the picture no less clearly than do Penelope in the "Odyssey" and Kriemhild in the "Nibelungenlied." And if there is one quality which, being common to all three traditions, strikes the reader by its very insistence, it is that of steadfastness of purpose. It is not always

"Suddenly she fled
Back to her own chamber and bridal bed.
Then came the tears, and she spoke all her thought."

expressed in the same way. The goal may be religious devotion to the gods, which in Greece especially was very sensitive about burial rites ; or it may be the execution of righteous judgment upon the wrongdoer, even when the culprit is a mother ; or, again, it may be the desire for vengeance which burnt in the breast of an otherwise virtuous and lovable woman for thirteen years, and which was only satisfied when the hated object was at last reached through a sea of the blood of kinsmen and of friends. The Indian heroine, though moulded on a softer pattern, yields in this quality of steadfastness neither to Antigone nor to Electra nor to Kriemhild. Her purpose never wavers, even though her husband may lose faith in her, and may have deserved, according to our European standards at any rate, that she should desert him altogether. It was, in fact, a cowardly act in Yudishtira to stake his wife (and the wife, too, of his brothers) upon the cast of the dice, and it came near to dishonouring Draupadi. But she does not falter. She holds her husband blameless, and the boon she asks of the blind king is the liberty of the Pandavas, and especially of him who had done her this wrong. And when at the last the weary task is over, and this world is to be exchanged for a world of peace and rest, the gentle Draupadi, who has all along shared the hardships of exile and the triumphs of restoration, still steadfast in her purpose of devotion, is the first to fall by the way. The task was too great for her woman's strength.

And what shall we say of Damayanti, the peerless maid, who entered the bridal hall like the moon upon a starry night ? When Nala left her in the forest, she spent three years in ceaseless travel, searching, searching for Nala all the time. His own wanderings were aimless by comparison. He had thought her safe at home in her father's house, and if he took service as a charioteer that was only the better to hide his identity.

And there is another quality which distinguishes these Indian queens. Ruskin has said of Shakespeare that he has no heroes, but only heroines, who are the guardian angels of erring men, and redeem them from the consequences of their follies. True or not this may be of Shakespeare ; again and again we find it in the heroines of India. It is, one might say, the Shakti of womanhood guarding the weakness of man ; it is the recognition of the eternal fact that upon the woman—wife or mother—depends the sanctity and loveliness of the home, that upon her devolves the task of smoothing the rough places of life and

lifting her husband or son from the rocky path of this earth, with its pitfalls and snares, into a region of spiritual peace. That, we should like to think, is the motif in the story of Nala, who is at last brought back to joy and to prosperity by Damayanti's ruse of seeking a new husband. That, too, is perhaps the underlying principle in the salvation of the Pandavas by Draupadi. And when at last the wronged Sita, misunderstood, mistrusted even by the godlike Rama, is vindicated by heaven, we cannot but feel that, for all his heroic deeds of war, for all his resource in overcoming difficulty, for all the final victory over his gigantic opponent, salvation has come to Rama in the higher things of the soul through the constancy, the purity, and the devotion of his wife. The scene is described by Professor Cowell :

"But Sita's heart was too full ; this second ordeal was beyond even her power to submit to, and the poet rose above the ordinary level of Hindu women when he ventured to paint her conscious purity as rebelling. Beholding all the spectators, and clothed in red garments, Sita, clasping her hands and bending low her face, spoke thus in a voice choked with tears : ' As I, even in mind, have never thought of any other person than Rama, so may Madhavi, the goddess of earth, grant me a hiding-place.' As Sita made the oath, lo ! a marvel appeared. Suddenly cleaving the earth, a divine throne of marvellous beauty rose up, borne by resplendent dragons on their heads, and, seated on it, the goddess of earth, raising Sita with her arm, said to her, ' Welcome to thee ! ' and placed her by her side. And as the queen, seated on the throne, slowly descended to Hades, a continuous shower of flowers fell down from heaven on her head."

Truly we may say with Mr. Oman that "all the female characters," not only in "this epic," the Ramayana, but in the other epic also and in most of the dramas, are more human than those of the opposite sex ; and in their genuine womanhood they reveal a higher conception than we are treated to in the case of the men, always excepting the one truly heroic male character of both epics, whose life as warrior and man, as preceptor and ruler, in prosperity and in adversity, was uniformly blameless—Bhisma, to whom his very enemies did reverence as he lay upon his self-chosen death-bed of arrows.

Are they then conventional, these spiritual incarnations of all that the Hindu poets have found excellent in woman ?

Surely not. They are not the lay figures of melodrama with their artificial poses, their artificial situations, and their artificial, or perhaps superficial, sentimentality, but the true presentment of the ideal woman. If they are conventional, so also is the daughter of Icarius; so also is the Homeric Arete, of whom it was written that "Alcinous honoured her as no other woman in the world is honoured of all that nowadays keep house under the hand of their lords," and "who ever had all worship from her own children and from all the folk." The only conventional trait which Indian heroines share with all others is physical beauty. One and all, Kriemhild and Penelope, Sita and Savitri, Aude and Iseult, are blessed with these physical charms, which in the first instance seem to have been the chief attraction to the heroes who won them. But the conception of a heroine who has not the charm of beauty was reserved for another age; nor can we blame India that she has only followed the established custom in this respect.

Nor ought we to forget the customs of the country in estimating the characters of these heroines. It has often been remarked that such episodes as the cutting of wood in the forest by Satyavan and Savitri show how primitive was the society of these ancient legends. But there is ample evidence that if women were not so jealously guarded as now, modesty forbade them ordinarily to appear in public. It was one of Draupadi's bitterest wrongs that she was dragged half-naked into the presence of the assembled lords, when even the sun had scarcely dared to look upon her before. It was recognized as part of Sita's hard fate (and part of her glory in sharing it with Rama) that she was forced to walk openly through the streets. And Damayanti, once the moon in splendour, arrived at her city of refuge like the moon in eclipse, escorted up the long street by a mob of jeering boys. If they laboured in the household, these princesses, at least they lived sheltered lives, and the conflict between modesty and devotion must have been great.

Not every heroine is free from feminine weakness, nor is every woman a heroine. We have already seen how Sita shrank from the dress of bark as she shrank from the gaze of men. And Damayanti, who had previously remonstrated with Nala for his plan of leaving her on the unselfish ground that a man needs the help and comfort of his wife, is first struck, when the calamity has happened, by the sense of her own helplessness. It is the woman's weakness that draws from Draupadi the cry that brings Krishna to

her aid in her extremity. One might multiply examples were it necessary; perhaps the most striking of all is the waywardness of Sita just before the famous abduction, when her quite undeserved taunts of Lakshmana have overcome her fidelity to Rama, and by driving him away from his post have opened the way to the catastrophe. Nor are the women all upon the high plane of idealized virtue. The ancients recognized that women, too, have their failings, and that it is not every woman who can live up to the ideal. Were they, then, held up as warnings? We might perhaps say that of the queen in "*Sarangdhar*," the counterpart of Phædra, of whom Racine wrote, "*J'ai même pris soin de la rendre un peu moins odieuse qu'elle n'est dans les tragédies des anciens.*" There is something heroic in the furious passion of the queen, though it led to a shameful charge. Racine has felt this when he makes her frenzy a visitation of the gods. Swinburne has felt it when he carries the story no further than the opening, and he plays upon our pity for the "born daughter to Pasiphæ." But for Kaikeyi, the intriguer, the dupe of a slave girl, who will stoop to any injustice to Rama and incidentally to Sita, we can feel nothing but contempt. She is woven into the plot; she is, in fact, the cause of all the exile, the wanderings, the disaster at the hands of Ravana, but she makes no figure on the canvas, and we would fain regard her as the plaything of the gods, who were working out the destiny of Rama.

"He for God only, she for God in him"—that is the key to the conception of the Sanskrit masters. And if we miss the variety of the Greek stage, if we look in vain for the righteous indignation of a Medea expressing itself in terrible action, if we do not find the stern purpose of an Electra pursuing justice even to the shedding of a mother's blood, we have in the Indian gallery of portraits, be they of queens or courtesans or hermit's foster-daughters, a steadfast conception of all that is highest and noblest in tender and gentle womanhood, an example for all women who love their ancient literature—and who does not?—to follow in their lives of every day.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT,
1765-1920: By B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. Rupees 4 net.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT)

The author of this useful book rightly observes that, with the introduction of responsible Government, the creation of a school of constitutional history has become a necessity in India. He has tried to trace the course of British administration in India from the days when the British in India were merely factors and clerks, through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on to the days of the Mutiny and the end of the East India Company. Then he takes up the history of Crown Government from 1861 onwards. He tells of the Legislative Councils, the administration of justice, the settlements of land revenue. He deals with the extent, frequency, duration of famines, the methods of famine prevention, with railways and irrigation. He devotes a chapter to financial decentralization and local self-government, another chapter to modern education and political movements, and a final chapter to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. He considers the constitution passed by the Act of December, 1919, to be "truly liberal, necessarily leading on to full self-government of the Parliamentary type, if we on our part will only work the Act in the spirit in which it has been passed." *That* is the question. Will Indian Parliamentarians work the Act in this spirit, or will they work it in quite a different spirit? Time will tell.

The book, generally speaking, reflects the ordinary views of Western-educated Indians. It is written with care and research. We cannot but regret that it should be disfigured by such assertions as the following (p. 388): "In those days"—the days when the Indian National Congress was launched—"everyone who passed the Collector's bungalow stopped a minute, doffed his shoes, made a salaam to the spirit of the place, and only then resumed his shoes and proceeded on his way. In those days a mem-sahib had still merely to order her khansama to take a man along with him to the magistrate—the man might be a servant, or a pedlar, or a beggar, or a passer-by—and the magistrate would instantly have administered to the poor fellow a few cuts of the whip to maintain the Raj and its prestige."

We happen ourselves to have lived in India "in those days"—in the year 1885. Presumably our author was then of tender years, or possibly had not been born. We can assure him that the information which has led him to make the above statements is grossly and wholly untrue.

CREATIVE UNITY. By Rabindranath Tagore. Pp. 203. (London: Macmillan and Co.) 7s. 6d.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS)

These are a series of collected essays on various subjects revealing the same fundamental truths which suggest creative unity. Some of these essays were read by the poet in London at the Indian Students' Hostel, Shakespeare Hut, and at other places. These essays were originally written in English, and therefore they constitute a special feature of interest.

Dr. Tagore's work is of great importance, because he does not and will not recognize any impassable gulf between East and West. He admires Western sciences while he deprecates Western materialism. We think there are many in the West who deplore materialism and reverence the spirit of man as much as he. His writings make for reconciliation and mutual understanding in the basis of the deep things of the spirit. Kipling writes as if the differences between East and West were fundamental; Tagore, while not ignoring the differences, believes in the possibility of unity. For him, as for all true mystics, the things which unite are more fundamental and stronger than the things which separate.

Dr. Tagore's prose, though full of Eastern imagery, loses nothing of its directness and force thereby. When he says, "Calcutta, with her up-tilted nose and stony stare, had not completely disowned her foster-mother, rural Bengal, and had not surrendered body and soul to her wealthy paramour, the spirit of the ledger, bound in dead leather," it is as good as another nail in the coffin of materialism. The fields of north-east France are "death-struggles stiffened into ugly ridges." In imagery the kernel of the book is expressed at the end of the essay on "East and West": "The East has neglected the nest-building of truth. She has not been attentive to learn its secret. Trying to cross the trackless infinite, the East has relied solely upon her wings. She has spurned the earth till, buffeted by storms, her wings are hurt and she is tired, sorely needing help. But has she then to be told that the messenger of the sky and the builder of the nest shall never meet?" There is no poverty of thought; one can well spend some hours in pondering over the theme of this delightful book, which leads us yet closer to reality.

HAPPY INDIA. By Arnold Lupton. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, W.C. 1.*) 6s. net.

(Reviewed by J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S., retd.)

Mr. Lupton explains that India might be happy "if guided by men of science," because, he says, "under such a régime there would be abundance even for the poorest classes; granaries filled in good seasons would provide food for both men and cattle during seasons of drought. The poor labourer would have money for simple pleasures, and all others might join in a prosperity that would make India a happy country"; and I suppose it might be admitted that if our men of science could have *carte blanche* in

the matter of funds they might provide unlimited wealth in India, or even in this country. But, as far as I can see, he has not given us anything like a careful estimate of the cost of their schemes, or indicated the source from which sufficient funds could be provided for such improvements. It has been calculated that even the primary education of the young would cost far more than the gross revenue of India (to say nothing of the difficulty of providing at least three million qualified teachers), and even if a Home Rule Army cost only half what the British Army costs, a saving of twenty millions a year is a mere drop in the ocean; so that, unless the League of Nations is far more successful than most people seem to expect, it is more than doubtful if any such Home Rule Army could secure the peace of the country, and, without peace, any such progress as Mr. Lupton anticipates is clearly unattainable. Otherwise his suggestions are admirable, and everyone who knows anything of India will agree that a great deal more might be done even by the present Government of India in developing the resources of the country. Mr. Harry Ford says, "We could have every great source of power harnessed and working for the common good were it not that the expense of obtaining capital stands in the way"; but expense need not stand in the way of the Indian Government when raising funds for clearly reproductive work. Whether any Home Rule Government would venture to double the revenue of India for the sake of elementary education remains to be seen.

We might add that Mr. Lupton does not go very deeply into the causes of Indian poverty, and does not even allude to the enquiry into that subject which has been conducted by Captain Petavel for some years under the auspices of the Calcutta University.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Lupton's book should have been published a few months before the remarkable testimony of the *Calcutta Commercial Advertiser* on August 4, to the value of Captain Petavel's work in India. There is a considerable similarity in their ideas, but Captain Petavel's scheme of work seems more immediately feasible, as might be expected after the years of work he has devoted to it in India itself, and it is a great pity they never met. It is still more unfortunate that Mr. Lupton should have relied so much on that broken reed, Mr. Digby, who somewhere estimated the value of the crops in fertile Bengal at 15 Rs. an acre, not enough, as a critic observed, to pay the cost of cultivation.

THE TEMPLE OF FREEDOM. By Sarojini Devi. (Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

Whatever Mrs. Sarojini Naidu writes (for we gather that she has either assumed or been awarded the title of Devi) is worth reading if only for her wonderful mastery of impassioned English—a mastery which many Englishmen might envy. The matter of the speech which is reprinted in this pamphlet is unexceptionable, for no one can seriously object to the ideal of "Indian freedom." It is, however, open to doubt whether it is wise to address such language to the impressionable and inflammable youth. The "torch-bearers on the path to freedom" have unfortunately been known

to use their torches for more questionable purposes than to light the footsteps of pilgrims; the "pilgrims on the road to liberty" have been known to turn aside into by-paths leading to destruction. The call to the students is to fill up the ranks as the soldiers fall; it is the voice of Krishna that summons them. How will the youth of India interpret such a message? Will they in truth be content to win the victory by "slaying their sins"? Experience of Indian volunteers hardly bears out the ideal that they are "reborn pure and flawless in the flame of sacrifice." One cannot but admire the system of propaganda which prints and circulates every speech of the slightest importance made by an Indian leader, and one can only wish that more energy were shown on the other side. But do the propagandists really see where their work is leading? Mr. Gandhi can answer out of the mouth of Chandi Chaura.

TO INDIA: THE MESSAGE OF THE HIMALAYAS. By Paul Richard.
(Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*)

In his own peculiar semi-poetical style, Mr. Paul Richard is an ardent champion of Indian political aspirations to complete emancipation from British leading-strings. Although the fetters of her slavery are to be broken when the hands that forged them are too weak to "retain them," although the sun of enlightenment, of power, of liberty and righteousness—for so the rather vague phrase may be interpreted—is setting upon Europe and is about to rise upon Asia, India is admonished to set her own house in order, to shake herself free from outworn traditions, to abolish caste, to abandon the ruts in which she has moved for centuries. Especially she must learn to emancipate her women, though in this respect Mr. Richard seems to have little conception of the power of women in the land, and to judge their position entirely from what he sees around him. The Himalayas may serve as a poetic figure, though why they should have their particular message to deliver is not very apparent. The pamphlet is one of the usual counsels of perfection; it is one more of those vague appeals to the motto of the French Revolution to which we are growing accustomed, since we have heard them so often in sober prose, in impassioned oratory, in poetical or rhapsodical outbursts. There is, of course, no constructive policy; it is the licence of the poet to ignore the dull prose of ways and means.

S. P. R.

FAR EAST

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC. By General Golovin. (*Gyldendal*)
10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by T. BOWEN PARTINGTON)

In this book, which is a most valuable contribution to the books published on the Pacific question, General Golovin has made a dispassionate examination of the present-day position and aspirations of Japan, and with the conclusions he arrives at, which indicate that in Japan is the solution of all aspects of a Pacific problem, all who know anything of Eastern con-

ditions will be in agreement. But when he writes that "the complex international problem which has now arisen in the Pacific is due primarily to the excess of the population of Japan," then he will find there are many who do not go with him. For in this he is playing into the hands of the very people whose aggressiveness and militarism he has been at pains to warn against. Japan to-day is following in the footsteps of Germany; she is bidding for a place in the sun, and must give some reason for her aggressiveness. She says it is a question of population. As a matter of fact, General Golovin must know that the Japanese people at home are hardly conscious of such a problem. This evidence was given by the late Mr. Hara, the Japanese Premier, who, some little time before his murder, when questioned in the Japanese Parliament as to whether the question of population in Japan was really acute, replied in the negative, and stated: "It is not serious at the present." Independent observers all tend to support this view, and hence the observations from the author are somewhat surprising.

Admitting the necessity for emigration on the part of the Japanese, General Golovin goes on to discuss with excellent detail the suitable countries for this. One would remind him that the present party in power in Japan does not want a country of virgin wilderness (even Australia), but rather one already cultivated and civilized, such as China.

He hits the nail on the head when he describes Japan as a "hothouse plant." The rise of Japan as a world power is a hothouse growth, and it has been fostered in an artificial atmosphere and in a false position.

There are two very interesting chapters on Japan's policy in Korea and China, a policy which he rightly describes as one of bribery and corruption. The policy in both of these countries, as set forth by the author, stamps Japan as the menace to the peace of the Far East . . . or, even worse, as "a double-faced Janus."

To the preparedness of Japan for war in the Pacific and her superiority over either the United States or even Great Britain, owing to the latter's great distance from Japan, the book constitutes the finest testimony ever published, and without panic or exaggeration it states in plain language what the West ought to have realized long ago—that Japan has been pre-preparing, and now stands prepared, and is ready to fight for that equality with the Powers of the West which she asserts is hers. Americans in particular will do well to read the chapters devoted to this and think well over them, for they will find contained therein matter which is incontestable and which shows and proves conclusively that the Japanese programme is one permeated in every detail with all modern tactical ideas and one of which Japan can be "just proud."

For years it has been Japan's desire to obtain domination over China. She has gone beyond that now, and her statesmen, like Count Okuma, have been clamouring for world domination. "In another quarter of a century," the Count has declared, "Japan will be in a position to struggle for world domination with the Powers of the West." General Golovin shows that she is now in that position by virtue of her undisputable and important advantages in all parts of the Far East.

There is but one thing, in dealing with the strength of Japan in the East, on which one can differ with the author, and that is on the matter of the Chinese. He writes of Japan overrunning China, and treats of it as if it will be the easiest thing in the world. He obviously knows little of China as she is to-day, and of the deep and intense hatred there is of Japan and all things Japanese. Whatever country was at war with Japan would have as its ally China, and China to-day is not so weak as some people would have us think, and Japan would experience a resistance from China which in many ways would astonish her, and if this resistance were sufficiently upheld by the West, Japan would find herself cut off from the great mineral and other supplies of China on which she is depending, and which are necessary to her if she would wage a successful war in the Pacific.

There are too many books written on the Far East and Far Eastern problems nowadays; but in "The Problem of the Pacific" we have a most valuable contribution which is worthy of the attention of all students of Far Eastern politics.

RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST. By Leo Pasvolksky. (New York: *The Macmillan Company*.) 8s. net.

(Reviewed by T. BOWEN PARTINGTON)

"Russia in the Far East" is the work of a Russian publicist now resident in America, and is quite a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with imperialistic Russia in Asia. It deals with the Russia that was, with the Russia that is, and the Russia that is to be. In dealing with the Russia that was, he gives quite an interesting account of the infiltration of Russia into Asia in the early centuries.

By far the most valuable part of the book—in fact, the only part which can be said to be of value—is that which deals with the Russia that is and its relations with Asia, and this he treats of under the title of "The Third International in Asia"; and this is of special interest to Great Britain by virtue of her great interest in Asia, and the fact that the Third International seems to be concentrating its activities against that country, and have expressed their policy in the words: "We are ready to support any revolutionary struggle against Great Britain."

It is interesting to note from the book the attitude of Japan and her Government to the Bolshevik movement in Asia—an attitude of resistance and of non-tolerance.

One cannot agree with the writer when he writes of the Chinese that "the vast bulk of her (China's) population is agitated by various kinds of resentment, swept by different kinds of discontent," thereby making China a country as far as the tactics and methods of communism are concerned "ideal."

"The vast bulk of her population" consist of the coolies and merchant. In Peking and Canton, politicians and parasites may be thinking of place, self, and power, and be prepared to use communistic methods and tactics as a means to this end; but the merchant is thinking of his markets, the quicksilver movements of the tael and its master, the gold dollar, and

the coolie is thinking of his rice. They ("the vast bulk of her population") have neither time nor taste for the politics of the Chinese militarists—the Bolsheviks of China—a corrupt lot, who are seeking to retard the progress of the country to suit their own ends. Political comings and goings leave the Chinese masses unmoved. The merchant and the coolie have the foreigners on their backs, and the greedy Tuchuns—the militarists—on their necks. They pay, swear, and smile, and go on hoping for better times, and working.

Bolshevism has not found in China a fertile field for cultivation, nor have the Chinese become ardent partisans of the Third International. China is a nation in the making. Her old machinery broke down. It was utterly out of date. It could not stand the pressure of contact with modern nations. New machinery has had to be put in, and that will take time and enterprise and energy. She does not possess time. Large bodies move slowly, and China is a whale of a nation in the making. Her very bulk is a temptation to the blubber-hunters and the bone-chasers of the Third International.

In dealing with the Russia that is to be the writer is theorizing pure and simple; and the facts of Russia as she is to-day in no way give us hopes that Russia's future course of action in Asia will in any way serve to have the stabilizing influence he anticipates she will have. Russia's influence in the East has been lost; Japan will see to it that it is never regained, and the nations of the West are hardly ever likely to entrust the stabilizing of the unstable Far East to such an unstable country as Russia is to-day. Of course, the book was written by a Russian; we appreciate his confidence in his country; but that confidence is scarcely justified in the light of present conditions.

LI, DUKE OF CH'EN. A Chinese novel, translated into English, with the full Chinese text in Peking colloquial, by J. A. Jackson, Master at the Hanbury School, Shanghai.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

Mr. Jackson has in various commercial capacities travelled over and seen as much of North China and Manchuria as any foreigner in the Far East. During the war he "personally conducted" several shiploads of coolies from Wei-hai-wei to France, and also escorted them back safely home. In these strenuous *post-bellum* times it is to be feared that not many will have the time or inclination—apart from the capacity—to read a Chinese novelette; but in case there be such, the copy presented to the ASIATIC REVIEW is at the disposal of any competent applicant.

ORIENTALIA

THE MUFADDALIYĀT. An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes, compiled by Al-Mufaḍḍal, son of Muḥammad, according to the recension and with the commentary of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī. Edited for the first time by Charles James Lyall, M.A. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 1918, 1921.

THE DĪWĀN OF GHAILĀN IBN 'UQBĀH, KNOWN AS DHU'R-RUMMAH. Edited by C. H. H. Macartney. (University Press, Cambridge.) 1919.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

English scholarship holds a foremost place in the elucidation of early Arabic poetry. The first complete translation into any European language of the "Mu'allaqāt," those seven pre-Islamic odes which the Arab philologists considered to be the most perfect examples of the poetic art, was published by Sir William Jones in 1783; at the same time he printed the first edition of the text for European readers, strangely enough choosing the Roman character for this purpose. Many scholars have worked upon these famous poems since that date, and another English Arabist, Sir Charles J. Lyall, who, like Sir William Jones, had occupied an important official position in Calcutta, published one of the finest editions of the text, together with the commentary of Tibrizi, in 1894. Of the larger anthologies of early Arabic poetry, Freytag published his classical edition of the "Hamasa" in 1828, and a translation about twenty years later. No scholar was intrepid enough to undertake the third great anthology of this difficult poetry, the "Mufaḍḍaliyāt," until Thorbecke, in 1885, published a selection from these poems, but he died shortly afterwards, and the task was taken up by Sir Charles Lyall, who had succeeded in getting together more ample materials for a critical edition.

To the superb edition of the text, together with commentary and translation that have now been printed by the Clarendon Press, he devoted the last twenty years of his life; it will remain an abiding monument of the erudition of a great scholar, and is the culmination of the work of a lifetime, largely spent in the study of early Arabic poetry. Sir Charles Lyall brought to his task a rich knowledge of Arabic lexicography, and an intimate acquaintance with the pertinent period of Arabic literature, to which for several decades he had exclusively devoted his attention. He has left nothing for a future editor, as there is little likelihood of further material becoming available for additions to the ample biographical and lexicographical commentary he has compiled; but generations of scholars will use his work for investigations into the life and mental outlook of the Arabs. It is not philologists only who will find in this work a storehouse of knowledge, for Sir Charles Lyall's translation has made the contents of this collection accessible to that larger circle of students who are now endeavouring to understand the Arab mind. There is hardly any other race on the earth that for nearly thirteen centuries has changed so little in its psychology; the Arab of the desert is still remarkably like his ancestors, as they are revealed to us in the poetry of the pre-Islamic period and of the beginning of the

Muhammadan era. During the recent war the Arab has once again come into world history, and is likely to offer difficult problems for European statesmen and others to solve. In the translations which Sir Charles Lyall has provided in this and his other published writings there is a mass of authentic material, the interest of which is by no means merely antiquarian, but throws a clear light into the recesses of minds whose interests and modes of thought are far removed from most of their contemporaries in the modern world.

To Sir Charles Lyall's scholarship Mr. Macartney has expressed his indebtedness in the preparation of his edition of the "Dīwān" of Dhu'r-Rummah. This great poet of the desert has hitherto found no editor in Europe; and Mr. Macartney has placed all students of the Arabic language under an obligation by making them accessible in such a stately and finely printed a form. As Mr. Macartney has not attempted a translation into English, his edition appeals only to advanced students of Arabic, to whom the poems of Dhu'r-Rummah are of importance for Arabic lexicography, as well as for their vivid descriptions of desert life.

These two publications are noteworthy as having been planned before the outbreak of the war, and as having been brought to completion in spite of all the many difficulties that consequently beset the editors. As the Arabic text of the "Mufaḍḍaliyāt" was printed in Beyrout, the work of Sir Charles Lyall was interrupted by the entry of Turkey into the war, and he lost one whole batch of proofs in a vessel sunk by a German torpedo. But in neither instance could the publication of such monumental works, appealing, from the very nature of their contents, only to a restricted circle of readers, have been possible but for the generous patronage of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which showed themselves in each instance willing to undertake the immense cost that the printing of Oriental type implies. Such works, of a limited circulation, can, as a rule, only be printed by learned corporations having at their disposal special funds for the issue of publications, and a University Press, undertaking to publish books the sale of which must necessarily be very slow, and possibly wholly unremunerative, deserves the gratitude of every scholar whose studies are thereby facilitated.

SHORTER NOTICES

TALES OF OLD SIND. By G. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S. (*Oxford University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by G. H.)

Folk-tales are the embodiment of a country's personality, and there is nothing in the world as difficult as to transmit a personality without the warm living medium of its owner. Mr. Kincaid, however, has managed to do this. His "Tales of Old Sind" reproduce perfectly the Indian atmosphere of the Indian temperament, in spite of the unsympathetic medium of a Western language. Here is no case of "immolation on the altar of local colour," that last resort of the incompetent translator.

Readers are not bored by the insertion of large fragments of the original, after the manner of many who write stories dealing with Indian life.

Indian idiom here is not expressed by the strained and over-romantic English which has come to be considered the trade mark of a genuine Eastern story. Obviously Mr. Kincaid knows the native tongue perfectly; the tales in his hands have kept their dignity and gained no additional floweriness. He translates Eastern idiom by Western idiom, making the whole intelligible to the Western mind. The West loves to think the East subtle and complex, but Mr. Kincaid has shown that the East is fundamentally as simple and straightforward as the West.

The fatalism shown in all these stories is a sign of simplicity and of an unquestioning mind. A child would enjoy reading this book, though only a trained mind would appreciate the wonderful technique shown in the translation.

Mr. Kincaid has done a great service to those who study the universal kinship of all languages by means of their folk-lore. Students of the Gaelic fairy-tales will find the illusions in the story of Momul and Rano particularly interesting, while those who prefer our own Teutonic folk-lore will find many symbolic resemblances in these folk-tales of Sind.

Altogether the book is decidedly interesting and attractive, both to young and old. Miss Shuttleworth's illustrations, though perhaps too graceful for correct representation of the East, are not the least pleasing part of the book.

CO-OPERATION AND THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT. (Calcutta: "Capital.") 6 annas.

(Reviewed by ARNOLD LUPTON)

It is a sign of the times that the Calcutta University has established the "poverty problem study." Certainly poverty ought to be abolished—at least, so far as it is not the fault of the individual who suffers from it.

I am delighted with references to children, as set out in the third paragraph of p. 16: "right food, pure air, and work and amusement, etc." Also with the statement on p. 17: "long hours in the classrooms represents just about what ought not to be done."

Of course, co-operation is what everybody who thinks at all about civilized life thinks is essential to our well-being, and I am delighted that the writer would set children and adults on to growing vegetables, etc. It is simply appalling to think that this country is now maintaining in idleness a million people, when they might be growing food, and so bring down the prices of the necessities of life, whilst at the same time the obligation to work for their pay would cause a large number of the unemployed to accept employment from the ordinary employers in the ordinary way.

Of course, there are a great many statements in the book which I think have never been proved, and cannot be proved. As, for instance, that labour can now produce, with the aid of machinery, five times as much as it produced in former days. It is quite true that the steam navy will do

the work of a great many men, but when one considers the number of men employed to make a steam navy, to maintain it in good condition, and supply it with fuel, a careful calculation will show that, whilst the use of the steam navy is in many cases economical, in many other cases it is not. A simple illustration of this is given in regard to the supply of coal to steam vessels when calling at a port. It is found that at many seaports the cheapest way of loading the ship with coal is for men and women to run up a plank carrying baskets of coal, which they tip into the ship, just as might have been done 500 years ago. In the same way, the steam plough is not always profitable.

At the bottom of p. 37 and top of p. 38 he refers to the "utilization of the labour of children," and, again, on p. 38, he refers to the beneficent results "of organizing school-children in a co-operative productive organization." It is evident that this cannot be done until the laws forbidding child labour and enforcing compulsory attendance at schools are repealed.

On p. 41 he speaks of the "hopeless expression on the face of the common crowd." I have not observed that hopeless expression; quite the other way. For the last forty years I have studied the common crowd in England, and it seems to me happy and happy-go-lucky.

I heartily approve of the sentence on p. 51: "allow all to work as many hours a day as they want." We must abolish the very silly and very wicked legal restrictions on the hours of work.

There is, however, an extraordinary paragraph on p. 54, which seems to indicate a lack of comprehension that the first essential of progress is liberty. The paragraph is: "The most hopeful thing, therefore, of our time is that by following the school years by a period of industrial conscription," etc. It would seem that the writer would continue compulsory school years, and then have industrial conscription. That, I venture to say, is not the way to secure co-operation. Co-operation, to be effective, must be free and willing, and all Government interference with the work and education of the people must be abolished. Then let men of brains and energy preach and teach to free people how to improve their condition.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF NEW BOOKS

OMAR KHAYYAM AND HIS AGE. By Otto Rothfeld, B.A. (Oxon), I.C.S., F.R.G.S. (*Taraporevala*.)

D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co. will shortly publish the above book. It is emphatically one that opens out new ground. Its purpose is not merely an appreciation of Omar Khayyam—the real Omar taken as a whole, not as seen partially through the glasses of Fitzgerald—but further places the poet in his proper relation to the historic and spiritual development of Islam. The book falls into two parts—an account of the history of the Central Asian Empire and of the influence of Persian thought, with its Greek and Indian currents of philosophy, on Muhammadan culture; and, secondly, an analysis of the spirit of Omar's poetry as exemplifying the results of those influences. Until now any student desirous of acquainting

himself with the development of Islam under Persian guidance would have had to conduct laborious research through a dozen separate monographs on different aspects of the subject. Mr. Rothfeld has embodied the results of such research in one eminently readable volume. Mr. Rothfeld's competence to deal with the subject is vouched for by his eminence as a Persian scholar, which led to his selection by the Government of India to edit the text of the "Waqaya of Naamat Khan-I-Ali," one of the most difficult books in the Persian language. The success of his former writings is a guarantee of his literary power. "Omar Khayyam and his Age" will prove to be a book as attractive by its style and construction to the general reader as it will be valuable to the student by its scholarship.

THE FERNS OF BOMBAY. By E. Blatter, S.J., PH.D., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, St. Xavier's College, Bombay; and J. F. d'Almeida, B.A., B.S.C. (Hons.), Professor of Botany, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Two coloured and 15 black and white plates and 43 text figures. Crown 8vo. Bound in full cloth. (*Taraporevala*.) Rs. 7.8.

D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co., Bombay, will publish the above book shortly. The book is the first of its kind on ferns of the Bombay Presidency. The authors have spent much labour in collecting the various species. The book gives a detailed and comprehensive description, not only of those found in their wild state, but also of those to be found in all ferneries. The numerous illustrations are a great help to the study of these delicate plants, and a collector can get at the different species practically at a glance by their aid.

All technical terms are explained in simple language in the introductory chapter, thus making the fullest knowledge accessible without the necessity of any previous acquaintance with the subject. This makes the book useful, therefore, to the amateur, as much as it is of value to the advanced student.

A new and special feature of the book is the key preceding the detailed description of each species, which sets out very clearly, yet concisely, the distinguishing characteristics of each species.

FOOTPRINTS IN SPAIN. By Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Newell, F.R.G.S., author of "Topee and Turban," etc. With numerous illustrations. (London: *Methuen*.) Price 10s. 6d.

Special interest attaches to a book on Spain from the pen of an author who has hitherto written exclusively upon India. Familiarity with the East and Muhammadan architectural ideals is of distinct value in treating of a land so long subject to Mussalman rule as Spain. The culture of the Crescent, as distinct from that of the Cross, has left its impress upon more than mere bricks and stone. The Spain of to-day is the product of both these warring influences, with occasional throwbacks to a remoter ancestry. In his description of the Alhambra, the world-famous palace of the last Moorish kings of Granada, the author draws an analogy between it and the palaces of the Mogul emperors of India. He makes similar interesting

observations when commenting upon the Mezquita at Cordova. His book is bright and varied. In it modern anecdotes mingle with ancient legends, while his word pictures, notably that of Poblet, the superb Cistercian monastery and mausoleum of the kings of Aragon, are singularly romantic and vivid. On the whole, Colonel Newell views Spain from a different angle to the ordinary writer. It might almost be said that he regards it through Eastern rather than Western eyes.

A NEW PERIODICAL

"THE SLAVONIC REVIEW." A survey of the Slavonic peoples, their history, etc. Editors: Sir Bernard Pares, Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, and Dr. Harold Williams (School of Slavonic Studies, King's College.)

(Noticed by FRANCIS P. MARCHANT)

We are glad to hail this new venture, the aim of which is to promote mutual understanding of Russia and kindred nations, and to serve as an organ of those who have Slavonic sympathies and interests, and desire to promote good relations between the English-speaking and Slavonic worlds. To this end it enlists the services of British and American Slav scholars and representative Slavs. The members of the Advisory Committee and Staff Committee at King's College include most of the leading University teachers in the country, with Sir B. Pares as Administrative Director.

Following notes of guidance for students and a transliteration scheme, drawn up by the conference of University teachers—to which, however, Dr. Seton-Watson demurs—the opening article on "The Slavs after the War" is from the pen of Professor T. G. Masaryk, denouncer of dubious Austrian pre-war procedure, lecturer at London University during the war, then organizer of Czech legions in Russia, and ultimately President of the new Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, where he bears the popular title bestowed on the Emperor Charles IV. and the historian Palacky, *Etce Vlasti* (Father of the Country). He shows that to none had the war brought greater political changes than to the Slav nations, and that it is quite impossible to call it, as some do, a war of Teutons and Slavs. Beginning with Czecho-Slovakia, he reviews these changes, passing to Russia and Bolshevism. "The Bolshevik is the Russian monk, excited and confused by Feuerbach's materialism and atheism." In conclusion, President Masaryk draws attention to the ideal of a league of nations dreamed of by his countryman, King George of Poděbrad. Professor P. Struve, the eminent economist, whose contribution is headed by prophetic quotations from De Maistre and Lermontov, reviews the crisis in Russia and her special "mission" from the point of view of historical sociology. The greatest living exponent of the Slavs, Professor V. E. Jagić—of whom the present writer has happy recollections—contributes a review of Slavonic studies from the days of the Czech philologist, Dobrovsky. Beyond reference to the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie—quorum pars magna fuit*—the author modestly omits his life-work, and we note that the records of Professor Louis Leger, of

Paris, and his predecessors, Mickiewicz and Chodzko, are not touched. Sir B. Pares discusses British interest in Russia and the prospects of the Slavonic school, the inception of which is due to the lamented Principal R. M. Burrows.

To our regret, we can only mention in passing Mr. M. Beza's comparison of Percy's "Reliques" and Sir W. Scott's minstrelsy with Roumanian ballads, Mr. S. Bulgakov's dialogues on the Russian Revolution, Mrs. F. S. Copeland's translation of Count I. Vojnovic's "Dying Republic," Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and the obituaries of A. Blok and N. S. Gumilev (Russian poets), Hviezdoslav (Slovak poet and patriot), I. Vazov (Bulgarian novelist), and J. D. Bouchier, a great friend of the Balkans. There are extensive economic notes and reviews, and a Czecho-Slovak bibliography.

THE BOOK OF THE DAY

INDIA IN THE BALANCE. By Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, B.A., LL.B. (Woking: *The Islamic Review*.) Price 6s. net.

(Reviewed by JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.)

This book is most opportune. The writer is a loyal British subject, with an innate sense of the justice, honesty, and fair play of the British people.

The writer insists that the Founder of Christianity is given the same reverence by Muslims as the Prophet himself, and admits that the British rule has not sought in any way to force itself on the religion or the customs of the country. But he says that the spirit of India is changed, and now India is wondering! It is wondering whether Britain is not now really aiming at the suppression of the Crescent. It seems to us that India may rest assured England has no such desire or intention; and where Islam is right England and the British people intend to stand by it to the death. There can be no doubt that Turkey, politically, made a great mistake in turning upon her ancient friend England, and siding with Prussia in stabbing the Allies in the back; and who can deny that for this dastardly act she deserved to be punished? But it is idle to maintain that in punishing Turkey a blow was, or is, aimed at Islam; such an assertion is simply not true.

But, as Sir Hamilton Grant insists, there must be no hectoring, no bullying, no wanton discourtesy. These are not only cowardly and disgraceful, but they render goodwill impossible. There should be a resolute and an immediate mending of manners all round on both sides. At the same time there must be no concession to incendiariism, or to designing and evil-minded agitators, and no blatant pandering to political schemers. In a word, there must be no frightfulness, but, on the contrary, genial kindness in thought and word and deed.

About the Caliphate—the matter is one altogether for Muslims themselves, and there should be no Christian interference of any kind whatever. The Caliphate should be immune. A word from the Muslim Caliph to his Indian co-religionists would produce a wonderful result, and this result the British Government should lay itself out to obtain.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

THE Bureau of Education in India has issued a Report for the year 1920-21 of extraordinary interest in view of the working of the Reform Scheme, and serves the purpose of an introduction to the Review to be published next year covering the quinquennium 1917-22.

The Report gives a rapid survey of the whole ground, describing the effect of the "Non-Co-operation Movement" upon the number of students in colleges and anglo-vernacular schools. Some provinces naturally lost more than others, and in the case of Calcutta and the province the number of students had fallen considerably just when the figures were being collected. The "National Schools and Colleges" lately come into existence do not give any returns to Government. There were other institutions independent of Government before these came into existence, and the aim of the "National" institutions is more political than educational. The "Non-Co-operation Movement" appealed to students of various types of mind, and it is curious that "there are no signs of reaction against Western subjects, languages, and ideas." One good result of the National Movement is that Indians are beginning to think out for themselves the sort of education best suited for Indian requirements, and there has been "no reduction of any educational grants by the reformed Councils." The Report touches on Women's Education—in the secondary schools, Bombay, the number of students has risen to 10,000, and almost the same number has been reached in primary schools; in the Medical College, Bombay, there are sixty-three ladies—on Muhammadan Education in Madras, on the Depressed Classes Education, Training of Teachers, the Scout Movement, Physical Training and Hygiene, Adult Education, and Defectives' (Blind and Deaf Mute) Education, the latter being exhaustively studied by a Bombay Committee. In Bombay, again, there is the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy school of art, and visual instruction by means of lantern and cinematograph has received special attention there.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Professor Baltreley, of the Indian Educational Service, has compiled an account of the history of adult education in England and Wales, for Indian readers. This pamphlet also contains information concerning the Workers' Educational Association, and the influence of the universities on adult education in Scotland, Wales, British Dominions, U.S.A., and on the Continent of Europe. Adult education in England and Wales dates from 1800, and the second period from 1850. Mr. Albert Mansbridge, founder of the W.E.A., was also its Secretary from 1903 to 1915, and is now Chairman of the World Association for Adult Education. The last chapter is on the possibility of University Extra-mural Adult Teaching in India. The W.E.A. rises far above merely political propaganda, in that it enables adults to base their political opinions on well-thought-out problems, and this applies also to questions relating to labour, trades-unions, and other social problems. It is most important to adapt the W.E.A. to present conditions in India, and to infuse the students of the universities and colleges with the desire to elevate the depressed classes and the adults of other castes who have not had the opportunity of attending primary schools in their youth. It is also very important that the finances of the Indian W.E.A. should be entirely contributed by the people themselves. Whether a system of scholarships could be voted in the future by the Legislative Councils is another matter. These might be useful in enabling promising W.E.A. students to enter a university or college, or even to proceed to Europe for the purposes of research work. The scope of such a movement in India is enormous, and its usefulness unlimited, and it would supply just the incentive needed, on the part of the future teachers, to perfect their own knowledge, thereby avoiding cramming, and to ensure thorough accuracy in their dealing with historical facts and dates.

EXHIBITION SECTION

EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS*

By M. L. CHANDRA, B.A., CURATOR

WITH the object of bringing more prominently to notice, in quarters likely to be interested, and of directly furthering the sale of the products of the higher Indian arts and crafts to the trade, Sir William Meyer, the High Commissioner for India, with the concurrence of the Government of India, decided to set apart for this object certain rooms on the ground and the first floors of 44, Grosvenor Gardens, which forms part of his office in London.

The furniture, flooring, and panelling of the rooms on the ground floor—*i.e.*, the reading-room and the reference library—are of characteristic Indian woods. Brief references have already been made by several of the London newspapers as to the decorative effect of these beautiful Indian timbers.

On the floor above are displayed specimens of Indian art ware and village crafts. These occupy two rooms which, divided by folding doors, are convertible into a single hall of not inconsiderable dimensions, and which, though primarily intended to house selected permanent exhibits, will provide space, when required, for special shows of particular classes of Indian products which it may be decided from time to time to hold. Here again the parquet flooring is entirely carried out in Indian silver grey wood. The scheme of mural decorations in these rooms, which will be completed, it is hoped, before the end of this year, will be composed of Indian printed satin in panels, the front salon being decorated in the United Provinces, and the other in the Punjab style, these being provinces which have specialized in this type of work. The exhibits themselves,

* At 44, Grosvenor Gardens, London.

drawn from the various provinces of India which desire to participate in the exhibition, are on view in show cases specially made of the same Indian wood as the parquet floor on which they stand. In view of the restricted space available, however, only picked specimens are being shown, bulky exhibits particularly having been unavoidably excluded.

For the present only three provinces are participating in the exhibition—viz., Burma, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. The Victoria Institute of Madras has decided to exhibit specimens of the industries of that Presidency, but these have not yet arrived.

The Burma exhibits include textiles such as cotton rugs and various coloured Shan bags with gold or silver thread, hand-painted waterproof umbrellas, gold and Pagan lacquer ware, ivory ware, bronze statuettes, bell-metal or brass and gilt lacquered gongs, as used in Buddhist temples, carved and lacquered woodwork expressed in tables and trays, and beautiful silver ware. Burma's toy industry is represented by a few coloured wooden-jointed animals and birds.

The bulk of the exhibits from the United Provinces has yet to come. There are a few Saharanpur four-fold carved screens and brass inlaid picture frames, specimens of Nagina ebony electric light standards, Moradabad and Bidar brass wares. There is, however, a good stock of silks and satins, including Benares Kashi silk, gold and silver brocades, Shahjehanpur silk and moiré silk, Benares silk, gold and silver embroidered scarves or fascinators, Lucknow printed satin bedsteads, Azamgarh plain and printed satins, etc.

The Punjab exhibits are more numerous and form an interesting collection. Punjab is rich in industrial arts. Of woodwork, wood-inlay in ivory, bone, brass, and copper, painted and chased lacquer work, there are very interesting exhibits in the shape of boxes, trays, cakestands, picture frames, candle and electric standards, powder and potpourri bowls, cigar, and cigarette boxes. The noted Damascene

or "koftgari" work is to be seen in domestic articles, such as paper-knives, cigar and cigarette boxes, ashtrays, buckles and bracelets, photo frames, matchbox covers and salvers. From Multan have come a few specimens of her art of enamelling, mainly on silver ware. Of textile fabrics, so far only a few specimens have arrived, comprising cotton printed bedspreads. Block printing such as here shown, however, is also carried out on satin. Of woollen fabrics there are some beautiful *pashmina* shawls from Ludhiana, both plain and richly embroidered. The specimen carpets on show at the Exhibition Rooms come from Amritsar, world-famed for exquisiteness of work and design.

Apart from India, to which the lac industry itself is confined, there are two great centres of lacquering—viz., Japan and Burma. Lac turnery may, therefore, be viewed as a special feature of Burmese and Indian art. The chief material used in Burmese lacquer work is the oleoresin. This is either employed in its liquid state as a varnish or thickened by ashes or sawdust to a plastic condition and then used for moulding or as a cement for mosaics. It is coloured with lampblack, gold or silver leaf, vermilion, indigo, etc., and applied with brush or hand. This composition is also utilized to render paper or cloth waterproof, as, for example, in the manufacture of the very characteristic and artistic Burmese umbrellas. The best examples of Burmese lacquer ware are the gold lacquered boxes and baskets of Prome and Mandalay. The industry, which was once important locally only, has in recent years expanded considerably.

In the Punjab a considerable trade is done, principally in Lahore, Shahpur, Ferozepore, and Hoshiarpur, in the manufacture of wooden objects coated with coloured lac with most artistic effects. Etched lac work with floral or geometric designs is also carried out in such remote North-Western Frontier places as Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

The artistic Burmese umbrella owes its introduction, so

we are informed by Maung Ba Htin, Circle Officer, Irrawady Division, Department of Industries, Bassein, to an enterprising young Burmese of Bassein, who sixty years ago founded the now flourishing industry, which at one time was confined to one village. Bamboo-sticks rubbed with a solution of red dye and sap from the wild fig-trees, with floral designs traced on them with a jet from a spirit-lamp, make the handles. These are then fitted on to the bamboo framework, which is covered with dyed cotton or silk cloth. The dyeing is done by hand, and various coloured designs are then painted on with very pleasing effect. There is one very attractive umbrella in the exhibition-room which visitors should not neglect to see. It has a span of eight feet, and the cover is gorgeously painted.

India is very largely dependent on foreign countries for its supply of ivory, Africa being the source of her main supply. African ivory is closer in grain, and not so liable to turn yellow or to warp and split as the Indian ivory. All the finer and more expensive ivory carvings are done on the best African ivory, which is invariably a bluish-white article, the Indian exhibiting a dull chalky appearance. In India there are four localities noted for ivory carving—viz., Delhi, Murshidabad in Bengal, Mysore and Travancore in the south. Within the last forty years the industry has been largely developed at Hoshiarpur, where the art of ivory inlaying is applied, not only to the decoration of small articles, but to furniture generally. The modern work has absorbed all the old styles, such as Patiala, Mughal, and Sikh, and become mainly Hindu, though we have no proof absolute of the patronage of Hindu rulers in this direction. There is, however, no special caste identified with the craft. It is remarkable though that the chief artistic workers at the present day are Hindus.

There would not appear to be an extensive trade done in ivory carving in Burma. Burmese ivory carving seems to have been derived from India. Moulmein is the centre

of the industry, and the articles chiefly produced are such things as daggers and dah-handles, paper-cutters, chessmen, chairs, images of Buddha, medallions, cigarette-holders, statuettes depicting Burmese life.

With the disappearance of the fashion of wearing armour, damascening, on the decline of the Sikh power, diverted itself from ornamenting swords and other martial weapons, to the embellishing of domestic articles. The words "damascening" and "encrustation" indicate degrees of the same art, rather than distinct arts. They both denote the surface ornamentation of one metal through the application of one or more metals—*e.g.*, the inlay of gold and silver wires upon steel or iron. The latter is called "koftgari," or damascening proper. In true damascening the design is traced on the steel surfaces, and the wire is hammered in until it is made literally to unite with the steel. Encrusted wares may be said to form two main classes, according as the applied metal is raised above or left below the surface. The art of damascening no doubt came from Persia, as the word "koftgari" indicates, and is practised in several places in the Punjab, notably Sialkot, Gujrat, and Lahore. The wares are turned out in very large quantities from these centres, and find a ready market all over the world. There are several beautiful examples depicting this art in the Exhibition Rooms at 44, Grosvenor Gardens.

Of brass-ware, of which there are at present only a few specimens on exhibition, though more are expected shortly, much can be written. But it would be beyond the scope of this short article to deal with the purely industrial aspects of the brass-smith's craft. The Indian craftsmen show a large capacity in the utilization of both brass and copper and their alloys. The exhibits on view here are representative of the craft of Moradabad and Benares. The tourist in the East is familiar with the sight of stupendous images of Buddha (Burma), cast in brass by a small band of workers, using appliances which, judged by European

standards, would seem absolutely inadequate. In many parts of India again, as in Benares, images of Krishna and Ganesh, and various other idols, are moulded and sold for a few pice which, in Europe and America, could not be bought or produced for as many shillings. Between these extremes, in magnitude and intricacy, lies the range of domestic and sacred utensils, for the production of which every village possesses its own craftsmen. The ordinary domestic utensils, which are invariably of either copper or brass, instead of china, etc., as in Europe, are not ornamented, because by Hindu ordinance they require to be scoured with mud after being used, but their shapes are extremely graceful, and often their finish and style are different in different localities.

It will not be out of place to add a few words in respect of the beautiful Amritsar-made carpets on show here, reference to which has already been made. Like a great many more of the arts of India, the art of carpet-making came from Persia. The centres of carpet-making in Northern India are Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, and Hoshiarpur. Pashmina wool—that is, wool from the Himalayan goats—is used for the finest descriptions of pile carpets, and the work is all done by hand. There are certain characteristic designs met with here and there in the Indian-made carpet which have greatly tended to bring about the peculiarities that allow of Indian carpets being readily recognized from those of other countries. The man in the street has an idea that all carpets which come from India are the product of Indian gaols, and, as such, it exercises a debasing influence on the artistic industry. *De facto* this is not so. Gaol labour has stimulated the industry.

The specimens of silver enamelling on show all come from Multan. The work is of rich barbaric nature, decorative in design and colour. Multan has for many years enjoyed the reputation of producing small silver enamels in various shades of opaque blue, yellow, or scarlet. Similar

work is also carried on in Lahore and Delhi. Jaipur is pre-eminently the central and best school of enamelling, but of late years the most skilful artificers have migrated to Delhi. The articles on exhibit are buttons for waistcoats, buckles and belts, umbrella-handles for ladies, etc.

The Punjab has also sent one or two specimens of woodwork, and wood inlay as turned out in Hoshiarpur. The Punjabi is noted for his artistic taste, which is almost an inheritance with many carpenters. It is believed that Indian wood-work manifests a much greater diversity and many more points of interest than any other arts and crafts of that country. The principal homes of wood-carving in the Punjab are Lahore (School of Arts and Crafts), Hoshiarpur, Chiniot, Amritsar, Jullundur, Gujrat, and Ludhiana. It is impossible to convey a conception of even the leading characteristics of the styles of wood-carving and wood-inlay in this as well as in other provinces. The specimens displayed here are a four-fold screen, tea and coffee trays, etc., inlaid with brass, copper, and ivory.

In conclusion, the writer hopes that his endeavour at a description of the Exhibition, which, both as regards furnishing of the rooms and the articles displayed, has been necessarily brief, will stimulate the interest of the reader in Indian arts and crafts. Visitors (trade and casual) and inquirers will be personally attended to.

THE CHANCE OF PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST

BY LELAND BUXTON

THE primary object of the Near and Middle East Association, whose recent Memorandum to the Prime Minister on the Turkish Question has been widely noticed in the Press, is to promote British interests. The greatest of British interests is a just and lasting peace, but such a peace has hitherto been impossible owing to the refusal of the British Government to recognize the claims of the Turkish people to self-determination and security. Moreover, the task of pacification by the Allies has been made doubly hard by the fact that the Prime Minister, in consequence of the violent partizanship of his speeches on the Græco-Turkish War, has lost the confidence and respect, not only of the Turks, but of most of the peoples of the Middle East. Yet even now it may not be too late to mitigate, at least, the disastrous effects of his Eastern policy during the last four years.

The Memorandum referred to above suggests certain conditions on which, it is believed, a permanent peace might still be established. With regard to the protection of minorities, it proposes the institution of local gendarmerie, to which would be attached foreign officers appointed by the League of Nations. It is, of course, essential that any such scheme, applied to Turkey, should apply equally to Greek territory, such as Southern Macedonia, where a Muslim population still exists. It would certainly not be accepted by the Turks on any other condition, nor, from the point of view of the minorities themselves, is it any less desirable in Greece than in Turkey. In fact, the majority of Macedonian Christians would to-day welcome even a restoration of Turkish rule as a means of escape from the persecution of their new masters. Even if it is admitted that the Turks have, in certain cases, deliberately resorted to a policy of extermination, it is an historical fact that the Greeks have got rid of *their* minorities with far greater rapidity. Those who share the Prime Minister's views about the Greeks may be recommended to study the Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Balkan Wars, and Professor Arnold Toynbee's recent book, "The Western Question in Turkey."

and Greece." At the same time, it cannot be denied that the unfortunate Christians of Asia Minor, who are indirectly the victims of Allied intrigues and Greek megalomania, require protection after the events of the last few years, and it will be the clear duty of the Allies, in any settlement they may make with the Turks, to see that such protection is provided.

On territorial questions the British Government has at last been obliged to withdraw from the position it has hitherto taken up if the Near East is ever again to enjoy the blessings of a lasting peace. With regard to Smyrna, indeed, it agreed last spring to the restoration of Turkish sovereignty; but till September 23 it insisted on that geographical monstrosity, a Greek Adrianople. The Greek claim to Thrace cannot be supported on ethnical grounds, as the Greeks themselves tacitly admitted when they rejected the proposal for a Commission of Enquiry, which was put forward by the Allies and accepted by Bekir Sami Bey on behalf of Turkey. Still less can it be supported on economic grounds, Eastern Thrace being economically dependent on Constantinople and Western Thrace on Bulgaria. The recent Greek threat against Constantinople has made the Turks more determined than ever that Greece shall not be in a position to make a similar threat in the future. Finally, the Turks, and indeed the Moslem world generally, have a sentimental and religious interest in the Turkish city of Adrianople. For these reasons, among others, there can be no lasting peace in the Balkans while Thrace is in Greek occupation.

The Near and Middle East Association, therefore, supports the new Allied pledge that Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, shall be restored to Turkey. It also proposes that Western Thrace should be constituted an autonomous State under the auspices of the League of Nations. This province, which, during the French occupation after the Armistice, enjoyed a brief period of happiness and tranquillity, is inhabited mainly by Turks and Bulgarians, but both Turkey and Bulgaria have wisely refrained from claiming it, and demand only that it should not be Greek. As a buffer State between Greece and Turkey, it would be a valuable guarantee of peace, and would further enable the Allies to fulfil their formal promise to Bulgaria of a commercial outlet on the *Ægean*. Everyone acquainted with Balkan conditions knows that, so long as the whole coast is in Greek occupation, the promised outlet is an impossibility; but the Bulgarians themselves admit that they could use

Dedeagatch freely if the port and its hinterland were under international or inter-Allied supervision.

There is reason to believe that the Angora Government would be willing to accept all reasonable guarantees for the freedom of the Straits, such as, for instance, the control of the Dardanelles by the League of Nations, of which Turkey would, of course, be a member. Once the territorial question is settled on the lines indicated above, the Turkish attitude on this and other questions at issue would naturally become more accommodating. We cannot expect it to be so under present conditions. If we can imagine our own state of mind during an occupation of Kent by foreigners, we shall not be surprised that the Turks are unconciliatory while Greek armies—believed to be supported by Great Britain—are in occupation of Thrace.

When the invaders have been forced to withdraw, and peaceful conditions have been restored, there will be a revival of commercial prosperity in Anatolia and Constantinople. It is to be hoped that British traders will regain their old predominance and enjoy the lion's share of that prosperity. If, however, the British Government continues to support the claims of Athens until compelled by circumstances to desist, the harvest of peace may be reaped by our commercial rivals, whose Governments have not earned the lasting hostility of the Turkish people.

Since the above was written, the situation has developed rapidly. The attitude of the Turks, owing largely to the provocative words and actions of the British Government, may well have become less moderate and conciliatory, and it may now be necessary to make greater concessions than would have sufficed, a fortnight ago, to secure an amicable settlement.

At the present moment the chief danger of war arises, unfortunately, from the fact that the Turks do not trust the word of Mr. Lloyd George. They believe that he is playing for time, and that when the Greek army has been reorganized in Thrace, he will provoke hostilities as a means of withdrawing the promise to restore the Maritza line to Turkey. Unless the Allies insist on the immediate evacuation of Thrace by the Greeks, the Turks feel that they cannot afford to wait, for, as *The Times* observes in its leading article to-day (September 27), "delay in following up a victory is rarely of advantage to the victor."

BRITAIN'S TURKISH POLICY

BY W. E. D. ALLEN

IN no issue is the confusion of thought more evident and prejudice more dominant than in the discussion of the Eastern Question.

At the present juncture it is not inopportune to examine briefly the historical principles and motives and the general trend of British policy in the Near East, and to apply such conclusions as may be arrived at to the consideration of the present situation.

The costly Near Eastern campaign of the Great War was necessary to eradicate German influence, and with the signature of an Armistice by Turkey in October, 1918, conditions immediately though gradually began to revert to the old triangular rivalry of Britain, France, and Russia.

The history of the C.U.P. and the farce of parliamentary government in Turkey had confirmed British statesmen in the policy of nationalist devolution. The successive Turkish Governments were representative of no element in Turkey, and their power was founded on no other basis than violence and graft. Each Government supported itself internally by favouring and relying on one national element at the expense of the others, and abroad by cultivating the patronage of one or other of the Great Powers; thus France, Britain, Russia, and Germany were successively favoured. The speeches of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George during the latter stages of the war, therefore, envisaged the complete dissolution of the Turkish Empire into its component national parts. There was conceived the separation from Turkey of all territories inhabited by majorities of Greeks, Armenians, and Arabs. But the development of such a policy after the Armistice transcended the means at the disposal of the victors. The plan of an independent Armenia and of a Hellenized Western Asia Minor was real and practicable had the Allies been united and in a position to enforce their decisions. British statesmen, however, miscalculated the political equation, and ignored the practical geographical difficulty, while they neglected the obstacle of an entirely contrary French policy, which discounted the humanitarian issue and sought to establish French political and com-

mercial hegemony in Asia Minor, and to include Turkey in the chain of States forming the anti-Bolshevik *cordon sanitaire*. The Greek landing at Smyrna and the Treaty of Sèvres were unwise because it was impractical to enforce a definite conclusion, while the support of the Pontine Greeks and the Armenians was tragic, because we made them our agents and were unable to give them the protection which former actions and statements had suggested would be conceded.

British policy floated in a mist of humanitarian and political visions, when it should have been guided solely by considerations of military expediency. The Greek offensive in Asia Minor was undertaken in spite of the authoritative advice of Sir Henry Wilson and Maréchal Foch, and without even the security of French and Italian co-operation.

The return of King Constantine—who on the authority of Admiral Mark Kerr had in 1916 been opposed on strategic ground to an invasion of Asia Minor—and the withdrawal of the Italian and French from Adalia and Adana, afforded an opportunity for the revision of our policy. Further, the military authorities at Constantinople who were most competent to form a well-considered opinion were known to be opposed to the principle of the Anatolian war, while the Government of India gave emphatic and sensational expression to their views.

Last March King Constantine personally expressed to the writer his acquiescence in an evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks, conditional on Allied assumption of responsibility for the safety of the Christian population. But the Greek Government, for the preservation of their own prestige, obviously waited for the British Cabinet to take the initiative in the matter, and to give them the opportunity of appearing to surrender to the pressure of *force majeure*.

The situation was urgent: Lord Curzon, who was most competent to undertake a careful revision of British policy, was incapacitated by illness, while Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech at the end of last session, obviously had failed to appreciate the critical state of affairs, or to have given the matter any careful consideration.

At the present juncture it is most necessary to consider the advice of those comparatively obscure people, officials and experts, who have some knowledge and experience of the Near East, and to refrain from hasty measures dictated by ignorance or popular hysteria.

On the one hand, it is possible to exaggerate the strength of the Turks, whose victory has been the result of Greek

demoralization rather than of their military prowess ; on the other hand, it is easy to magnify the significance both of Muslim discontent with British policy and the force of Bolshevik influence at Angora.

The present attitude of Mustapha Kemal demonstrates that the Turks are willing to conclude peace, and are not anxious to undertake, under Bolshevik influence, any kind of Jihad.

As an Italian newspaper has observed, the Turks are incapable either of gratitude or vindictiveness, and they have no interest in prolonging the war and undertaking hostilities against Britain or France.

Ali Fethi Bey, the Kemalist Minister of the Interior—whose visit to London recently aroused some controversy—last winter made to the writer the observation "that Turkey had no interests really antagonistic to those of Britain and France. War against Britain, which was the logical implication of alliance with Germany against Russia, was regarded as a disaster." Geographically Turkey is a Mediterranean Power, and economically all her interests lie with the sea Powers that control the Mediterranean. Her claim that Smyrna is vital to her as a port emphasizes her dependence on Mediterranean trade. Of hardly less importance as markets are Syria, controlled by the French, and Mesopotamia, controlled by the British. Turkey cannot find a market in an impoverished Persia nor in a ruined and famished Transcaucasia. Further, Turkey cannot obtain the financial and technical assistance of which she is in dire need, from Russia, who is herself a claimant on charity.

Politically Turkey has nothing to gain from hostility to the Entente. The Kemalists cannot re-enter Europe by force of arms, but they might enforce their claims by the invasion of Syria and Mesopotamia. But the Turks can obtain no real advantage from damaging or destroying the tender roots of Moslem-Arab nationalism. If they have any national interests beyond their own frontiers, they lie rather in Baku and the Eastern Caucasus, where possibly the most advanced and progressive section of the Turkish race has recently been reduced to poverty and anarchy.

Thus, on logical grounds of both economic and political expediency, the Turks must tend to an understanding with the Entente, and to development as a Mediterranean Power.

The Entente Powers have no interest in maintaining régimes of control and protection in the Near and Middle

East. The tendency is to reduce our responsibility and financial liability in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and our policy is to assist and encourage the construction of self-dependent States. Such a policy has been consistently followed during the last hundred years in the Balkans, and more recently in Central Europe, and has resulted in the formation of the Little Entente, a body which is both a security and a guarantee against German or Russian aggression. The process may occupy a longer period in the Middle East, but ultimately we should aim at a similar fruition—the growth of a group of self-dependent States, stretching from the Caucasus to the Red Sea. In such a development Turkey must be a vital factor, and in the event of a future war the Turkish Army would be the strongest defensive force in those regions. Our own interest is in the trade and not in the political control of small countries. Once established in their self-dependence, all the States of the Middle East, Caucasian, Arab, and Turkish, would have the strongest interest, as the Little Entente has, in the maintenance of the *status quo* and in opposition to any aggressive combinations.

The conclusion of peace is therefore in the immediate interests both of the Entente and of the Turks. The Turkish demands for the restoration of Constantinople and Thrace are not immoderate; it is noteworthy that Kemal has not increased his demands with his victory. Kemal further offers to agree to the commercial freedom of the Straits, and to accord to the national minorities rights to be enjoyed reciprocally by the Mussalmans of Macedonia.

Upon such a basis it should not be difficult to arrive at an agreement satisfactory to both sides. Greece, the defeated, is naturally the principal and, to a certain extent, the undeserved sufferer, and it remains to Britain and Italy to decide whether or not she shall receive compensation, which it is within their power to give, for losses the responsibility for which rests in part upon the Allies.

The most difficult issue will be the status of the Straits. In the Straits the Allies have the right to safeguard their interests, both commercial and military, and it would not be unreasonable to insist upon an Allied military control for at least a period of years, such period to be terminable at a future date, should the policy of Turkey in the interval give proof of good faith. The Allies could not ever permit the erection of defences in the Dardanelles. And under such conditions it would be necessary to insist upon the disarmament of the Greek Fleet. Constantinople, with a

good Thracian frontier, would not then be subject to attack from her Balkan Allies, while she would be subject to naval coercion from the greater sea Powers in no greater degree than are Lisbon, Copenhagen, or Athens.

The conclusion of a satisfactory and fair peace will require sacrifices, both moral and material, from all parties, from the belligerents and from some of the Entente Powers, but it is only by a spirit of compromise and goodwill that a catastrophe can be avoided, the sole beneficiaries from which would be those forces of anarchy who have before now shown themselves quick to take advantage of our ineptitude and our pusillanimity.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I. THE NEW CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST

SPEAKING at Nottingham on September 19, the ex-Minister for War, Major-General Seely, M.P., contended—

(a) That had the League of Nations possessed more power, the latest war would never have been started.

(b) That the League must be made a reality by the Great Powers agreeing to accept its decrees.

(c) That this League of Peace must be equipped with the necessary police forces—*i.e.*, naval and air forces. The need for the moment, concluded General Seely, was the means to prevent this conflagration spreading, "and having subdued it, to prevent its breaking out afresh."

II. SMYRNA

Meanwhile the populations of the Near East—Christian and Muslim, Greek, Armenian, and Turkish, men, women, and children—have been enduring all the horrors of racial and religious warfare. Fortunately adequate provision is being made for the half-million refugees, mostly women and children, from Smyrna. Medical and other stores have been sent from England, and the Red Cross Societies, British, American, and International, are actively combating remediable distress.

"A crime against humanity is being perpetrated in Asia Minor," M. Rizo Rangabé, the Greek Minister in London, declared to a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in an interview published in that journal September 14, 1922. The same authority continued:

"Greece, for her part, has a clear conscience . . . and we are confident that history will appraise the tremendous efforts we have made at their full value, since the merit of nations is not commensurate with their area or resources, but depends on their willingness to consent to sacrifices in a righteous cause. . . . The essential facts of the Asia Minor position are little known in Western Europe. . . .



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